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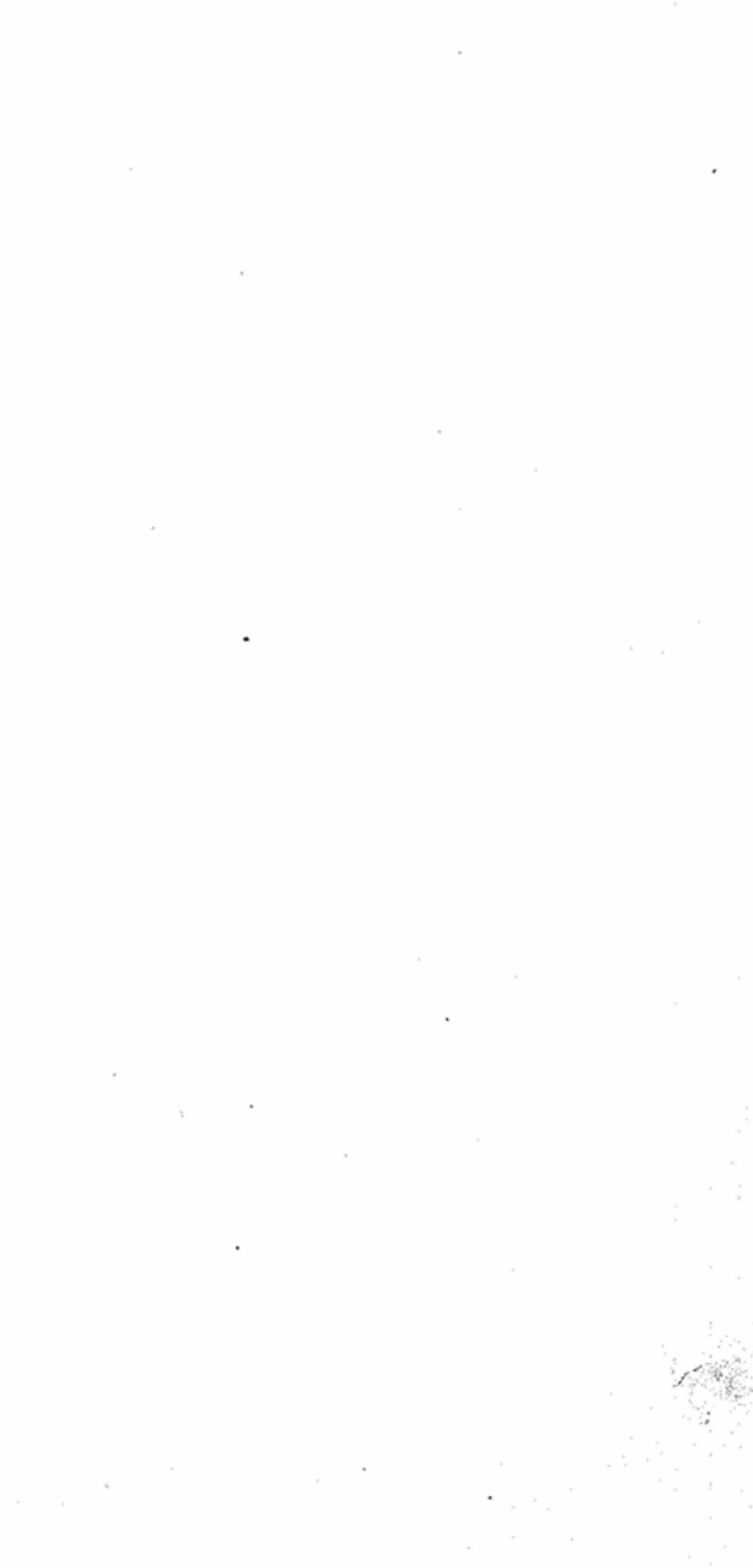
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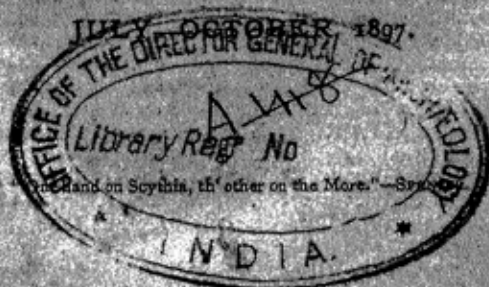
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## HER MAJESTY AS "KAISAR-I-HIND."

THE following is a description of a more than life-size bust of Her Majesty, the Queen, as "Kaisar-i-Hind," or Empress of India, made for the Oriental University Institute, where this Review is published, by the eminent Italian sculptor, Signor Giuseppe Norfini, under the instructions of Dr. Leitner, the originator of the title and its populariser in India. Although statues of Her Majesty exist in India, none in that country or in England represent Her in the special character which the assumption of that title implies. The difficulty consisted in finding a typical rendering in sculpture that should alike commend itself to Englishmen and to natives of India as well as meet the requirements of historic fitness and of artistic taste. The laurel wreath, for instance, which adorns Cæsar, from which "Kaisar" is an accepted Oriental form, was discarded as "palmam qui meruit ferat" is not an Indian acknowledgement of Victory, and would, indeed, lead to a misconception. Again, the Crown of the Moguls, although accepted by Hindus and Muhammadans alike, as a symbol of the Indian Empire, and, as such, transmitted to England in Indian opinion, is too distinctly Muhammadan, and too peculiar in shape, rising as it does in tiers, to meet with universal and enthusiastic adoption, whilst the Royal Crown itself, as depicted sometimes on the top of the head, would resemble too much an Indian top-knot which is indicative of renunciation rather than rule. So the handsome Crown on the Indian Rupee, as in the year of the Proclamation of the new Imperial attribute, that is to say in 1877, and as it exists now, was adopted and will, no doubt, be considered alike a practical, an appropriate and an ornamental solution of the difficulty by all classes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, as well as by Europeans, who have been long familiar with Her lofty features, through that coin. It was, however, necessary to give a Roman Cæsar's look to an Indian Empress, in order to mark the origin of the word, and the result, therefore, was the truly Roman "Kaisar" bust, which, whilst combining the characteristics of Her Majesty's face and attitude, denotes Her Imperial position, alike to Indian and to European eyes. Incidentally we would refer to that feature of the "arqus-Saltanat" or "vein of rule" over the eye or forehead, which Oriental tradition assigns to the being that is destined to rule. There is, probably, no photograph, sculpture, medal or medallion of Her Majesty that has not been consulted, and, although the photograph of Messrs. Downey was taken as the authorized basis of resemblance, it was obviously impossible to take any pose of ease or age, as characteristic of Empire. The

orders that Her Majesty wears on the bust are, the "Star of India," "the Indian Empire," and "the Crown of India," in addition, of course, to that of "the Victoria-Albert," whose effigies adorn the Institute, and whose busts, along with that of the Prince of Wales, form the apotheosis, as it were, of the Commemoration Gallery, led up to by the busts of representative Indian Chiefs and European and Indian promoters of Oriental learning. Musical instruments, historical, commemorative, dedicatory, or as used on great occasions of State, surround British Royalty, whilst the Indian races and castes, also represented in gems, offer their polyglot tribute to Her Majesty in tablets, Slokas, paintings, poems, and votive offerings, that are typical of the princes, peasants, and industrial workers, priests and others, not excluding a series of ascetics, all joining in a commemoration of loyalty. Mosques and temples, and many important Indian cities are there in drawings or carvings and, altogether, it would be impossible, as it would be tedious to our readers, to describe at greater length in this place the contents of a Gallery, of which a personal visit, to which we invite them, can alone give an adequate idea. We must, however, say a word on the insignia of royalty, which either in bas-reliefs or sunk into the stone, adorn the base of the bust. In front, we have the orb, ring, sword of spirituality, and sceptre over the name of "Victoria, Queen 1837—EMPRESS of INDIA 1877-97." On one side of the bust we have "KAISAR-I-HIND," in Persian characters, as on the Delhi official medal, but improved, under the swords of justice and mercy, and the sceptre of rule, whilst another side shows the same words in Hindi, but corrected from the Delhi medal where, by a slip of grammar, the bearer of the title is masculine instead of feminine. This inscription is surmounted by the quasi-mythological emblem of the "Nao-ratna" or "the nine jewels of India," which are typical of that country and some of which, like the Gomeda, had never been hitherto identified, but are now represented. "Nao-ratna" also refers to "the nine sages" of that most ancient or famous Emperor in India, Vikramaditya, and may thus be said to represent the ancient learning of that Continent, as well as the natural wealth of India and the wisdom of its Government. Behind, is the Coronation Chair, and below it is a trilingual reading of "Empress of India" from the Delhi medal as corrected. We trust that, in India or wherever a sculpture of Her Majesty is required to strike the eye and move the public loyalty by an impersonation of power, goodness and wisdom, this bust of our beloved Queen-Empress may be consulted.





# *Asiatic Quarterly Review.*

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1897.

## INDIA IN THE SIXTIETH VICTORIAN YEAR.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

TWENTY years ago, in 1877 and 1878, I had the honour of serving the Queen-Empress as Press Commissioner of India; and in that capacity it was my duty, *inter alia*, to become personally acquainted with all the details of the administration of Famine Relief under the orders of Lord Lytton. As a confidential officer of the Government, I had to see all the files of papers, including those that led up to the appointment of the Famine Commission—the most beneficent inquisition that has ever attempted to marshal the forces of civilisation in defence of suffering humanity. A warm interest in the general subject, thus aroused, led me last year, when it became evident that once more India was brought face to face with the Angel of Death by Famine, to arrange to make a winter's tour throughout that vast continent, with special reference to the question as to how far the experience of the last great famine, and the investigations of the Famine Commission, had enabled the Government to improve on the heroic work of 1877. The readers of *The Asiatic Quarterly* might find somewhat of living interest in a brief summary of the conclusions thus arrived at, with regard not merely to the Famine operations themselves, but also to the general condition of the country and people.

The relief of Famine by the State, regulated by the fixed determination of Government to keep the people alive by securing for every man, woman, and child in the distressed tracts the possibility of getting a subsistence-ration daily, dates from the Bengal Famine of 1873-74, fought on those lines by Sir Richard Temple under the orders of Lord Northbrook. The definite adoption by Government of that humane policy was, in my opinion, largely due to the vigorous series of letters and telegrams that appeared in the *Times* from the pen of my friend Dr. George Smith, C.I.E., of Serampore, who was at that time the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*. I quite admit that, from the point of view of Political Economy, it may be doubted whether the resources of any State, however rich and powerful, will in the long run be able to maintain a policy that seems to be in conflict with the natural laws of population. But Dr. George Smith's telegrams in the *Times*, the eloquence of which produced a sensation in England, argued that it was the bounden duty of the British Government of India to make the attempt resolutely, and to persevere in it at all costs, unless and until it should be actually proved to be impossible. My own opinion may be gathered from the fact that when Dr. Smith was compelled to go home in the spring of 1874, at the very crisis of the Famine, I was nominated by the *Times* to be his successor as their Calcutta correspondent, and I was invited by Dr. Smith also to succeed him as Editor of the *Friend of India*. I was ultimately unable to accept these flattering offers; but I was quite prepared, if I had been able to do so, to maintain the continuity of Dr. Smith's policy.

Up to that time, no definite line had been adopted by our Government. In the olden time, under Native rule, it is of course obvious that no organised action for the relief of Famine was possible, for the organisation did not exist. Consequently, when the crops failed, the people died like flies; and the survivors, when the famine was past and gone, had more land than they knew what to do with—and

increased and multiplied again until they were again decimated either by famine or by pestilence, or yet more frequently by war or civil disturbance.

There has never been even the semblance of a Poor Law system in any part of India. But those would greatly err who might attribute this fact to the negligence or heartlessness of the people. The truth is the exact opposite. Among Indians, the strength of the clan or family sentiment is so great and expansive, and the domestic relations are so warm and affectionate, that poor relief from any source outside the clan or family, and unconnected with any religious sanction, is utterly abhorrent to their traditions.

And I may note, *par parenthèse*, that this very sentiment, kindly and honourable in itself, is and probably always will be our greatest difficulty in the practical work of Famine relief, for the starving population cannot be induced to come out from their homes—and this is almost universally true of the women and children—to take the State-relief that is now everywhere ready for them, until in a vast number of cases the relief is too late to be of any avail.

I also wish to observe, that this custom, practically universal in India, and firmly established by the strongest religious and social sanctions, under which every family or clan considers it a sacred duty to maintain its own poor, while it produces a general loathing of pauperism, is also largely responsible for the exceptional terrors of an Indian Famine. For always, and during the most prosperous times, there is an enormous population thus maintained in idleness, more or less on the verge of starvation. This state of things continues, until the actual incidence of famine and the general rise of prices make it impossible for the workers to maintain this huge army of drones; and drones and workers alike starve until they consent to come on the public relief-works.

The policy of *laissez faire*, inevitable under Native rule, was not unnaturally followed during the earlier years of the British Raj, continually absorbed in the gigantic task



of evolving order out of chaos. The ghastly mortality of the Orissa Famine of 1866, caused simply by the absence of any means of communication by which supplies could be poured into the districts where the crops had failed, awoke the national conscience both in England and in India. Then came the Bengal Famine of 1873-74, and the crusade of which I have spoken, preached in the columns of the *Times*; and Sir Richard Temple and Lord Northbrook conquered that Famine, in accordance with the positive mandate of public opinion, by the sheer weight of the public purse. Millions were squandered in the dogged resolve, characteristic of British determination, to keep the people alive at all costs. I have always maintained that those millions were rightly thus spent; for in no other way, in the then condition of our knowledge, could the people be kept alive—and the experience thus dearly bought could not otherwise have been obtained at all.

That experience soon produced valuable fruit. In 1876-77-78 the crops failed over an area immensely larger than in 1873-74—over an area larger than that of any other recorded famine until last year. The shadow of death lay heavy over a large portion of the map of India; and soon in many parts—especially in the Deccan districts of Madras and Bombay, in Mysore, and in similar tracts—the distress became ever so much more intense than it has been at all this time or can ever be again. Fortunately, at this crisis, the representative in India of Her Majesty—whose own womanly sympathies were deeply aroused, and were continually manifested in anxious kindly messages—was a man of a large and generous heart, and of a strong and practical genius that has hardly until recently obtained adequate recognition from the British public. Lord Lytton, sure of full support from his Sovereign, and backed up by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Cranbrook at home, determined, not only that all the power of the State should be at once put forth to save life, but also that the experience so gained should be utilised to prevent the possibility of future similar

suffering. Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary of the Madras Famine Fund, and a fair-minded observer belonging to the Party opposed to Lord Lytton, has written an elaborate history of that Famine Campaign, based on personal observation as well as on all the Government confidential papers supplied to him by myself and other responsible officers; and to that history I would refer my readers for details. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Digby shows the wisdom and foresight with which Lord Lytton framed his Famine policy, and the devotion with which his subordinates carried out that policy. Lord Lytton, the moment his Government was relieved from the stress and strain of actual acute famine, set on foot an exhaustive inquiry into the whole question of Famine and Famine Relief, from the point of view of the humane policy now finally adopted by the State. All the acknowledged experts, both at home and in India, brought to that momentous inquiry the resources of their experience and scientific knowledge. All the practical men who had been engaged in the thick of the famine-fight in India, were invited to contribute to the success of the investigation. During the period, nearly 20 years, that has intervened, the conclusions arrived at by that grand inquisition have been tested over and over again by the combined intelligence of the ablest service in the world. My own prolonged tour through the vast territories now affected by distress, and my personal inspection of the Famine Camps, the Poorhouses, the hospitals, the various agencies from village-relief, and so forth, have fully satisfied me that the glorious result of all this heroic endeavour is, that henceforward no one need die of starvation in even the most remote districts of the country, who can be induced frankly to throw himself or herself on the benevolent aid of the Government.

For the system thus elaborated has provided, in the first place, fairly complete and perfect tests by which the local officers—and through them the local Governments, and finally the Supreme Government—can watch and

guard against the approach of Famine under the guise of steadily increasing scarcity and distress.

In the second place, it has elaborated a method and an organization, machine-like in its precision and almost automatic accuracy, by which the increasing distress may be met at every step.

And further, it has furnished codified directions and regulations, under which, at a *minimum* of expense to the State, work and wages can be obtained throughout the time of famine by every human being who needs the wages and who can do the work—and an actual "subsistence wage" by every human being who needs it, whether able to work or no.

From a close personal inspection of the Famine Relief works and Famine operations—from the Rawalpindi Division in the North to the Patna Division in the East and Bellary and Anantapur in Madras in the South, including such severely afflicted tracts as the Allahabad and Jabalpur Divisions—I can bear witness to the admirable working of these arrangements. The Government of India, in this "Diamond Jubilee year," has succeeded in showing to the world that it can and will keep everyone of its subjects alive, even in the direst stress of famine. Surely this is the grandest achievement that has ever been attained, under the blessing of Providence, by human genius and devotion.

I do not mean to affirm that absolute perfection has been attained in the working of Famine relief. But the result actually achieved is enough to excite ardent enthusiasm.

The further experience gained in the famine of this year will doubtless elucidate many of the points that are still in dispute, or that present difficulties.

There is, for instance, the preliminary difficulty, probably the most serious of all—How to induce the people, and especially the women of the poor of the *bhadra lōk* or gentle-folk—to avail themselves of State aid before it is too late to be of any avail. And after that arises the question, How to deal with such cases without teaching the



whole people mischievous lessons of pauperization. These are the cases that will derive special benefit from the private funds so liberally contributed by the people of England and of the whole British Empire. And it may, I think, be said that one of the steps in advance, achieved by the Government in its management of the existing Famine, has been, and is, so to allot the work and money of this private charity, as to aid the suffering people in the best possible way, with the least possible clashing with Government operations. In addition to the classes I have named, thousands of whom will owe their lives and their whole future to the Mansion House Fund, and the other private funds, the same beneficent organizations will start again in life, with oxen and ploughs, etc., thousands of those who otherwise would have been absolutely hopeless; they will provide to some extent for thousands of waifs and strays, the orphans of the Famine. And I believe the various races of this vast Empire—I would especially notice the Canadian Fund raised by the *Montreal Star*—will receive a rich reward for their active benevolence, in the gratitude and confirmed loyalty of the Indian peoples.

Of the main difficulties in the actual administration of Famine Relief, by far the most crucial, *omnium consensu*, is the problem, How to obtain a reasonable amount of work from those who are perfectly able to work, in return for their famine-wage. Above all, how to get any work at all from *mauvais sujets* who would rather run the risk of death, than do any work. The reduction of the Famine subsistence ration—which must of course be very near the actual margin of life and death—to what is termed a “penal ration,” is clearly an operation that must always be attended with great risk of actual starvation. After careful inquiry into this point in every camp I have visited, I am inclined to doubt whether any satisfactory solution of this problem is possible. I believe it is the point where comes in the old doubt of the ultimate possibility of the humane policy of saving life at all costs.

Complaints are sometimes heard of the insufficiency of the subsistence-ration, and especially of the feeding in the poorhouses. I think the explanation of the first complaint often is this—If a man get two annas a day by grumbling, he will not usually admit that he is satisfied with five or six pice. Of the second complaint I have over and over again discovered, by personal investigation, that the origin is frequently to be looked for in the fact that when a starving person comes at a very late stage into a Government poorhouse, the medical authorities are absolutely compelled to put them on what may be called a meagre slop-diet at first, or they would die at once of dysentery or other diseases caused by sudden feeding.

I turn for a moment to matters outside Famine administration that have attracted my observation during my winter's tour. Of the amazing advance made by India as a whole, in every direction, material, social, intellectual, and moral, it is, I think, quite impossible to speak too strongly; but this advance has been so admirably pictured by the writer of the Jubilee articles in the *Times*, that I need not enlarge upon it.

The *Times* urges, very wisely, that one of the best preventive measures that the Government can adopt against future famine would be, a wide extension of the principle of making the State demand on the land a fixed and moderate sum, and not an elastic amount varying with the zeal of the settlement officer and the extreme capability of the land. It is by this means alone that capital will be attracted to the reclamation of the vast areas of cultivable land now lying waste, and that population will be brought from the densely-peopled tracts of Behar and Bengal to the fertile but desolate portions of Assam, Burma, and other sparsely-populated regions, that might add enormously to the national prosperity.

Dean Vaughan used the following striking words of the social tendencies of the Queen's reign in England (see his letter in the *Times* of June 23rd): "The leading feature of



the Queen's long reign has been the approximation of man to man, class to class, peer to peasant, Churchman to Non-conformist." I fear a similar statement would not be true of the whole of Her Majesty's rule in India, whether of the relations between Indians and Europeans, or of those between Hindus, Muhammadans, and the other various communities of the land. But I do think that during the last ten years there has been a remarkable advance in the cordiality observable between Englishmen and Indians. Personally I have had the privilege of possessing a very large circle of valued friends among my Indian fellow-subjects for more than a quarter of a century; and I am bound to say I have never received anything but unbounded courtesy, even from strangers in India. But in the course of my recent tour, I have had the opportunity of observing, on several occasions, the reception accorded by large audiences of Indian gentlemen to references in my speeches to those relations, and to individual English personages from Her Gracious Majesty downward. Throughout the whole period of my acquaintance with India, I have always observed that the sentiment of personal loyalty to Her Majesty is as warm among Indians as among the other communities owning that benign sway—and especially since that most politic, as well as most gracious act, on Her Majesty's part, the assumption, with all suitable pomp and circumstance, of the title, so gratifying to Indians, of "Kaisar-i-Hind" or "EMPRESS OF INDIA." But this year I have observed a marked growth of corresponding kindly feelings towards the English subjects of the Empress generally.

It would hardly be honest if I concluded this summary of my Jubilee-year impressions of India without at least noticing two drawbacks in the general picture of progress, increased prosperity, and increased enlightenment. The first I have hinted at, in alluding to the statesmanlike views of the *Times* on the Indian land-question; it is, the impoverishment of the rural classes over all those areas of India, such as the Central Provinces, the Deccan districts

of Bombay, and much of the Madras Presidency, where the Government demand on the land is continually being screwed up by the zealous endeavours of the settlement officers to increase the revenues. In the Central Provinces, I saw an immense number of *malguzars* (landlords) as well as *rayats* (tenants); they were absolutely unanimous in assigning the severity of the famine in those Provinces to the excessive harshness of the Government demand on land, which had recently been increased in some villages by 200 or 300 per cent.

Another "fly in the ointment" remains to be noticed. Notwithstanding the "Compensation for exchange" allowance that has recently been sanctioned—not without some hostile criticism from those who do not share in its benefits—the continued depreciation of the Indian currency, in spite of all the makeshifts of the Indian Government, has obviously and most seriously affected, not only the comfort and the standard of living of all classes of the European Civil Services, but also their peace of mind. It is quite needless to dwell on the various deplorable results certain ultimately to arise out of the long continuance of such a state of things as this. The only cure for this will, in my humble opinion, be the adoption of International Bimetallism by the nations of Europe; and the possibility or probability of that depends on an infinite variety of causes—such as the enlightenment of the British agricultural mind—*Fortunati nimium sua si bona norint*—which I cannot even enumerate in this place.

But after all, the ills in India that strike one as still urgently demanding redress have happily become almost unimportant, when compared with those that presented themselves to view no longer ago than a quarter of a century. India has every reason—and I am certain that, as a whole, she has every wish—to join in these Jubilee thanksgivings with the sincerity of feeling that has unquestionably been its proudest feature here in England.

## THE TIGRIS-MESOPOTAMIAN RAILWAY AND INDIA.

BY HORMUZD RASSAM.

THE present unhappy state of affairs in Turkey induces me to revert, before making the proposal that will really unite England with India through Turkey, to the defunct project of a Railway to India through Syria and Mesopotamia, via the Persian Gulf that was long ago known as the "Euphrates Valley Railway." It was unfortunate that that scheme fell to the ground, because, if such a line had been established, Turkey in Asia would now have been in a flourishing condition. I deplore this want of attention on political as well as mercantile and international grounds, because I consider that the traditional interests of Great Britain and of the peoples of Turkey are so identical that neither jealousies, nor temporary disagreement, can sever the amity that has existed, for centuries, between the two monarchies.

More than forty years ago such a railway project was thought of by those who took an interest in the overland communication with India, and the development of the unlimited resources of different parts of Turkey, in produce as well as in manufacture. The late General F. R. Chesney and Sir William Andrew, especially, laboured in vain for years towards its consummation, but though the matter was taken up in the House of Commons and a select committee was appointed to report upon the whole scheme in 1871 and 1872, no good result accrued.

The relative advantages of different routes were discussed by a number of witnesses, but though they all differed about the exact line and the most eligible termini to fix upon they, one and all, concurred as to the importance of having an alternative route available in case of the Red Sea passage being impeded. The five following tracks were recommended :



1st. A line starting from Alexandretta (Iscanderoon) or Swaideya near the mouth of the Orontes, passing through Aleppo to the Euphrates at or near the Castle of Jaabar, and thence carried down the right bank of the river to Grain (Koweyt), on the Western side of the Persian Gulf.

and. A line starting from one of the same points, crossing the Euphrates at Belis, passing down the left bank of the river or along the right bank of the Tigris as far as Baghdad, or to a point nearly opposite, recrossing the Euphrates and proceeding to Grain.

3rd. A line starting as before, crossing the Euphrates at Beerajeek, thence going round to Orfa and Diarbekir, and following the right bank of the Tigris to Baghdad, whence it would follow route No. 2.

4th. A line somewhat like the last-mentioned, but following the left instead of the right bank of the Tigris.

5th. A line starting from Tripoli and proceeding across the desert by way of Damascus and Palmyra to the Euphrates, whence it would follow either of the Euphrates routes.

The last of these projects is not worth a moment's consideration, because it is not only incapable of turning to a good account, but the greater part of the 300 miles of country which the line has to pass through is a wilderness without a chance of improving for the next hundred years! The same drawback also which makes the other Syrian Ports unsafe for large vessels to anchor at applies to Tripoli. If money was no object in forming a huge break-water, I would recommend Swaideya as a port in preference, as the line there would pass through inhabited rich country capable of every kind of improvement. The first point in establishing a railroad through Turkey is its utility, and a line to be successful must not only be useful, but also remunerative to the Government of the country as well as to those who contribute towards its development and maintenance. In my opinion, there is only one route which would answer all purposes, and that is the *Tigris or Mesopotamian line* which I shall describe hereafter.

With reference to the comparison between Alexandretta and Swaideya, as points of departure, it does not require an engineer to judge which is the most likely spot for that object. The only question is, which would be the cheapest and most beneficial in the end; to tunnel through the Bailan mountain or to lay the line over the pass from the

former port, or making an expensive breakwater at the mouth of the Orontes to shelter even half a dozen large vessels against the south-westerly winds. From what I have seen of breakwaters or artificial harbours in different parts of the world, and railways going over and through mountains, I should say that no one in his senses would hesitate to give the preference to Alexandretta. As for the unhealthiness of the place, it is mostly imaginary. Going through it in 1852 and 1854, the place was, no doubt, surrounded by extensive marshes and most of the dwellings of the natives were in the midst of dirty swamps. With the exception of half a dozen substantially-built houses for the occupation of Foreign Agents and traders the village consisted of tumble down huts, whose inmates then, indeed, looked like a plague-stricken community. On revisiting it again, however, after twenty years, I found the place quite altered, the dirty swamps had been got rid of. Fine houses and public buildings were erected, and the wretched small village had become a respectable-looking town, with a good many European settlers carrying on a thrifty commerce with the world. Shipping and trade had increased twentyfold since the drainage of the marshes. Europeans and natives were alike healthy, and everything seemed in a flourishing condition.

A writer against the unhealthiness of Alexandretta and the unsuitableness of its harbour asserts that in winter, on account of the hurricane which rushes down the side of the naked rocky mountain, ships are knocked about at anchor. I have been through that place fifteen times in different seasons, and no day was there any difficulty in loading or unloading a vessel. French, Russian, Austrian, and Turkish Steam Packets continually arrive and leave Alexandretta at appointed times of the year, and I have never heard of a single detention in the transmission of mails or of a passenger being left behind. All seafaring men, acquainted with the coast of Syria, ridiculed the idea of comparing Alexandretta harbour with any other on the coast of the Mediterranean.

Even those in favour of Swaideya admitted that the Alexandretta anchorage could not be surpassed in cleanliness and holding ground. My experience supports the opinion of naval men who frequented the place that the gulf is so well sheltered that it can with safety give refuge to more than a thousand large vessels.

The European Colony have found a most pleasant retreat for the summer in a picturesque valley up in the mountains, about 1,200 feet above the level of the sea. It is situated to the S.W. of the town, a distance of about two hours' ride, almost on the same level as Bailan, which lies to the east of it. The vegetation is very rich and the water plentiful. The place is called Nirggislee, from the beauty of the valley, a romantic name which means Narcissus, from the Persian word Nirggis. Mr. A. Catoni, the British Vice-Consul at Alexandretta, built a pretty little villa there in which I spent two days while I was awaiting the French steamer from Egypt to take me to Constantinople. Although it was June, one of the hottest months, it was delightfully cool there, and one evening the cold induced us to dine indoors.

Since the Railway project was talked of, and the drainage of the marshes, the price of land has gone up at Alexandretta four times, and if proper inland communication take place there would spring up, ere long, as large a town as Beyroot, but with greater commercial prospects, as Alexandretta is the only port on the Syrian coast which can be made use of at all seasons as an emporium between Europe, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Koordistan. I have known caravans going from Baghdad and Mossul carrying produce to Aleppo and Alexandretta in exchange of goods. If a Railway were established, even between that port and Aleppo alone, the trade, before many years, would increase 100 fold, and the line of 60 or 70 miles would be maintained by the commerce of the province.

Some years ago the local traffic was estimated at about 100,000 bales of goods passing annually between Aleppo



and the sea, with about 10,000 passengers, carried on mules, horses, and camels; and considering that wherever a Railway is laid trade increases, there will, in all likelihood, within a very short time, be more goods than enough to transport through that line.

The only difficulty which will be met with in laying the railroad will be the Bailan Mountain, but when the line reaches the foot on the south side, more than half of the remaining distance is tolerably easy. The rest consists of rocky low table lands with occasional cultivated ravines. The hills can be avoided by following the plains of Killis to the north, or Isslib to the south. As for the marsh, which covers a large tract of the lowland round the Lake of Antioch, it is not necessary to go near it, as the line can easily be carried along the foot of the mountain until all the swamps are passed; even if it were necessary to go straight through the valley, there can be no difficulty in draining it or in repairing the old causeway which has been in existence from time immemorial. Under good management the environs of the Lake could be so well drained that every foot of the rich land might be cultivated. Even the Lake itself could be drawn off into the Orontes without much expense. The stream which flows irregularly into the Lake from the Spring on the north-east might be enclosed so as to flow direct to the river. The numerous ruined villages which are seen scattered in different parts of the country between the sea and Aleppo show the prosperity that existed in that country in years gone by; even now some of the abandoned rich valleys are being brought under cultivation, and the industrious peasants require only a little assistance in money and seed, with a moderate charge of interest, to quadruple their farming.

As regards the town of Aleppo, though it has suffered, like all other cities in Asiatic Turkey, through mismanagement and the want of proper administration of justice and protection to life and property, it is still an important chief emporium of commerce in Turkey. The town is well

built of smooth stone with most of its streets nicely paved with flag-stones, which make the streets and houses look much cleaner than in any other town in Biblical lands. Its silk, soap, and dye manufactures are still very extensive, and its trade with Orfa, Diarbekir, Mossul, and Baghdad, is important. The handsome silk stuffs, some of which are worked with gold-and-silver thread, are worn all over Syria, Mesopotamia, Koordistan, Armenia, and Asia Minor; and a good deal is exported to Persia and Constantinople.

The climate of Aleppo and its surroundings is salubrious and devoid of the common autumn ailment of intermittent fever prevalent at that time of the year in some parts of Mesopotamia. But the Aleppo boil or button is as bad there as it is at Baghdad, Mossul and Diarbekir; and up to to-day no one has been able to discover its cause, though the Indian Government with the aid of the medical faculty have tried all they could to do so.

As for carrying the line to the Tigris Valley, *viâ* Diarbekir, one has only to look at a map and be convinced that such recommendation is not worth thinking about, as it would only be taking the line about 150 miles from the right direction, and the route being all hilly, the expense of laying the rail would be more than doubled. But if a railroad be laid between Nissibeen and Aleppo, *viâ* Beerajeeck and Orfa, and it would be found afterwards that Diarbekir ought to be connected by rail communication with the former, a branch line might be carried thither *viâ* Swairak.

I must now consider the difference, as a practical undertaking, between what were called the Euphrates and Tigris valleys routes. It is a mystery to me how anyone, who knows the country and its resources, can compare the two tracks in one scale either commercially, politically, or strategically.

It is worthy of remark that all the gentlemen who spoke in favour of the former did not travel through the country bordering on the Euphrates, and those who were employed in the survey of that river never went beyond the actual valley itself.



The bends of the stream are so numerous that its banks can never be utilized for a railway line, as it will be quite impossible to know the limit of the overflow at the time of its great rise; and the valley being very flat, almost on a level with the river, that it would be found difficult to fix with certainty upon a proper course. In that case the line would have to be laid on the outskirts of the valley through arid land with innumerable ups and downs, because, on both sides of the river the country is undulating, and after every few miles ravines and hills have to be crossed either by bridging over the former, and cutting, or tunnelling, through the latter.

To avoid the zigzagging of the river the line has to be carried in some parts twenty or thirty miles from it, and at the end it would be found that what was gained by the so-called direct route, between Aleppo and Saglaweya (the point on the Euphrates opposite Baghdad), against the Tigris Valley line, would be lost by the detours which have to be made. Moreover, such a line has to depend merely upon transit traffic, especially as there are only about three or four small towns the whole way, and the Arabs who occupy some parts of the valley are agriculturists. If all the alluvial land on both sides of the Euphrates, between Belis and Saglaweya, was to be put under tillage there would be scarcely enough corn grown to suffice the inhabitants and supply the different nomad tribes, who frequent that neighbourhood, with the grain required.

The river has, of course, to be crossed either at Belis or at Saglaweya, because it would be difficult to continue the line on the right bank of the Euphrates below the latter place, on account of the Hindeeya and Samawa marshes of Babylonia, and if expense is of no object, and the line has to be carried on all along the western side, the same drawback will be experienced by the absence of commercial intercourse. Then if the line should be crossed at a point opposite Aleppo it would necessitate another bridge over the Khaboor (Chebar of the Prophet Ezekiel), unless the

railroad would be carried along the left bank of that river and diverge from the Euphrates for about 200 miles.

Then as regards navvies and artizans who would be required for the work in such an out-of-the-way locality, and the plant which has to be transported thither for the rail, how are they to be got unless they are all taken there from the sea-coast or Northern Mesopotamia? This, of course, would entail very heavy expense seeing that every piece of wood and every iron tool has to be brought for daily use from a great distance, and the labourers and artizans who would be taken thither from different parts of Turkey, necessarily expect to be paid twice or three times as much as they would ask if they were near their homes, to say nothing about their food which has to be provided for them, even to the fuel for cooking purposes.

After all, the question is, if such a line should be undertaken, who is to provide the capital with little or no chance of getting a return of even two per cent. interest on the outlay? I am certain no Government or private concern will ever think of supporting a scheme, financially, without being convinced of its success. I have not the least doubt that if a commission be appointed to survey the country, whether on the east or west side of the Euphrates, they would unhesitatingly condemn it altogether, even without its relative comparison to the Tigris route.

Having considered the disadvantages and drawbacks attending the Euphrates Valley route, I must now describe the usefulness and efficacy of the Tigris-Mesopotamian line for which I entertain every hope of ultimate success as a financial, as well as for the general, benefit to England and Turkey.

In the first place, had there been a railroad laid between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, *via* Mossul and Baghdad, the general famine over Asiatic Turkey, which prevailed there during the years 1879-80, might have been averted and thousands of lives saved. Secondly, commercial intercourse with Europe, especially England, which

has come to almost a standstill, would have been in a flourishing condition, and the poor Turk, for whom England had always entertained a sympathetic feeling, would have been thriving instead of being in the throes of bankruptcy.

I must now describe the line that ought to be continued to the Persian Gulf *from* Aleppo. Between Aleppo and Beerajeeck, a distance of about sixty miles, the country is so level that neither a tunnel nor a deep trench is required to be made; and, with the exception of the Sajoor river, there is no other stream likely to obstruct the passage. The bridge which has to be built over the Sajoor would not be expensive, as it would not be a large one, and stone is plentiful in the neighbourhood. That part of the Aleppo district is thickly inhabited, and the people, who are Turkoman and Arab agriculturists, are not only industrious, but also prosperous. The greater part of the land can be irrigated by utilizing the river Sajoor and two other streams higher up; and though nothing but grain is grown there for the present, cotton, fruit-trees, and all kinds of oil-producing plants can be reared with advantage. This branch of the line would be of infinite use to the Innezza and other wandering Arabs on the South, and to the mountain districts on the North. The former will be able to exchange their wool, butter, sheep, and horses at Aleppo for European goods. They could even be useful in becoming carriers of commodities between the line and the Arabian tribes along the Euphrates as far as Dair.

After the Euphrates is crossed below Beerajeeck near Jerabes the ancient site of Charchemish the line, of about 40 miles, has to be carried on to Orfa through most fertile country inhabited by an industrious and well-to-do peasantry. One district in particular called Serooj (from "Serug" the great-grandfather of Abraham) is famed for its extensive produce of cereals. As some hills have to be passed, deep cuttings would be required in two or three places, but these can be avoided by carrying the line a few miles lower down and crossing the Euphrates at Jerabes.



As far as the position of Orfa is concerned, it is one of the most important and central positions on the line; although it is now a sub-district of Aleppo, if a Railroad be established it will ere long vie with its chief city in trade and general resources. Indeed, Orfa ought to be made an independent Pashalic or Walayet, as it commands the lowland of Northern Mesopotamia as far as Sinjar to the south-east, Mardeen to the east, and the Khaboor to the south. Its trade in wool, butter, sheep, and horses, with the Shammar and other Nomad Arabs as far as Sinjar, and the junction of the Khaboor with the Euphrates, would be great. Its export of wheat to the Mediterranean Ports is already extensive, as a large part is actually exported to Europe. It may be conjectured how cheap grain is in the Orfa district, when in spite of the distance to Alexandretta, and no less than three middlemen realizing a good profit, the producers find it lucrative. Between Orfa and Alexandretta I used to meet files upon files of camels laden with grain bound for Alexandretta for export to Europe.

Orfa is so beautifully situated and commands such an extensive rich valley with plenty of water to irrigate it that under good management and with sufficient capital it might be made one magnificent garden. Of course, not one acre in a thousand in its district is cultivated, and if even one quarter of the fallow land is put under proper tillage its produce will suffice for the maintenance of a small kingdom.

From Orfa to Nissibeen, a distance of about 140 miles, the country is rich and flat, but deserted. There are two ravines which have to be bridged over, but the expense would not be great. The former prosperity of that district is shown by the numberless ruined villages which are seen in all directions. The town of Nissibeen, which was in days of yore an important Chaldean Christian settlement, is now neither more nor less than a dirty second-rate hamlet. I remember it to be a respectable small town, not more than 40 years ago, where the Nomad Arabs generally bartered their wool, butter, and other produce, with the merchants

of Mossul for calicoes and dates. Baghdad and English merchants used to advance money through Mossul agents to the Bedouins for their spring produce, and when the time arrived for squaring accounts, the respective parties met there to settle matters. I never heard of any breach of contract taking place in those transactions.

Nissibeen, situated on an eminence, commands an extensive fertile plain as far as the Tigris to the east and the mountain of Sinjar to the south, with a plentiful supply of running water for irrigation; every inch of its soil might be brought under tillage and made to yield all manner of produce. This town will also prove an important station as an emporium to that part of Mesopotamia and Koordistan; and being on the track of traders and travellers between Baghdad, Asia Minor, and Western Koordistan, the passenger traffic will be considerable.

The line having arrived at Nissibeen, in what direction ought it to be continued to Mossul and Baghdad? For shortness and economy there is no difficulty in determining in favour of "the Mesopotamian." From Nissibeen to Baghdad there is not a river or mountain to impede the way along the right bank of the Tigris; but if that river should be crossed either at Jazeerah or at Mossul and the line carried on to the east of it, numerous rivers and deep ravines have to be bridged over. This would be to no purpose as the strip of land of Assyria proper could be reached by the traders with their goods to stations established on the west side of the Tigris by ferries.\*

From Nissibeen the line would have to be carried for about 60 miles straight to the river opposite the large Chaldean village of Peshapoor, where there is a ferry; or else the railway be taken direct from Nissibeen to Mossul, —a distance of about 120 miles.

\* There is a coal mine on the left side of the Tigris below Jazeerah which, if worked properly, would yield unlimited supply. Some speculators tried to work it, but they were so hampered by the Ministry of Public Instruction at Constantinople, that they had to give up an excellent scheme as "a bad job."

Mossul, as a matter of course, would become a great centre of commerce between Assyria, North and North-Eastern Koordistan, and North-Western Mesopotamia ; and the Tigris being navigable for rafts from Diarbekir and Saart the great trade of years gone by would revive to an unlimited degree.

For the last 35 years commercial intercourse between Mossul, India, and Europe has fallen to almost a cipher, as the country has been going from bad to worse through misgovernment. But with a railroad it would not take many years to revive trade.

The exports to Europe from the Mossul district used to be wool, gall-nuts, yellow berry, madder-root, mastic, hide, leather, wax, and gum-tragacanth ; and, in return, the merchants received Manchester goods, cutlery, china, and glass.

The trade with India consisted in the export of dried fruits, different kinds of nuts, printed stuffs and dyed calicoes, and the imports used to be sugar, spices, coffee, and indigo.

Owing to the poverty prevailing in Mesopotamia and Assyria, the peasantry require some pecuniary assistance in the first instance with a reasonable interest charged on it to enable them to get on. Ten per cent. on the outlay would be considered a moderate charge in those countries which they could, and would, pay. What has ruined the poor industrious classes, both in Turkey and Egypt, is the shameful usury of the Foreign lenders. By the time the wretched Fellah has paid the taxes and the debt with its exorbitant interest nothing is left him but starvation or prison.

From Mossul to Baghdad, on the right side of the Tigris, the line can be carried on without obstruction, as there are neither mountains nor rivers to impede the passage, and the bends of the river are not great. The few high lands existing between Mossul and Ticreet can easily be trenched through ; and as soon as a railroad is laid the rich soil



through which it passes will be put under cultivation by the Arabs, who are always ready to take advantage of earning a living.

The merchants of Karkook, a large and populous Assyrian city, situated on the eastern side of the river and about fifty miles in a direct line from Kalaa Shirgat, with the neighbouring Koordistan districts, will no doubt avail themselves of the line and carry on their mercantile transactions with Baghdad and Mossul through that route instead of sending their goods by caravan more than three times the distance to the former, and nearly twice the length of the land journey to the latter. Moreover, by sending their merchandise to Kalaa-Shirgat they would avoid crossing the great Zab and the Khazzir, which are very often dangerous to get through, the former having rickety boats, and the latter which has to be forded on foot. Sometimes, in the spring season, when the river swells, caravans have to wait for several days before they can cross the latter.

The Assyrian town of Arweel and its surroundings will also take advantage of the line by sending their merchandise to the Tigris, a distance of about forty miles, for conveyance by rail to the east or west; and the fertile land which is now lying waste, unused for want of capital and security, will ere long become as prosperous as it was formerly.

With regard to Baghdad, its important position, wealth, unlimited resources, and the well-known trade between it and India, Persia, and Europe, the line will prove a great success as soon as it connects the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean, when there will be no lack of traffic to make it commercially a *great* success. The Exchequer of the Sultan, which has been for years in a deplorable condition, will then flourish and meet the lawful claims of the Porte's foreign creditors, and the arrears of pay of the military, naval, and civil services.

As for the continuation of the line from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf, it is quite immaterial whether it would be laid on the right or left of the Tigris, because both stand in the

same category with regard to distance and impediments, seeing that that river must be crossed somewhere. If it proceeds through Mesopotamia, Shat-al-Haai has to be bridged over; and if the line crosses below Baghdad and follows the east side of the Tigris the river Karkha (the supposed Choaspes of Herodotus) has to be got over.\* With regard to the marshes existing in those parts they can be easily got rid of by confining the stream higher up in one channel. The advantage of carrying the rail on the left of the Tigris would be immense as far as Persia is concerned, because all the trade of Luristan and Khuzistan would be utilized through it. The line might be carried on ultimately to Karrachee through the Persian and Beloochistan sea-coasts without much difficulty, which will prove a great benefit to the trade of those two provinces.

There is no question about Mohammera being the most practicable place for the terminus, notwithstanding the opinions of two or three gentlemen who spoke against it before the select Parliamentary Committee. The same old story about the frightful marshes that surround the place was brought forward as a great hindrance to laying down the line, as if there were any difficulties in draining them. I would prefer carrying the rail beyond Mohammera to clear the bar that lies about thirty miles below it. But when I passed through it a few years ago our vessel, which drew about seventeen or eighteen feet of water, did not experience any difficulty in crossing it at high tide. I would prefer the port to be at the mouth of the Persian Gulf where all the sandbanks terminate, and for this reason, I would recommend Koorain, commonly called Kowait, as the terminus. In that case the line has to cross the Euphrates a little

\* Herodotus states :—"Now when the great king leads his army in person he carries with him from home provisions well prepared and cattle; and he takes with him water from the river Choaspes which flows from Susa, of which alone, and no other the king drinks. A great number of four-wheeled carriages drawn by mules carry the water of this river, after it has been boiled in silver vessels, and follow him from place to place wherever he marches."—*Clio*. 188.



above its junction with the Tigris just above Koorna, skirting Busra 40 miles below and then diverging through the desert round to the Koorain harbour, a further distance of about 90 miles. As for the difficulty of the supply of fresh water at Koorain it is merely an idea; none of the gentlemen who spoke about it had examined the country!

As regards the alleged unhealthiness of Mohammera, Busra, and other places on the banks of Shat-al-Arab,\* the statement is absurd; the Government simply does not take the trouble to prevent inundations; and, if marshes thus increase year after year and stagnant water spreads its effluvium in the low lands, when the weather gets hot, malaria must be the consequence. Alexandretta and Suez are cases in point. When I passed through the former in 1851 and through the latter in 1854, before the railroad was laid between Cairo and Suez the natives looked sallow and sickly, but now they present a different appearance owing to the disappearance of the marshes. This improvement can also be attended to at Mohammarah by a small outlay; as soon as the Arabs find it to their advantage to drain their land they would do it of their own accord; but they must first have proper encouragement from their rulers in the matter of pecuniary assistance and exemption for a limited time from taxation.

Now we come to the most important part of the railway scheme between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf; where are the sinews of war to come from? The Ottoman Government cannot supply them either in cash or a guarantee, because in the one case she has scarcely enough income for the general purposes of the public services, and, in the other, since the repudiation of her enormous debt of more than one hundred millions of pounds sterling, which breach of faith ruined thousands all over Europe and elsewhere, not a soul now could trust Turkey.† The British

\* After the junction of the Euphrates with the Tigris the two rivers assume the name of Shat-al-Arab, that is to say "the Arab river."

† When that repudiation took place it was rumoured at Constantinople that General Ignatieff, the then Russian Ambassador to the Porte, wishing

Government must come to her assistance by guaranteeing for a certain number of years, in conjunction with the Porte, say 4 or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The advantages derived to England and Turkey, politically speaking, through this undertaking will be incalculable; and to the latter kingdom, in particular, railway communication through Mesopotamia would soon bring on prosperity to the different nationalities under her sway and rehabilitate her impoverished Treasury.

I have now only one suggestion to make most vital to the success of the undertaking; and that is, the management of the line ought to be left entirely under the control of the company, the Ottoman authorities merely rendering them every assistance in their power, both as to the required land, and the protection of the employes. The company ought to have a strip of land assigned it on both sides of the line for a number of years for the purpose of bringing it under cultivation, and all reclaimed lands to be exempt from taxes for a limited time. Under this arrangement both sides of the railroad will become richly cultivated and before many years are over there will be, I feel sure, villages and towns springing up in all directions.

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to create a thorough abhorrence of the Turk in Europe and place a check upon a further loan, advised Sultan Abd-Al-Azeez to stop paying the interest on the public debt of Turkey. At that time General Ignatieff's influence with the Sultan was very great and British interest at its lowest ebb. It was said that he told His Majesty that it was wrong for the Porte to pay that ruinous interest to rich Europeans when his people were starving. The best of the joke was that, though the Ambassador's advice was taken, the wretched subject races did not benefit an iota by it, but a large number suffered in consequence.

## THE BURMA-CHINA TRADE CONVENTION.

By E. H. PARKER.

A SUMMARY of the chief provisions of the above agreement was published in the "Times" of the 9th of June, and it may be of interest to learn something more of the places named in the Convention. The "Times" says :

"It will be remembered that by her convention with France of June 20, 1895, China, in derogation of the provisions of her previous convention with England of March 1, 1894, alienated to France the most easterly portion of Kiang Hung. The territory thus ceded consisted of a tract of land in the upper valley of the Nam U, on the southern border of China proper. It comprised one small State Muang U, and two chief villages Muang U-neua (northern U) and Muang U-tai (southern U). China had solemnly bound herself not to cede this territory or any other portion of Kiang Hung to a third Power without previously obtaining the assent of Great Britain ; yet she did cede it, and now has made reparation. Practically all the modifications in the frontier asked for by England have been agreed to."

The first question is "What is Kiang Hung?" It is the same that the celebrated French traveller, Francis Garnier, calls Xieng-hong, and that the Chinese call Ch'e-li. Towards the end of the 13th century the Mongols passed through it on their way to conquer Annam, and the Emperor Timur conferred a Chinese title *in partibus* upon the chieftain, who, however, remained subject to the orders of the nearest Chinese prefect, then at Yüan-kiang. In 1729 the new Chinese prefecture of P'u-êrh Fu was constructed out of those six *panna*, or cantons, belonging to Xieng-hong which lay on the left bank of the Mekong River. Officials were stationed at two of the *panna* called Muang U and Xieng-tong (*not* the state of that name) in order to collect the salt duties. In 1732 the autochthonous chieftain of Esmok or Sz-mao, (called by the Shans Muang-la Lôn) attacked the new prefecture, but was repulsed : he bore the same family name, Tao, or Tiao, as do the hereditary rulers who are still in power there. I may explain that all such words as Muang, Mo, Mêng, Muong, etc., represent the Siamese



word meaning "country" or "place," and standing as a prefix before the country or place specified, just as, with us, we suffix the word "land." Among the northern Siamese, usually called Laos, the word Shieng is used much as the other Siamese races use the word Muang, and all attempts on the part of Europeans and Chinese to represent this word by such forms as Xieng, King, Chêng, Kiang, Shen, etc., are on a par with the analogous effort to signify the Siamese word Muang. Owing to the Chinese character Ch'ê being also pronounced Kû, Père Amiot styles this country "Ku-ly" in his *Mémoires*. It has still another Siamese name,—Sib-song Panna, or the "Twelve villages." The word *panna* means "thousands," and each village territory of sufficient size thus takes this name, very much as with our English "hundred of Wirral." The Jesuit maps of two centuries ago include most, if not all, of this state within Chinese frontiers, and the Burmese, who asserted a kind of suzerainty over it in Alompra's time, used to call it Kaing-yong gyi, by which they meant "Great Xieng-hong," as distinct from Kaing-yong-galé, or "Little Xieng-hong." Even previous to Alompra's time (1750), what the Chinese call the Greater Ch'ê-li had gone over to Burma: this was in the middle of the sixteenth century. During the reign of the Burmese King Mendoon (1853-78), triennial tribute was sent to Burma, and in Thibaw's time the influence of the Burmese Resident was still felt. He used to reside at Moné, on the Salween, and at times even compromised with China as to the right to interfere in the affairs of Muang-lem and Keng-ma, both of which places are now included in Chinese prefectural territory.

Dr. Bretschneider's new map of China, which is by far the best yet published,\* very properly includes within Chinese dominions the portion of Xieng-hong lying on the left bank of the Mékong, but he brings the Chinese frontier down too far south-east; it ought not to extend much

\* See the review of this Map in our issue of July, 1896.—*Ed.*

beyond Lat. 22, except over one narrow wedge. Muang U, about which so much fuss has been made, is the place above mentioned, where in 1729 the Chinese stationed an officer. Dr. Bretschneider calls it Muang-hu, and gives it to France. Since the incursions of the so-called Black Flag rebels ten years ago, the two chief villages of U-nua (northern) and U-thai (southern) have been abandoned, and in any case the position of the little state is a very exposed one. It is a worthless tract in every way, and we are well rid of it; for a consideration, too, which is by no means valueless: the only reasonable excuse for attaching it to Annam is that the head waters of the Nam-U form a "scientific frontier" from a cartographical point of view.

A part of what, together with Ch'e-li, was the old "Eight Hundred Wife" kingdom of Xieng-mai, or Zimmé state has been for some years in the hands of the French. I met the native ruler of it in Hanoi five years ago. His little state is called in Siamese Sib-song Chuthai, and includes Muang-lai and Muang-theng, both of which now have French garrisons. This chief told me that although he bore the family name of the ancient rulers of Ch'e-li, and was known to the world as Diêu Văn-trí, (Tiao Wên-chí), he was in reality an honest Chinaman bearing the patronymic of Lo, and that he still kept up a correspondence with his ancestors in the south part of Canton province. He had just definitely come to the conclusion that it would suit him best to throw in his lot with the French,—who, by the way, in the shape of colonels, "politicals," and escorts, were standing by, ignorant of the dialect in which we were talking, whilst this conversation was going on. Worthy Lo and his predecessors had for many generations paid tribute to Annam, Siam, or China, which ever happened to possess the requisite force to demand it at any given moment; but Burmese influence never extended beyond the Mékong, still less to the east side of the watershed of the Nam-U, *i.e.*, River U.

The trade road from P'u-êrh Fu and Esmok southwards to Muang-lem (west of Xieng-hong) does not run through Muang-U, but to Xieng-hong on the other bank of the Mékong, which place, I presume, remains in the possession of China: this was the route taken by the Lagrée Expedition in 1867. The trade between Muang-lem and Nalao, still farther west, is local. The Chinese traders do not come west of Muang-lem, nor do the Thibaw or Theinni Burmese Shans come east of Nalao, on or close to the Salween. The far-famed tea hills of I-wu, where the renowned P'u-êrh tea grows, remain in Chinese hands: they are a week's journey south-west of Esmok, and the road lies through I-pang and Yu-lo, at which last place a civil and a military officer were stationed in 1729. I-pang, I-wu, and Muang-U are mentioned in 1768 as being three of the *panna*: two others were Muang-la (now French), and Chêng-tung, or Xieng-tong, which must not be confused with the country of that name, always styled Muang-Kên by the Chinese. Although it is difficult to explain China's conduct in deliberately breaking her pledged word with us, yet it must be confessed that she kept the oyster, and only conciliated France with an empty shell, when she handed over a score of empty village sites collectively known as Muang U-thai-U-nua.

"By article 3 China cedes to England the Shan State of Kokang, the area of which, some 400 square miles, is not less than that of Muang U."

In exchange for the useless Muang U thus "unloaded" on to France, China hands us by way of penance the decidedly advantageous territory of Kokang. The Chinese mention this place in 1769 under the name "Huhan, subordinate to Thein-ni." At that time China was at war with Burma, and the Theinni chief took China's side for a short time by marching with 1,000 of his Kokang men up to Lashio, which place, by the way, is still our chief political centre in Northern Shan land. The Chinese name for Theinni is Mupang, and with this short exception they themselves admit that Burmese suzerainty has existed over



it for 300 years ; although it must be conceded that China used to grant a complimentary seal in addition : possibly this complimentary seal is at the bottom of China's claim upon Kokang, touching which no explanation is given in the Manchu Annals : a similar complimentary seal granted in 1793 to the Burmese Shan chief of Bhamo was no doubt at the bottom of China's audacious claim, advanced by the Marquess Tsêng in 1886, that Bhamo belonged or ought to belong to China. Be that as it may, as China has ceded to us Kokang in exchange for Muang-U, it is evident that she must have proved her title to it in some way. Perhaps it is because some of her Panthay (Mussulman) traders from Mêng-hwa T'ing and Ta-li Fu have settled there ; perhaps on account of the silver-mines in the Shan states ; or perhaps because the Salween has slightly changed its course. At all events Kokang, with its chief marts of Tun-yu or Tawnio and Malipa, is the only part of Theinni on the left bank of the Salween, and it has been transferred to us, including, it is to be presumed, the Kunlon Ferry. There remains now no reason, unless there be natural difficulties to overcome, why we should not carry our Mandalay-Lashio railway extension up to Kokang, and thence, along the valley of the Nam-ting River, where the silver mines are, to the Chinese city of Shun-ning Fu (Muang-chang). It must be remembered that high ranges of mountains, running north and south, separate nearly all the river valleys of Yün Nan. The imports from China into Western Theinni will continue to come from Bhamo and Muang-long (*alias* Lung-t'ing) through Namkham, and any trade west of that will come from Momein and Bhamo to the Irawaddy, or from Momein, *via* Sansi, to our existing railway extension at Mogaung and Myitkina. Yün Nan, more especially P'u-êrh Fu, is miserably populated, and it is very certain that what little trade there is has already for centuries taken what has always been the line of least resistance : it is certainly not going to cross the watersheds of the Salween and Mékong

east and west in order to supply a French railway tapping the poverty-stricken P'u-êrh prefecture at Esmok and Muang-U. Esmok is a busy place for so poor a province, but it is not in a position to feed a railway.

"By article 2 Great Britain engages to recognise as belonging to China the tract to the south of the Nam Wan river which is enclosed to the west by a branch of the Nam Mak river and the Mawsiu range of hills up to Loichow peak, and thence by a range running in a north-easterly direction to the Shweli river. In the whole of this area China shall not exercise any jurisdiction or authority whatever. The administration and control will be entirely conducted by the British Government, who will hold it on a perpetual lease from China."

The Nam-wan and Nam-mak are both tributaries of the Nam-mau, or what the Burmese call the River Shwe-li, and the Chinese the River Lung-ch'wan. This last named river used to be the boundary between the Chinese Shan state of Muang-mau and the Burmese Shan state of Theinni; but of late years the river has shifted its course so much that Chinese and Burmese villages have become inextricably mingled together. Moreover, the Chinese Shan chief of Sefan, or Chefan, some time ago annexed by imperceptible degrees the score or so of villages south of the Lwoi Lin Kyep range of hills, which ought to divide Sefan and Muang-K'wan in the north from Thein-ni in the south. This group of villages is called Wan-ting, and the district has a sentimental interest for the Chinese by reason of the brave Manchu general Mingjwei having made it his head-quarters and perished near it 125 years ago. It is to be presumed that the convention stipulates that our own property, Wanting, shall be handed to us with Kokang; but in any case it is of no great consequence. The point of vital importance to us is Nam-Kham, very nearly on the left bank of the Shwe-li, opposite to and between the points where the Nam-wan and Nam-mak flow into the Shwe-li. From this important mart run numerous trade routes to the capitals of Momeit (a fortnight), and Theinni (a week); to Kokang by a road running south of Wanting (a fortnight); to the Chinese Shan states of Muang-

mau, etc. ; and by several different routes to Bhamo. The Chinese used to possess a town called Namikai near the Loichow peak, and this practically gave them command of the chief road running westwards between the two smaller rivers.

"By article 12 the Chinese Government agrees to consider whether the conditions of trade justify the construction of railways in Yunnan, and in the event of their construction agrees to connect them with the Burmese lines."

The Shanghai *Shên-pao* (native newspaper) of the 7th May gives extracts from the Foreign Board's report to the Emperor upon the subject of the West River negotiations. It appears that Sir Claude Macdonald originally claimed the opening up of the whole river, and that the Foreign Board had to fight for many months "to keep him within moderate bounds." It was found difficult, "in view of the fact that the British Foreign Office and Chambers of Commerce had laid great stress upon this point," to refuse all discussion upon also throwing open the Nan-ning branch ; but at last it was arranged that if the Wu-chou part should prove a success, and the Chinese railway should be carried on to Pê-sê, then Nan-ning would also be declared an open port. The Foreign Board is evidently very proud of having "resisted the envoy's demand for five prefectures, and at last confined him to the one prefecture of Wu-chou." The conditions of trade are to be the same as those prevailing on the Yang-tsze. It appears that two clauses providing that Great Britain should share any advantages granted to France and Russia were regarded as very important, but it does not appear clearly from the extracts given whether this point was conceded or withdrawn. The country between Nan-ning and Pê-sê is chiefly inhabited by Shans.

"By article 9 of the old convention goods carried between Burma and China were only permitted to cross the frontier at Manwyne and Sansi. Now, in addition, the Governments agree that any other routes between Burma and China the opening of which may be found to be in the interests of trade shall be sanctioned."



Sansi, which has already been mentioned, is a Kakhyen village between Momein and our outpost of Sadon: it affords much shorter access to the Irrawaddy than by way of Bhamo. There were troubles there ten years ago, and since that time the Chinese have maintained an outpost of a hundred men in the neighbourhood. The chief trade at these frontier posts consists in Cheshire or Burmese salt, cotton manufactured goods, kerosene oil, raw cotton, precious stones, jade, etc., in exchange for paper, silk, drugs, and objects for the use of Chinese settled in Burma.

"By article 13 Great Britain may station consuls at Ssumao and at either Momein or Shunning-fu, and the important clause is added that British subjects and persons under British protection may establish themselves and trade at these places under the same conditions as at the Treaty ports."

Whether the railway extension is carried from Kunlon to Shun-ning, or whether a trade is nursed at Esmok, we shall thus have our agents to watch the progress of affairs.

## SUGGESTED REFORMS FOR CHINA.

BY TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.

CHINA is the "Sick Man" of the Far East, and the question often asked in diplomatic and commercial circles is whether she should be ended or mended. Dr. Martin, late President of the Imperial Tungwen College, Peking, who may be expected to know the trend of affairs in China, even suggests a possible partition of that great empire between England, Russia, Germany and France.\* Of these European Powers it is a patent fact that France is most eager for territorial expansion. Once before she was ousted by England out of Canada and India, and it is now the dream of her statesmen to found a Colonial empire in Indo-China and, if possible, in the Farther East. Her recent acquisition of territory at the expense of Siam by means which could not well be characterized as honest, scrupulous or compatible with the previous assurances of her own responsible statesmen in respect of maintaining the integrity and independence of that helpless country, does not augur well for the future furtherance of her ambition on a solid and satisfactory basis. It is a fact well proved by history that the foundations of an empire laid upon injustice and untruth cannot be secure. At present her hands are fully occupied in Madagascar, and in strengthening the bonds of union with Russia, and she has hardly much time to devote her attention to the Far East. Germany stands upon a different footing. She entered the family of nations after 1870, after she had been welded into a united empire by "blood and iron." Her success in commerce has been acknowledged, and the one thing she is in need of is colonies. Her possessions in Africa are not very valuable and she looks with wistful eyes towards China, which is generally believed to be in a moribund

\* "A Cycle of Cathay," footnote on page 399.

condition. All these years Russia's attempts to have access to the open sea in the South have been foiled by England, but now there is a fair prospect of her object being realized in the Far East in connexion with the completion of her gigantic Siberian Railway. It is a good sign of the times that England's attitude towards Russia has, of late, been considerably modified, and that an *entente cordiale* is understood to exist between these two countries and China. As regards England she is envied by other European Powers for her commerce, wealth, and vast territory, and is the one country which may be looked upon as too scrupulous to take advantage of China's present position. To England China with her teeming millions is an excellent field for her commerce, and with that field now being restricted by the Protective tariffs of France and the United States of America, and by the keen competition of Germany and Japan, it may be safely presumed that the integrity and independence of China is ardently desired by England.

If China is ever to be partitioned, Japan cannot be excluded from having her voice heard in the matter. She is now the one naval power in the East, and her army is one to be reckoned with. It is in the mutual interests of both countries that China and Japan should cultivate more amicable feelings between themselves. After all, the Chinese and Japanese are cognate races, and unless these two Mongoloid nations are friendly and united, they must eventually yield to external pressure, and be liable to aggression from within or without. The solidity and seriousness of the Chinese character will be of great advantage to the inventiveness and quickness of apprehension of the Japanese; and the creation of a good understanding between the two peoples should be aimed at by those responsible for the welfare of China and Japan. The famous picture of the German Emperor appears to foreshadow the coming struggle for military or industrial supremacy between the white and the yellow races, and China and Japan must be prepared for such a contingency which is not, at



all, impossible. The creation of an Arbitral Tribunal for the settlement of international disputes between China and Japan, as has been recently done in respect of disputes between England and the United States of America, would undoubtedly be one of the chief means towards the attainment of the object in view.

The mere existence of a good understanding with the foreign Powers or their continued neutrality would not be sufficient to secure the integrity or independence of China. Certain internal reforms must be elaborated and carried through in spite of any possible opposition. China's want of administrative reform has been one of long standing. The two opium wars, the Taiping rebellion, the Muhammadan risings in Yunnan and the North-West, the long successive minority of the Emperors Tung Chi and Kwang Hsii, have all contributed to the empire being "out of joint." Since the death of Hienfung in 1860, China has missed the strong and wise hand of a K'anghi, Taokwang or Kienlung at the helm of State, and the reverse her arms met with in her recent war with Japan should be sufficient to make her rulers realise her present position and to induce them to take such measures as would enable her to take once more her proud position in the family of nations. China must move with the times. The majority of her institutions and methods of government are an anachronism in the nineteenth century, and how they have most signally failed is evidenced by the present political condition of her former dependencies, viz., Burma, Siam, Annam, Cambodia, and Corea, which all modelled their laws and institutions upon her own. The object of this paper is to indicate briefly the lines upon which such measures of reform should be undertaken.

First and foremost, a State Religion with a well-organized hierarchy is required for China. The annual offering made at the "Temple of Heaven" by the Emperor in his sacrosanct capacity as Vicar-General for the whole nation, is scarcely sufficient for the improvement of the

moral character of the Chinese people. What that religion should be : whether it should be Confucianism, Buddhism, or Taoism must be decided after due deliberation. Taoism with its mysticism and its superstitions and Shamanistic observances, appears to be unsuitable, while Buddhism with its retirement from the world, its celibacy and its asceticism does not satisfy the needs of a practical people like the Chinese. If Confucianism is to be adopted as a popular cult, the belief in Shangti or Supreme Lord of pre-Confucian days should, perhaps, be revived, and religious ministers should be appointed and recognised by the State. Religion, as its etymology implies, and as is evidenced by history, is one of the best means of securing national unity, progress, and civilization. The extraordinary success achieved by the Taiping rebellion at its outset was, no doubt, due to its association with religion, and to the spectacle of the chief rebel leaders occupying the pulpit once a week and exhorting their followers to fear God and to be brave and chivalrous in their dealings with others. Japan labours under the same disadvantage, and she is sending out missions to foreign countries for the purpose of devising a new State Religion. During the last war no priests were attached to her army; her soldiers died without any religious consolation, and their courage was based on patriotism alone. The war-cry of "Koran or the Sword" is absent in the Far East, and it is necessary that, in times of stress and storm, the spiritual sanctions of Religion should be associated with the secular commands of the Sovereign.

The blending of the Chinese and Manchus into one nationality is a most desirable end. When the first Manchu Emperor was placed upon the Dragon Throne, and when the wearing of the queue was imposed upon the Chinese people, Wu San Kwei, the Chinese General, who afforded him material assistance, exacted the following stipulations from him : (1) That, after their death, the Chinese should be allowed to resume the dress worn under

the Ming dynasty, which had been replaced by the Manchus; (2) That no member of the Imperial harem should be of Chinese nationality; and (3) That the much coveted title of Chung-yuen, or "Poet-Laureate" of the Empire should not be conferred upon any member of the Manchu race. These conditions have been most faithfully observed by the ruling dynasty; but it is to be regretted that the gulf between the Chinese and the Manchus appears to be just as wide as it was more than two centuries and a half ago. The lettered Chinese looks down upon the "barbarian" Manchu from his Confucian heights, and the strong and vigorous Manchu holds in contempt the well-dressed Chinaman, who is averse to manual toil or physical exertion, and who recoils from the arts of war. Consequently there is much mutual jealousy and suspicion between the Chinese and Manchu officials, and the progress of official work is much retarded. The Chinese dislike the notion of being governed by a foreign race, and it is said that the country is honeycombed with secret societies whose object is the subversion of the present dynasty. At the same time, the people cannot help but admit that in the Manchus they have found very good rulers, who have always identified the interests of their subjects with their own. Such a sentimental objection should, by all means, be put aside, and the Chinese should make an effort to bring about a gradual assimilation of the Manchus to themselves, in speech, education, faith and manners, as was done by the Anglo-Saxons of the Middle Ages towards their Norman rulers. Indeed, the Chinese apparently do not know that the British Empire is governed by a dynasty partly of foreign origin, and that German is spoken at the Court of the English Queen just as Manchu is spoken at the Court at Peking.

In a country where there is no representative Government, and where supreme power is vested in a single individual, the character of its administration is much affected by the personality of the Sovereign. The weal or



woe of the country lies in the hollow of his hand. In the past, the fortunes of China have sunk or risen with the personal character of the Emperor. The present Emperor, Kwang Hsii, is said to be an amiable Prince, who is well-intentioned, and strives to do his duty by his subjects. He is about 25 years old, and was for long under the tutelage of the Dowager-Empresses, Prince Kung, and Li Hung Chang. He has made steady progress in his studies of the English language, and much may be expected of him. It would be well if he would take to the habits of healthy exercise of his ancestors, as riding and hunting, so as to invigorate his constitution, which cannot be over-strong, considering the enervating effects of the atmosphere of the harem. It would also be well if he could see with his own eyes what is going on in the empire, or better still, if he would occasionally send Commissioners on a tour of inspection on his behalf. The Emperors of Germany and Russia and the other Sovereigns of Europe often set out on prolonged tours both within and beyond their possessions, and it would be well if their example could be followed by the Emperor of China.

Nothing requires closer personal supervision and control from the Emperor than what has been called the "Mandarinate." Officialism is the blight of China and "Divide et impera" is one of the maxims of the Chinese Government, and "laissez-faire" is the true key to its policy. There is too much decentralization, no proper supervision or control, and the officials are given too free a hand in enriching themselves. Justice is bought and sold; there is no local bar which would be an efficient buffer between the suitors and their judges, and which would help in the authoritative interpretation of the laws of the country; the laws are disregarded by judges and magistrates, and there is no guarantee that the public funds are duly safeguarded against peculation or misappropriation. Each Mandarin is surrounded by an army of unpaid retainers, who are veritable vampires in thin disguise, and who follow their nefarious

avocation in a most open and flagrant manner. In this chaos of intrigue, corruption, bribery, and open plunder, there is, however, one spark of hope. The public examinations by means of which the Mandarinate is recruited should be modernized by the admission of science, mathematics, law, history, and foreign languages into the courses prescribed, and efforts should be made to maintain the purity of the examinations.

With the Judicial System the Revenue System should also be reformed. Without funds no measures of reform can be effected; and economy as well as wise administration is essential in administering the public revenues. High encomiums of praise are due to Sir Robert Hart for the excellent administration of the Customs Department under his charge. Opium is now an evil which demands recognition: it has been legalized by the Chinese Government. Much more revenue may be raised by creating "Opium farms," as in Burma and the Straits Settlements. The area of opium cultivation should also be restricted. In the South of China the poppy has replaced other plants, and the evil should be curtailed and brought under efficient control before it is too late.

The true salvation of China, however, appears to consist in the improvement of her educational methods, the abolition of foot-binding, the fostering of missionary enterprise, and the development of her natural resources by the construction of roads, Railways, and Telegraphs, rather than in the possession of arsenals, Krupp guns, fortresses, and ironclads and cruisers of the latest pattern. What has made Germany and Japan great to-day is education. What differentiates a European State from an Asiatic one is the result of a well-organized system of education. A State Department should be formed to organize, supervise, and control educational methods, and the noble efforts of the missionaries, in their capacity as educational agencies, should be recognised.

There are other measures of reform which require no special advocacy, but whose need will be recognised as soon

as they are mentioned. They are the creation of medical, gaol, and sanitary Departments, the establishment of army schools, technical schools, and training ships, the encouragement of native manufactures and industries, the improvement of the present debased coinage, the organization of a system of immigration into Yunnan, Szechuen, etc., from the Congested Provinces of Kwantung and Fukkien, and the protection of Chinamen residing abroad:

Now is the time for China to

"AWAKE, ARISE! OR BE FOR EVER FALLEN."

TAW SEIN KO.

Amoy, 8th February, 1897.



## THE PROBLEM OF THE RACES IN AFRICA.

BY MISS HARRIETTE E. COLENZO.

A THOUGHTFUL paper by Lt. Col. Elsdale, R.E., in "the Asiatic Quarterly Review" for April, 1896, on "The problem of the races in Africa," which is also an interesting forecast of their future, has just been brought to my notice.\* As in some sort I represent the Zulus—one of the leading African races—it seems due, if only in gratitude for the kindly interest which the paper shows, that I should notice certain points on which my reading of the facts is somewhat different, while it none the less supports Colonel Elsdale's argument.

First, however, to prevent misconception, I will mention points on which we disagree.

The vision of "a great South African Anglo-Dutch-Bantu Empire, comprising all the countries south of the Zambezi, and extending . . . north of it among the Bantu districts of equatorial Africa," is too distant and speculative to interest me keenly, whilst South Africa's experiences in 1877-1880, under a British official of high standing and long service in India, must always seriously discount the fascination of any suggestion for "a Governor-General of South Africa, to rule the whole country . . . on an Indian footing."†

\* The paper had been republished in pamphlet form.—*Ed.*

† Colonel Elsdale suggests that Mr. Cecil Rhodes might be "the first Governor-General" under such an arrangement. This was written before such a suggestion had become—impossible. It was written, if not before, as Prime Minister of the principal British colony in South Africa, Mr. Rhodes had declared that "he preferred land to niggers," yet before the full significance of these words had been proved by the attempt to revive negro-slavery in that part of the British dominions in which he has been 'practically speaking, Governor' (see Mr. R. Maguire before Parliamentary Committee, *Times*, June 2, 1897) and before the other combination against Great Britain's true interests—the rising-cum-raid arrangement—had come to light, bringing home to at least one half of white South Africa the danger to themselves of Mr. Rhodes' policy.

The South African Empire is a distant speculation. What is of more immediate and vital importance is Colonel Elsdale's summary of evidence as to the present, and the less distant future for white and black in Africa. South Africa, it is pointed out, is "a century in advance of the rest of the continent," "having already been exploited by the English and Dutch under the most favourable conditions," and with "climatic conditions pre-eminently favourable to permanent white colonisation." It is shown that in the British and Dutch communities, with their outlying dependencies, "natives or coloured persons" number six to every white person, and are increasing rapidly, more rapidly than the whites, the "less prolific Aryans," can ever expect to do. It is rightly argued that "the future position of this vast mass of natives must mainly depend upon their courage, energy, and capacity as a race, and upon their capabilities for improvement and civilisation"; and the questions of their "fighting value," "working power," "mental capacity," etc., are then discussed.

The "fighting value of the Bantu races" I may well be content to leave where Colonel Elsdale puts it. Their "working-power" too he classes high, quoting *e.g.* Captain Lugard's "very high opinion of the natives for discipline and work," and endorsing it from his own experience. At the same time he observes that in idleness "lies at first sight the weak point of the African natives. Their forefathers for untold generations have been accustomed to lead an idle life for the most part, leaving a good deal of the hard work to the women, in a country and climate where very little real continuous labour from anyone was required to supply all their simple wants."

In Natal, in 1896, the census or estimate of the native population is 503,208. At a recent public meeting there, figures were quoted by a prominent colonist—and his statement does not appear to have been questioned—showing the number of Natal natives "employed in the colony and beyond it" to be 92,839. "Beyond the colony" means

for the most part "at Johannesburg," and while many of the "employed" are mere boys, and a very few of them women, the statement does not mean that the remainder of the native population are not supporting themselves by tilling their own crops (all paying hut-tax to Government and, many of them, rent to landlords as well)—but that the natives, men and boys, are actually *in service* to the number of nearly three-fourths of the adult males of the native population; "no inconsiderable proportion" is the Natal paper's comment.\*

But suppose that the South African natives, generally, or in some quarters, are now becoming idle. Is such idleness really ingrained, or long established? On the contrary it seems to me that they have been accustomed, not certainly to grinding labour, but to an active, rather than slothful life. Apart from war, the last generation—perhaps in the older Cape districts the last but one—had plenty to do in keeping down lions, leopards, wild-dogs, and baboons, in hunting buffaloes, and elephants, occupations requiring all the energy, the patience, the endurance, in a word all the qualities which some of us rate so highly when the "big game hunter" happens to be of our own colour! Moreover, at all events among the Zulus, under the Zulu Kings, while the home crops were the women's affair, the king's crops were tilled by the young men (the "soldiers" as we call them, inaccurately, since they were rather a national militia); and the elder men and leaders had all the affairs of the people on their shoulders—those "affairs of their own" which they "are better able to manage than we can do it for them," though "they need our help in international matters, and in matters between white and black."† It may well be now, when from the young men the hunting even is gone or is fast going with the big game; and when to a great extent we are blindly taking from the elders and leaders the

\* *Natal Witness*, April 10, 1897.

† Sir Marshall Clarke, K.C.M.G., at a meeting of the Aborigines' Protection Society, February 10, 1897; quoted from memory.



occupation of managing their own affairs, that a certain amount of "idleness" is inevitable. But I am as "firmly persuaded" as Colonel Elsdale that "the energy and capacity for work is in them, and only needs to be brought out." All that is wanted is a little sympathetic leading, as Colonel Elsdale's own experience shows.\*

One word more as to idleness. Colonel Elsdale points out that when Europeans cannot get Africans to work the fault *may* lie with the Europeans. In this connection I may quote a lesson taught me by a Zulu. He was fresh from Zululand, just after the war of 1879, having hurried down on learning by a message from my father, that he might come to his brother, who was one of the only two wounded Zulus brought by the British army into the colony. On the wounded man's discharge from military hospital, my father gave him food and lodging while his brother worked to earn a pony on which to carry him home to Zululand. The work at first was clearing weeds in our shrubbery, and the first day, going out to inspect in the middle of the morning, I remarked, "How is it that I find so little done, and you sitting in the shade. I thought you Zulus were so vigorous?" To which he replied "Is it not the lady [myself] who delayed? Had she only told me of this overnight, I could have got it done before the sun began to scorch." That was true enough, and the fault in that case, the failure to make the best use of the means available, the willing Zulu, and the fresh cool morning hours, was mine, not his. He and a half brother earned the pony, and got their crippled brother home, a journey of about 100 miles. We

\* Of heartless cruel driving we see the results in Matabeleland, and in Mashonaland. The natives there, it seems, are now starved before they will work for the white man. At the beginning of March the *Cape Times* correspondent at Salisbury tells us, "the police have this week destroyed a large area of native crops, *thus compelling the natives to come in and work submissively*" (*Cape Times*, March 12, 1897). And the London daily papers, e.g. of June 1, 3, and 14, show the same sort of thing going on in the Jubilee month, and in the Queen's dominions—not in those of some "irresponsible, savage despot."

had hoped at first that they might have had some little help from the fund raised in Natal for the benefit of those wounded in the Zulu War ; but a line was drawn at a wounded Zulu, though practically the only one.

"Courage and working-power," continues Colonel Elsdale, "are of little value without brains," and he proceeds to consider "the mental capacity of the native," quoting various "well-considered opinions of those who have been for years engaged in the practical work of teaching the natives, both in the Cape Colony and in Natal." On the whole, he says, it would appear that the [A]Bantu are a strong race, "as capable of education and civilisation as the Teuton. . . ."

But the opinions quoted all relate to Africans trained and educated by Europeans in European ways, with European advantages. And it seems to me that the political organization of the leading South African tribes affords another, and a not unimportant measure of their mental capacity, showing what progress they have already made in "social efficiency" without European assistance. On this point there is missing from Colonel Elsdale's list of authorities a very important document, the Report, in 1883, of the Cape Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs.\*

This Commission reported of the "Aboriginal population generally" and especially of "the tribes inhabiting the eastern and frontier districts of the [Cape] Colony . . . and comprising broken clans of Natal and Zulu origin," that

"Among them a system of law has, for generations past, been uniformly recognized and administered. Although an 'unwritten law,' its principles and practice were widely understood, being mainly founded upon customary precedents, embodying the decisions of chiefs and councils of bye-gone days, handed down by oral tradition, and treasured in the memories of the people. This law took cognizance of certain crimes and offences ; it enforced certain civil rights and obligations ; it provided for the validity of polygamic marriages, and it secured succession

\* [Cape Parl. Papers, G. 4—'83.]

to property and inheritance, according to simple and well-defined rules. The system was, to a great extent, created by and adapted to the conditions of a primitive, barbaric life, and, in some respects, it was not unlike that which prevailed among our Saxon ancestors. . . .\*

"It appears that, although the chiefs have at times exercised despotic power to such an extent as to induce some witnesses to come to the conclusion that the will of the chief is law to his tribe, the power of making law does not in reality rest absolutely in the chief. The chief himself is subject to the laws in force when he assumed his chieftainship. . . . Mr. Orpen says that the laws of the Kafirs are not usually made by the chief and his councillors without reference to the people; that the laws have all grown up among the people, and are only administered by the chief. That of . . . three laws altered by Moshesh [paramount chief of the Basuto] only the one published after long council with the tribe . . . held its ground; the other two, his individual commands, were failures.

"From this it will be seen that the natives have not been subject to the capricious laws made by a chief, but to laws emanating from the national will, which laws have been administered by the chief. . . .

"The inference we may draw from the whole evidence upon the subject is, that although natives have nothing corresponding to a representative form of government, their existing laws embody the national will, and that no chief would attempt to alter a law without taking the opinion of his councillors, or referring the change to the people."†

The conclusions thus stated by the Cape Commission are the more important because, though chiefly occupied with Cape Colony natives, the Commission examined as a witness on the one side Sir Theo. Shepstone, a principal supporter of the theory that by native law a "supreme"

\* [Cape Parl. Papers, G. 4—'83, Report, p. 14, para. 7.]

† [*Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21, para. 31.]



or "paramount chief is above all law in his own tribe . . . and is supposed to do no wrong," and as to the Zulu kings in particular that "their organization was a pure military despotism." On the other side the Cape Commission examined the Zulu King Cetshwayo himself, then a prisoner of war at the Cape, whose evidence on the point in question was as follows, given through an interpreter :

"Question 15.—Cannot you alter laws ?

"Answer.—No, the King says he cannot alter a law like that, because it has been the custom in Zululand he supposed ever since the nation was created. Every King has agreed to the law, and so must he.

"Answer (to question 20).—He would not consent to that law being abolished because of the right or wrong of it, but because the whole nation agreed to it."\*

Colonel Elsdale does not seem to have known of the Cape Report, for when, further on in his paper, he touches on such matters, he refers only to Sir Theo. Shepstone as an authority, and quotes him as arguing "most convincingly" concerning the native tribal system and chiefs, that "all experience in South Africa has shown that the natives cling so tenaciously to them that it is simply impossible to abolish them"; and advising that the chiefs "should be turned to account as lieutenants of the Government."

But Sir Theo. Shepstone assumes a distinction between such "hereditary chiefs," and those whom he terms "great military chiefs, or Kings." These "are stumbling-blocks, and indeed absolute hindrances in the way of progress and civilization, and must sooner or later be abolished." "He [Sir Th.] points out that this has already been done, or must soon be done." "We have since seen this carried out in the case of Lobengula," adds Colonel Elsdale.

It is true that Lobengula, the late chief paramount of the Matabele has been hunted to death. But that does

\* [Cape Parl. Papers, G. 4—'83, p. 518.]

not abolish the tribal spirit amongst his people, nor the need for a chief for the sake of order. What was the protest of the Matabele headmen at the meeting with Earl Grey in the Matopo hills, last October?

Sekombo ("rebel"): "We cannot manage the people unless one head is over us."

Gambo ("loyal"): "What my father [Sekombo] says is right. We have no head."\*

The Matabele formed one of the "military despotisms" to be "abolished"; but how far is there any reality in the distinction assumed to exist between these "military" chiefs, and the "hereditary" chiefs, whom, on Sir Theo. Shepstone's own showing, it is "impossible to abolish"? As far as I am aware, the case most fully discussed by Sir Th. Shepstone is just the one on which I am best able to meet him: the case of the Zulus, and their chiefs. Sir Th. Shepstone's argument was that there never had been a Zulu "nation properly so called"; that before Tshaka's time† "the Zulu tribe" was a "small" insignificant one; and that what, since Tshaka's conquests, has been called the Zulu nation, has been nothing but "a collection of conquered tribes" of "tribes more or less autonomous, and more or less discontented, yearning . . . always . . . for their ancient separate existence";‡ to whom "the Zulu royal family" were no "patriarchal hereditary chiefs," but a "terrible incubus." And he asserted that "at the end of the Zulu war [1879] 60 years . . . [after Tshaka] it was found that most of the incorporated tribes that made up the bulk of the Zulu nation, had kept themselves so distinct that on the removal of the Zulu King, they were found ready to re-enter upon their separate existence. . . ."§

But the assertions in the above argument as to "discontent" with Zulu rule, on the part of the tribes in question,

\* *Times*, November 9, 1896.

† Sometimes written Chaka; about 1810 to 1828.

‡ August 12, 1887. [Parl. Papers, C—5,331, pp. 30-1, enclosure in No. 13.]

§ *Natal Mercury*, January 29, 1892.

are all disproved by recognized historical facts, *e.g.*, the British invasion of Zululand was opened with a proclamation that the English were "not waging war against the Zulu nation, but only against the King";\* and the English General had soon to admit that "the Zulu people themselves are not prepared to accept the distinction it was thought desirable to make." "Our troops have had to contend with the whole strength of the Zulu nation."†

Three years later the Zulu Deputation, 2,000 in number, led by 646 chiefs and headmen of these "conquered tribes" "discontented" with the Zulu rule and now restored by England to the "ancient separate existence" for which they had "yearned," undertook the weary journey to Natal—not to express gratitude, but—to pray for the restoration of their "terrible incubus, the [head of the] Zulu royal family"; and carried out their intention in the face of all possible opposition from the local representatives of the Colonial Office.‡

No doubt many conquered tribes were included in Tshaka's dominions, which extended before his death beyond what is now the British Colony of Natal, and the present Transvaal districts of Utrecht, Wakkerstroom, and Vryheid,§ and Sir Th. Shepstone's theory was perhaps founded on accounts given by members of such tribes, among whom the greater part of his official career was passed, but who are not accurately acquainted with the early history of "the grand old Zulu people"—the Zulu nation proper.

For the Zulu chiefs can be traced back through twelve generations of one family, the earlier nine succeeding one

\* [Parl. Papers, C—2,242, p. 24.]

† [*Ibid.*, C—2,318, p. 81.]

‡ *Ibid.*, C—3,466, p. 27, last line; p. 28, line 27.

§ "Tshaka's military conquests extended over a large portion of the Portuguese, Transvaal, and Orange Free State territories; they included the whole of Natal, and some of the present districts of the Cape Colony as far as the Umtata river."—Sir Th. Shepstone, in the *Natal Mercury*, January 29, 1892.



another from father to son. And several of the principal tribes forming the Zulu nation in Cetshwayo's day, are able to trace the descent of what Sir Theo. Shepstone would call their several patriarchal hereditary chiefs to one or other of the nine elder Zulu Kings, (*e.g.*, the Ntombela, an important tribe, claims descent, as it takes its name, from the eldest but one of the Zulu Kings), and the reality of the relationship is witnessed by the careful distinctions drawn with regard to marriage, *e.g.*, into some of these tribes, Cetshwayo's son may marry, into others "he may not, but his grandchildren may."

The above are only a few of many like statements made to me by Zulu chiefs and headmen, and in most cases verified by members of the particular tribe concerned. They prove at any rate that none of the persons who made them held the theory that they were members of "conquered discontented" tribes. In short, all Zulu tribes and sections in similar circumstances, however fortunate in their present tribal chief or headman, now regard Cetshwayo's son Dinuzulu as the head of their race, their "patriarchal hereditary chief."

In an "interview" dated January, 1897, Sir Marshall Clarke, now Resident Commissioner for Zululand, is reported to have been asked, "Do you think the Zulus would combine to oust the English?" and to have replied, "No. They don't want to combine for that or any other object. They are contented with English rule. . . . The Zulus want Dinuzulu as a Headman or Chief. They have no chief, and they feel helpless without one."

So, too, with regard to the other "great military chiefs" and chieftainships, *e.g.*, the Matabele, the Bechuana under Khama, the Basuto of British Basutoland. Between these and the minor "hereditary chiefs and tribes" whom Sir Th. Shepstone holds it "impossible to abolish," the real distinction is that these have already made considerable advance in "social efficiency," and from being mere loose tribes have become knit together into "collections of tribes"

or nations, with corresponding advance in order, in discipline, and power.

Let us take British Basutoland as a second example, dealing with it more briefly, as I have no hostile argument to meet.

In 1890, Lord Loch, then High Commissioner, recalls the facts that "in March 1884, when Sir Marshall Clarke first assumed the government of Basutoland, a large section of the Basuto nation was in passive rebellion, whilst civil war was being waged between some of the principal chiefs, and a number of Basuto had taken refuge in the Free State with their families and cattle."\*

This sad state of things had followed "the gun war," the attempt made by the Cape Government to disarm the Basuto, and to "abolish" their paramount chief, the country being declared to be divided into districts, each under a separate chief, one of whom was Letsea, the deposed Chief Paramount. Lord Loch has described the natural consequences of such an attempt. Sir Marshall Clarke holds the opinion already quoted in this paper, that the South African natives, while they require our help in international matters, and in matters between white and black, are better able to manage their own affairs than we can do it for them. He permitted those who would to recognize Letsea as Paramount Chief, and was patient with those who even for some years stood aloof from Chief Paramount and British Resident into the bargain. In May, 1890, the High Commissioner paid them a visit:—"On the 25th ultimo," says Lord Loch, "I arrived in Basutoland . . . I was met on arrival by Sir Marshall Clarke, the [white] officials, and 12,000 mounted and armed Basuto, including every chief in the country except Letsea, who was too old and infirm to attend . . . for three days about 15,000 men, gathered from all parts of Basutoland, were camped together in one camp . . . during that time there was not a drunken man anywhere to be seen, . . . no quarrels or unpleasant incidents of any sort

\* [Parl. Papers, C—5,897—32. July, 1890.]

took place, and . . . though they had all been invited to come armed, the Government had no reason to regret the confidence which it thus showed in the peaceable and orderly spirit of the people."\*

And this happy state of things continues, though Sir Marshall Clarke himself passed on in 1893 to like good work among the Zulus of British Zululand. In Basutoland, only last year, Mr. Poultney Bigelow tells us "the feeling irresistibly took possession of me that I had at last reached the one land where governing was easy, and the people contented . . . and where the black population lived in harmony with their chiefs, their neighbours, and the paramount power—England."†

It seems to me that by showing that these national chieftainships are not "stumbling-blocks, but, rightly understood, are stepping-stones marking and helping the advance of civilization, I have strengthened Colonel Elsdale's case on more points than one. We have seen that his examples of mental capacity in individual Africans are examples of natives trained by Europeans, in European ways, with European advantages. I will add an example of the mental capacity shown by a Zulu, brought up until his twentieth year in Zululand, by Zulus only, to be a Zulu of the Zulus, having all that time the slightest, most fragmentary intercourse with stray Europeans. After that in an English prison, still in Zululand, he set himself, with some slight help, to learn to read and write, in Zulu first and afterwards in English, and has struggled on with more or less success, and very spasmodic help, through all the disadvantages, and amidst all the disheartenment of a more than seven years' exile on the island of St. Helena. I speak of Dinuzulu, son of the Zulu King Cetshwayo, and heir to Cetshwayo's troubles.

Among Dinuzulu's educational advantages may be counted the memory of his father, who is known amongst his own

\* [Parl. Papers, C—5,897—32, p. 3.]

† Harper's Magazine, March, 1897.



people as "the merciful prince who did not kill," and who could face a death-struggle for himself and for his people with the feeling that "if he should be vanquished, as he is not the aggressor, death will not be so hard to meet."\* I have more than once reminded Dinuzulu of his father, and have never known the suggestion fail. Another advantage possessed by this young chief has been the presence throughout of his uncle Ndabuko, who has been a second father to him since we deprived him, at the age of ten, of his own father Cetshwayo. I must not run too far into the Zulu story here, but I should be ignoring an important factor in Dinuzulu's "education" if I omitted to indicate his uncle's influence. I can perhaps do so most briefly and most effectively by quoting words used by the present Prime Minister of Natal, when acting as Counsel for Dinuzulu at his trial :

"Ndabuko . . . was guardian of Dinuzulu, and it was with him a trust to place his ward in his rightful position over the Zulu people, but under the Queen. As trustee for Dinuzulu it was his duty to protest against the compact made . . . with the Boers [by which the British Government gave away part of Zululand]. For this protest, renewed from time to time, he was called 'traitor,' and when he put his sense of duty before the miserable salary offered to him to betray his trust, he was followed up . . . step by step until persecution could go no further."† And—alas! for us, still more than for the Chief—was sent to wear his heart out at St. Helena!

And now for Dinuzulu's letter, sent in Zulu to an English gentleman who had written to him kindly, but whom he had not previously known. I have put it into English :

Maldivia, St. Helena, 13th June, 1896.

"I have received a very beautiful gift; I am quite proud of it. I thank you much for my box for matches. As to the remark that I have never seen you, that is true: but I am very glad over you, though I have never seen you. As to your saying that you do not wish to trouble me

\* Parliamentary Papers, C—1,748, p. 14.    † [Parl. Papers, C—5,892.]

with this letter, instead of troubling me it is altogether a great pleasure and no trouble at all.

As to your saying that you often get news of our [troubles] affairs, you would naturally hear of them, because they start from among you, from England, before they go among us in Zululand, and then return again among you.

As to the hope [which you express] that we may speedily return to Zululand—that is the hope indeed. But a hope without assurance since our time is now more than up. For though a man have offended, if he behaves well through his [allotted] time, it is cut short. And as to us, at first, when it was suggested that the time might be shortened, we had strong hope that we should not remain such a long time; because we were not taken prisoners, we just came in of our own accord, wishing to investigate the disease from which we were suffering, having had enough of being falsely accused of resisting the Queen.

Another point which is very surprising to us is that word should be given for us to go, and then again for us to remain, and that without our having committed any fault.

I should, indeed, be very glad to come to England, and to see you too—my friend. I send much greeting to you. Do not insist upon it that friendship depends on seeing one another. Real friendship is to feel with one another; then, when they meet, they are already old friends, and not strange to one another.—DINUZULU KA [SON OF] CETSHWAYO."

Dinuzulu here states his case in a nutshell and with perfect accuracy. They did "come in to investigate the disease" from which they, their whole people, were suffering—to claim inquiry, on my advice and on Mr. Escombe's promise to stand by them—and a free pardon, an appointment for Dinuzulu "over the Zulu people but under the Queen," and a promise that they should return to Zululand "in a fortnight" were given to them by the Governor of St. Helena, in Her Majesty's name, on January 23rd, 1895.

The above letter is my contribution to Col. Elsdale's collection as to the mental capacity of the individual African.

I must now pass on to notice certain of his conclusions, viz. :—that “we find in South Africa on the side of the coloured man an immense and increasing preponderance in numbers, a stubborn race vitality which entirely refuses to die out before, or be displaced by, the white man, and which has shown itself capable of adaptation to changed conditions, a high courage, which we have experienced in many wars, and a proved capacity for education and improvement”: that “provided always that in the long interim the relations between the races are ordered with justice and harmony, so that there be no evil traditions of oppression and wrong to make the native hate the white man and set himself to put him down when he gets the chance, there would appear to be no reason why a fair proportion of white men [and women] should not remain in Africa indefinitely . . . on the condition of competing with the native on his own ground in a fair field with no favour.” And, finally, that “the extent and duration of the white man’s power and prestige in South Africa will be likely to depend ultimately on the degree in which he may now, in the day of his undisputed reign, treat his black brother with justice, wisdom, and liberality.”

According to “the nature of things” for moral beings, that last conclusion is inevitable. What Colonel Elsdale has now done is to argue that in South Africa it is also forced on us imperatively on material grounds, for our own protection in the struggle for existence in this world. Much still remains to be said upon the subject. But granting no more than that the situation thus sketched is not impossible, it surely behoves the now dominant Europeans to act cautiously; to beware of creating or giving excuse for “evil traditions,” quite apt enough to arise from misunderstandings on both sides without wrong intention on either; and above all to avoid any action which may tend to degrade the African, to throw him back from any advance he has already made, be it little or great—in civilization, social efficiency—in humanity. For to degrade him will not only make him



a worse neighbour and more difficult to govern, but will tend to weaken the Europeans by degrading them as well.

"If we do not raise the African," says Sir Marshall Clarke, "I have not the least doubt that he will lower us."

Nor is it possible to keep the African as he is :—"Paradoxical as it may seem," says Colonel Elsdale, "we yet contend that any future incoming tide of white immigrants will only hasten the day of the black man's coming equality. For the natives at present need the whites as schoolmasters. Every additional white man who comes into Africa will only be another trainer to show the black man the way." Yes! by merely using him, we are imparting, whether we will or no, a share of the knowledge which is power for good or for evil.

It is true that this may, perhaps, be very far ahead ; that at present "the gulf between"—*e.g.*, the "raw native" and "the skilled artizan"—"is very wide and deep," and that "the coloured men now accept the superior position of the European." But sometimes events move quickly ; within the last few years the gold craze has wrought unspeakable degradation among white and black ; the rinderpest holds wide possibilities of future misery and mischief ; and within the last few months it has seemed not impossible that the next false move might bring us face to face with such a race struggle as Colonel Elsdale deprecates as probably the beginning of the end of white supremacy. "The overthrow of white supremacy in the not distant future," is what Mr. Selous threatened last month as the probable result of "the conquest of South African Boers by a large British force at the present time";\* while Mr. C. D. Rudd urges that war now in Africa would mean "not a question of white man against white, but of 6,000,000 natives against 450,000 whites," and incidentally the ruin of the gold mines, but "the gold mines were not worth such a war, for it would be the most ghastly war of modern times."†

\* *Manchester Guardian*, May 17.

† *Times*, May 8, which however omits the last phrase given in the "*Star*" report.

It is all too soon to consider this danger past, though as regards the Transvaal, all interested in Africa have reason to be grateful to President Kruger, who, although strongly supported as to the Aliens' immigration law by leading exponents of International Law, has been wise and generous enough it seems, to make a concession in this matter which, as Mr. Chamberlain has told us, has relieved the strain. But additional troops have been sent out to Africa, and the very presence of such means for using force tends to produce the temptation to use it. The attempt, vain, or mischievous if successful, to crush the African, is already going on in at least three quarters. In Bechuanaland, "a force of about 600 volunteers" is "expected to reach the scene of operations by the end of the [*jubilee*] month. . . . On their arrival vigorous measures will be taken to crush the rebellion, simultaneous assaults being made upon the Kloofs, five in number, occupied by . . . [the rebels]. Although they are known to be short of food, the natives still hold out."\* Its paramount chief threatens to appeal to the Supreme Court of the Cape against the proposed "expropriation" of his people's land† [which is the civilized side in that dispute?]. In Mashonaland, Mr. Rhodes' "everlasting lesson" of dynamite and starvation still continues, and in the adjoining Gazaland, just eight weeks ago, we learnt that 25,000 people with whose chiefs we have repeatedly exchanged tokens of friendship, are in arms against "Portuguese oppression."

This paper may seem hardly fitted for a season of Jubilee, but the best hope for peace lies in disclosing the real state of things. I should be no loyal subject of Her whom all of us in Africa, natives as well as Dutch and English, regard as our Mother and the Fountain of Justice, if, on such an occasion, I spoke of peace—where there is no peace.

\* *Times*, June 14, 1897.

† *Natal Witness*, March 18, 1897.

## THE COLONIES AT THE VICTORIAN COMMEMORATION.

By F. FAITHFULL BEGG, M.P.

THE Jubilee celebrations are passing into history, and the time is at hand when an estimate, more or less accurate, may be formed, of the influence for good or evil of a brilliant and unique experiment. No one can doubt that that influence will be potent; no one in fact can place a limit upon the effect which will accompany or flow from it. Nor can anyone hesitate to believe that the consequences will make for national unity, and the consolidation of the Empire.

No thought has more rapidly taken root in the public mind, no fact is now more widely or more clearly realized than this,—That the binding together of the various segments of which the Empire is composed has become a paramount consideration, essential to the prosperity of each, if not indeed to the very existence of the Empire itself in a state of independence. This magnificent conception could not have been more fitly embodied, this pregnant idea more appropriately commended to public consideration, than by collecting from all parts of the globe, in the Metropolis of the Empire, eminent representatives of local opinion, men of mark and of influence, each in his own particular colony, or sphere of activity.

We have seen the realization of the hopes entertained. All parts of the Empire have been represented at the festivities. We have yet to realize the far-reaching effects.

Much time must elapse before the forces set in motion at the Victorian Commemoration shall have done their work. Like all other forms of evolution and natural growth, successive modifications will emerge by slow, and it may even be by painful, gradations. But the ultimate result is not in doubt. The Imperial Concept cannot but have received a mighty impulse. The number and magnitude of the



elements represented, the jostling of ideas, of nationalities, and of language, the friction of personal intercourse under novel conditions, all these, acting and reacting in the minds of the Mother Country's guests from over-sea, must have irresistibly formulated or fostered in each individual personality the central idea of Imperial Unity!

If doubt existed in the mind of any as to the essential loyalty of the Colonies and Dependencies, it must by the events of the past few weeks have been for ever set at rest. From the moment it became known that the present occasion was to be taken advantage of to invite all portions of the Empire to send representatives to the Commemoration festivities, it was clear that the response would be universal and spontaneous. No considerations of personal or public convenience have been allowed to bar the way. Legislatures have been prorogued, sittings have been suspended or special sessions have been held; whilst, as the time for the celebrations drew near, converging lines of British Imperial communication from every quarter of the globe, have poured into London an ever swelling stream of visitors and guests assembling to do honour to the woman who has reigned for sixty years over a fifth part of the habitable globe.

Never before under any conditions existing in the past history of the world was such a gathering possible, nor indeed could it have been conceived. It dwarfs into insignificance every previous historical concourse; every colour of race—white, black, brown, red or yellow—and every climate represented, and all joining in a mighty chord of harmonious and loyal congratulation.

But between an expression of abstract loyalty in this form, and the taking of practical steps for the final realization of the Unity of the Empire, there may be found a wide interval. The sentiment is there, the mind is predisposed in the desired direction, but the knowledge which comes of wider experience may be wanting. What can a dweller from birth in Australasia know of the real essence of inter-

national problems and their effect upon himself or the future of his country? These are things not brought home to him in his daily life. The prices of wool or of mutton in the markets of Europe bulk more largely in his mind than the issues involved in a war in the Balkans. There is probably no one to point out to him that the two things are inter-dependent, and he will only discover it for himself if he be a keen observer and a student of history. For the bringing about of the desired result the infinite patience which is the essence of true statesmanship will be needed in its fullest development; and as the years pass on, we must be satisfied if we can say at the close of each—Progress has been made, we are nearer the goal!

A paramount limitation will be that Colonial sentiment must be studied. We cannot act alone, but must carry public opinion in the colonies with us at every step. A careful study on the spot of the conditions of colonial life—and no one who has not acquired a knowledge of the subject from this point of view can possibly appreciate the whole question on its merits—leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the self-governing colonies may be led, but cannot be driven, in the direction of Imperial Unity. Unwearied care in explanation, supreme sympathy in treatment can alone prevail. Hence it is that crude demands for subventions, or blunt reminders of alleged short-comings, as is the method in favour with some, will fail to produce, and must even retard, the desired result.

In this lies the value of the marked prominence which has been given during the celebrations to the entertainment of the Colonial Premiers who have visited London. The welcome to the foreign potentates and notables may have been hearty and even enthusiastic, more especially in particular cases, but the heart of the nation has gone out in an unreserved greeting of affection towards the Colonial Premiers, the representatives of the Crown Colonies and the dependencies of the Empire and the Colonial troops.

The British Empire League which has taken up the

work which the Imperial Federation League laid down, has played a notable part in the ceremonial. Enjoying the special patronage of Her Most Gracious Majesty herself, and with the Duke of Devonshire as its President, this Association has possessed exceptional advantages of which it has made signal use. The Colonial Office having heartily seconded its efforts, the provincial tour, which formed one of the earliest items in the programme prepared for the Colonial Premiers, was left to the management of the Council of the League. The reception accorded by Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Edinburgh and Glasgow, the opportunity thus afforded to them of visiting under the most favourable auspices these great centres of activity—coming more particularly as these visits did before the supreme rush of the later festivities—cannot but have been in the highest degree gratifying to the Premiers; whilst, as the programme of the celebrations progressed, they must have realized that no guests were more honoured, a fact which will not fail to be brought home in due course to the minds of those whom they represent.

Three aspects of the celebration may be worthy of special note.

The effect upon public opinion in the Mother-country regarding Colonial questions.

The effect upon opinion in the Colonies of the reception accorded to the Colonial representatives.

The effect upon the minds of foreign visitors of the whole ceremonial.

From each of these points of view the influence must have been an influence for good from the Imperial standpoint.

Ignorance of fact as regards the Colonies themselves is still a characteristic of public opinion at home. Every speech delivered by a Colonial Premier has reached a new audience, and has conveyed information to willing ears. Canada has told of her boundless mineral resources, wheat area and capacity for export of surplus food supply; West Australia of her unparalleled wealth of undeveloped



auriferous territory ; New Zealand of her gold, coal, mutton and wool, and Africa and Australasia generally of similar riches awaiting development. Alike to the capitalist and the artizan such information must have suggested openings for enterprise, or of benefit in the future, whilst the further thought must have followed on reflection— 'Why should these advantages not be secured to us preferentially by mutual concession upon a commercial basis? If our capital is to be invested in distant lands why should it not continue to enjoy the protection of the flag? If our food must come from over-sea let our kinsmen provide it, and so the supply be independent of the chances of wars between nations over whose actions we have no control, or of combinations to humble us on the part of the foreigner.' And the answer will come back that it should be so, and that even the gospel of cheapness shall not prevail against it. "The general character and situation of a people must determine which sort of government is fitted for them," said Edmund Burke in his oration on "Conciliation with America." The situation of this country to-day demands above all things that food supply should be constant. To this end if even sacrifices be necessary, sacrifices must be made ; but there can be nothing worthy to be styled sacrifice in a policy of mutual concession, directed towards mutual advantages, and conducing to mutual safety in the bonds of peace.

The Colonial visitors will likewise have learned much, and will have obtained moreover that which will be an abiding possession with them when they return to their homes, namely, a knowledge of the power and wealth of the Mother-land such as no other experience could have imparted. Granted that we have been seen at our best. Granted that we have put forth all our energies in the effort to worthily celebrate the great occasion. The will has been accompanied by the power or the will would have been in vain, and whether by witnessing the wealth of the Metropolis, the resources of our manufacturing

centres, or the power of our fleet, or whether by any other means this idea has been impressed upon our guests, they cannot but have had their hearts stirred by the thought that all this wealth, all these resources and all that power are in the possession of an Empire of which they form part, whose protection they command and may, if they choose, continue to enjoy.

Our foreign visitors may be assumed to have participated in the ceremonial with mingled feelings. For them the considerations alluded to point a different moral. They suggest neglected opportunities which can never be renewed, or a genius for the expansion of empire to which their peoples are strangers. By what subtle magic has this great framework of government been reared? By what political alchemy have the parts been so fashioned as to cohere, neither language, colour, nor religion forming any bar to inclusion nor acting as a solvent? Here is a problem which may well give them pause! The point is not one to elaborate. This is neither the time nor is the present the occasion to discuss it more fully.

As was only natural suggestions without number have been made, and many schemes have been inaugurated for the perpetuation of the memory of the event. Without in any sense criticizing any of these, I have myself ventured upon a suggestion which perhaps I may here be permitted to repeat. What is wanted, as it seems to me, is something which will mark to all the world in an outward and visible manner, and in unmistakable terms, the fact that a "Greater Britain" has been added to the Empire and consolidated therein, a result mainly achieved during the sixty years of Her Majesty's reign. The clearest and most emphatic means by which this can be attained is by an alteration in the Royal Arms, which from the earliest times have represented emblematically, in accordance with the laws of Heraldry, the geographical changes in the empire. Thus, the Norman kings carried on their shield simply the three lions "of England," now so well known

and still forming part of the Royal Arms. The Plantagenets added the lilies of France as indicating their claim to the sovereignty of that kingdom. With these symbols the House of Stuart combined the Scottish lion and the Irish harp, whilst in the beginning of this century the House of Hanover dropped out the French lilies as being no longer appropriate. How therefore can the fact of expansion of Empire under Queen Victoria be more emphatically expressed than by once more modifying the emblems which appear in the Royal Coat of Arms, and including within their number a device emblematic of the addition of the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain to the Empire? Every foreign government would have notification of the fact. Every public building in the kingdom upon which in the future the Royal Arms were affixed would bear testimony to the change. Every State paper and document upon which they appear would record it. Above all, the highest compliment which it is in the power of the sovereign to bestow would be paid to the "Greater Britain" which has now become part of the Empire. As a symbol of Imperial Unity there is nothing which could be done which would be more conclusive than an alteration such as this.

Of the far reaching effects which may flow from the Victorian commemoration it is too early to speak in detail. The prophetic eye, piercing futurity, may conjure up a vision of empire ever strengthening and consolidating with the lapse of time, and owing much to the impulse given in this memorable year. But these things are for posterity. Of the first fruits only may we hope to be partakers, and of these there are samples even now to our hand. Canada is voluntarily offering us preferences in trade without so much as hinting at an equivalent. South Africa desires to contribute towards the maintenance of the Imperial fleet. Australia has sent of her abundance a mighty free will offering from her flocks. For a parallel to these alone you may search in vain the annals of history. The great empires of the past have vanished and only the



student can recall so much as their boundaries. Their foundations were laid in oppression and in force and their cohesion was of the sword. For us it has been reserved to consolidate a world-wide empire in the bonds of affection and of justice. Happy indeed should be the people who are in such a case, and thrice happy their descendants for whom the full fruition is in store. That it may be so must surely be the supreme wish and fervent hope of every loyal subject of Her Majesty, thus echoing to-day that pious sentiment of the grandest of our poets:—

*"Thou, who of Thy free grace, didst build up this  
Britannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height,  
with all her Daughter Islands about her, stay us in  
this felicitie."*

## QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE celebrated *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, known to all theologians, is about to appear in a third edition, brought out by A. Hauck; two volumes have already appeared,\* they include several interesting articles for Oriental studies of Astarté, Baal, the text of the Old Testament, etc. The 7th volume, published by the "École des Hautes Études" (religious science section), under the general title of "Études de critique et d'histoire,"† also contains many recollections of our science: the anti-islamic poet Imrou'ou'l-Kais (H. Derenbourg), the vision of Gorgorios, an unpublished Ethiopian text (J. Deramey), the religion of Assurbanipal (A. Quentin), who, according to the researches of the Assyriologist savant, had dedicated a creed, almost exclusive, to the goddess Istar.

With regard to Mr. Quentin's work, it will be seen, as we have already noticed in our April report, how much the attention of historians of religion is attracted to this ancient religious centre of Babylonian Assyria. It is there, in that cradle of mankind, one of the most remote as regards time which is known, that searchers endeavour more and more to discover the origin of Gnosticism. The Gnosis is really, both as regards foundation and form, idea and conduct, essentially Oriental; we must not be surprised if they seek in the East and especially in Assyrian Babylonia, the secret of their birth. This is the endeavour which Mr. Anz† has made quite recently, in the large collection of the "*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*" published by Gebhardt and Harnack.

It is in the same direction that a very interesting study has been made by Mr. E. Rochat upon Manicheism,§ whose conclusions are, that the influence of Christianity upon the religious system of Mânî, is next to nothing, and that the origin of Manicheism is therefore simply Oriental. These Theses seem to us more and more established by specialists, historians, and Orientalists. The Hebraic philosopher Alexandrin Philon whose genius and sound touch with the Semitic East and Hellenism, which he has endeavoured to unite in a superior synthesis, is actually the subject of an important work. A critical edition of his works, brought out

\* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1896—1897.

† Paris, Leroux, 1896.

‡ *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897.

§ *Essai sur Mânî et sa doctrine*, Geneva, Georg et Cie., 1897.

with great care, has been prepared by Messrs. Cohn and Wendland;\* after Mangey's celebrated edition, nothing like it has been undertaken as regards the works of Philon. The publishers are to be congratulated. We draw attention to the connection of the same Græco-Hebraic world and the Hellenic pagan influences with Judaism in a memoir of Schüres called "Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der νεβόμειροι Θεὸν ὑψιστον ebendaseibst."†

# BIBLICAL HEBREW AND ARAMAIC.—OLD TESTAMENT.

The excellent grammar of Biblical Aramean, by Strack, which we recommended to our readers in our report for April 1896, is about to reappear in a second and greatly revised edition.‡ The so important study of the Old Testament in the Septuagint translation, is now singularly simplified, by the completion of the marvellous work entitled "A Concordance to the Septuagint, and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament" (including the Apocryphal Books), by the late Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath. The 6th and final part (προς-ὠχριας) of this valuable repertory so remarkably well written, is about to appear.§ A concordance of all proper names in the Septuagint is in preparation.

The history and geography of Palestine has become enriched by a valuable document, namely: "A plan of the environs of Jerusalem," published by Schick in the "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins" (Band xix, Heft 3, Leipzig, 1896), and accompanied by a very complete commentary by Schick and Benzinger, where all the Arabic names figure of the localities mentioned in the plan. The "Introduction to the Old Testament," by Cornill, which we need not praise here, will appear in a third and fourth edition|| greatly revised, inasmuch as the author there treats of the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament and the Pseudepigraphs (Book of Epoch, Jubilee, etc.). The study of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigraphs becomes of greater importance. It has been enriched lately by a publication of the highest interest: "The Original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus (xxxix. 15 to xlix. 11) together with the early versions and an English translation, followed by the quotations from Ben Sira in Rabbinical literature, edited by Cowley and Neubauer (with two fascimiles)."¶ To this work, edited with great care, must be added the publication of the facsimile of the original Hebrew.\*\* The discovery of a portion of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus has had the effect of a judicious warning to the savants who are trying to reconstruct

\* *Philonis Alexandrini opera quæ supersunt*, Vols. I. and II., Berolini, Reimer, 1896—1897.

† Berlin, Reimer, 1897. (Sitzungsberichte der Königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.)

‡ Grammatik des biblischen Aramäisch, 2<sup>te</sup> Auflage, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897.

§ gr. 4. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1897.

|| Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 3<sup>te</sup> und 4<sup>te</sup> Aufl., Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig, Mohr, 1896.

¶ 4<sup>o</sup>. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1897.

\*\* Collotype facsimiles of the Oxford Fragment of Ecclesiasticus, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1897.



the lost text. Many Hebraists have attempted to reconstruct such and such a fragment of the Book of Jesus, son of Sirach, by comparing their attempts with the recovered original fragments, but the difference is so great that one would hesitate hereafter to attempt such a hazardous piece of work.

#### SYRIAC.

"The American Journal of Semitic languages and literatures" (continuing "Hebraica") of January 1897 contains an interesting document. It is a commentary on Deuteronomy, taken from the four German manuscripts, which comprise the ܐܬܪܬܐ ܕܝܫܪܐ (Treasury of Secrets) of Gregory Abulfaraj Bar-Hebræus (edited by G. Kerber). We hear with much satisfaction that the complete edition of the "Treasury," by Bar-Hebræus will soon be published. Another publication worthy of attention is that of Charles: The Apocalypse of Baruch translated from the Syriac, edited with an introduction, notes and indices.\* Attention is drawn finally in the "Revue de l'Orient chrétien" (No. 1, Paris, 1897), which has published already several Syriac documents, to a study of M. Nau, upon the unedited parts of the Ecclesiastical chronicle attributed to Denys de Tellmahré (died A.D. 845).

#### ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY.

This is the general title of a not quite recent work that we desire to study, but one which by its size, its intrinsic value, and the enormous amount of labour which it has necessitated, will remain for a long time new, and will merit the qualification of classic. It is scarcely four years since this gigantic work, which began to appear in 1863, has left the press. We refer to the grand Arabic dictionary of Lane, entitled *An Arabic-English lexicon*, derived from the best and the most copious eastern sources, in two books, the first containing all the classical words, and significations commonly known to the learned among the Arabs, the second, those that are of rare occurrence and not commonly known.† Since the fifth part of the work was published, Lane died, in the year 1876, after thirty-four years of labour at the lexicon; the three last parts of the book (from غ—ي) were edited by Stanley Lane Poole, who has prefixed to the sixth part of the lexicon a memoir on the life of the great scholar. With regard to Vol. II., which was to have contained rare words and explanations, it was never published. "I am obliged to admit," writes the editor, "that the materials are wanting. Some few articles are partly prepared, but are not sufficient to warrant any prospect of this part of the work being completed." The Arabic title of the lexicon *مَدَنُ الْقَامُوسِ* has been adopted by the author in imitation of that given to his lexicon by El Firūzabādī, it has two meanings "The flow of the Sea" and the extension of the Kamūs. It would not be immaterial to note this title, which characterizes exactly the work of the learned Arabist. In a very interesting preface, the author explains briefly the history of the Arabic language, which was termed, on account of its

\* London, Adam and Charles Black, 1896.

† 8 Vol. gr. in 4° (3064 pages), London, Williams and Norgate, 1863–1893.

incomparable excellence "el-loghat," or "the language." The classical poetry and the remains of classical prose are used by the Arabic scholars, who wrote lexicological works, as authorities; but the prose, being more liable to corruption, was regarded as less worthy of reliance than the poetry. The classical Arabic books in prose and poetry are the principal original sources from which the Arabic lexicons and lexicological works have been derived. Lane gives in his preface a brief account of the most important Arabic lexicons of the learned among the Arabs: for instance the "Eyn" (كتاب العين) ascribed to El Khalil (died A.H. 170 or 175), which has served in a great measure as the basis of many other lexicons; the Sihāh of El Jowhari (died A.H. 398); the Kamūs of El Firūzābādī (died A.H. 816), and so forth. The author lays stress chiefly upon the "Tāj-el-'Arūs," that enormous compilation, which is said to have been commenced in Cairo soon after the middle of the last century of our era, by the Seyyid Murtaḍā Ez-Zebidi (died A.D. 1791). "As the Tāj-el-'Arūs," writes Lane, "is the medium from which I have drawn most of the contents of my lexicon, I must state more fully the grounds upon which I determined to make so great a use of it. Not long after I became acquainted with this enormous work, I heard it asserted by some people in Cairo that the Seyyid Murtaḍā was not its author, that it was compiled by a certain learned man (whose name I could not ascertain) who, coming to Cairo with this work, on his way from Western Africa to Mekkeh as a pilgrim, and fearing to lose it in the desert journey, committed it to the Seyyid Murtaḍā, to be safely kept until his return: that he died during his onward journey, or during his return towards Cairo: and that the Seyyid Murtaḍā published it as his own composition. This grave accusation brought against the reputed author of the Tāj-el-'Arūs, imposed upon me the necessity of proving or disproving its authenticity. . . . Having fully satisfied myself of the authenticity of the Tāj-el-'Arūs, as well as of its intrinsic value, my next object was to cause a careful transcription of it to be commenced without delay, although, while I remained in Cairo, I made use of copies belonging to the libraries of mosques. . . . The transcription of my own copy, and its collation, extended over a period of more than thirteen years. . . . As soon as a few pages of my copy of the Tāj-el-'Arūs had been transcribed, I commenced the work of translation and composition from its originals. I did not hesitate to write my lexicon in English rather than in Latin, because the latter language is not sufficiently copious. For several years I continued to collect all that I required for a lexicon as complete as it was possible for me to make it."

The quotation we have given, explains better than we should be able to do the fundamental character and real worth of Lane's work. It is impossible in a Report such as this, which is restricted to a limited number of pages in this Review, to make a complete study, and a detailed analysis of the authoritative work of the illustrious Arabist. But it is essential to give it an exact characteristic and just appreciation.

To judge the work of Lane judicially, one must examine it, and compare it with other lexicographical works of both European Arabists and Arabic savants. One is struck at first sight by the colossal work the author under-

took, and can understand that he could write these words: "Nearly twenty years have now elapsed since I commenced this work. Had I foreseen that the whole labour of the composition must fall upon me or the project be abandoned, and had I also foreseen the length of time that it would require of me, unaided, I should certainly not have had the courage to undertake it." The lexicon, and it is here that exists one of its greatest merits, is of extraordinary copiousness; it is the most remarkable of all other lexicographical works composed on the Arabic language by Europeans. One cannot but bestow the highest praises upon the author for his great competency, for the happy use that he made of Oriental compilations, and the judicious choice of Arabic quotations, which he has culled from their Oriental sources.

If we compare Lane's work with the principal Arabic dictionaries written by European scholars (Freytag, Dozy, Biberstein-Kazimirski, etc.), we perceive immediately a great difference. The works of Freytag, etc., are lexicons in the real sense of the word, that is to say, that they possess the relative conciseness, and, above all, the preciseness, which one expects in works of this class. Under each Arabic word are enumerated the various meanings which it may possess with examples. It is not so with Lane's book, which properly speaking is not a lexicon, but an encyclopedic dictionary.

This encyclopedia-like character appears plainly when one compares the work of Lane with the analogous works of Arabic scholars of which it is the echo and the continuer. To be able to enter into this essential character of the literary monument raised up by Lane, it is sufficient to compare in Lane, and in the *Kamūs*, for example, or the *Tāj-el-'Arūs* some typical words such as *دخل*, *جرب*, *ملى*, etc., and to read after that the same articles in the so-called lexicons (Freytag, etc.). In the work of Lane all roots and all words lead not only to a complete *exposé* of the wealth of the Arabic language, but also to a list of Arabic literary authorities. The Arabic-English lexicon of Lane is like the grand dictionary of Littré for the French language, which is also a work so essentially encyclopedic that it had to be published in an abridged and abbreviated form, which has made it a lexicon in the full sense of the word. Lane has rendered the greatest of services to the lexicographic and linguistic science of Europe, by placing in the hands of learned men who are in no sense specialists in the Arabic language and literature, the great Oriental encyclopedic works, named *Kamūs*, *Tāj-el-'Arūs*, etc. It required his science added to his iron will to carry through such an astounding enterprise, which at first sight seemed beyond human strength.

#### ARABIC LITERATURE.

The first work to be noticed in the Arabic literary world, is a new edition of "*Commentaires sur le Diwān d'Al-Hansā*," by P. Cheikho, which is issued by the busy press of Beyrouth.\* We have already referred to the first edition of this publication in our Report for April, 1896. As the

\* Edition critique avec supplément et tables, Beyrouth, Imprimerie catholique, 1896.



editor says in his preface "Among the poetesses of ancient Arabia, Al-Hansâ incontestably occupies the first rank. Her elegies on her brothers Mû'awiah and Sabr, killed in the razzias a few years before the Hegira have yielded the only apotheoses that the Arabs knew, the honour of passing into a proverb."

This new edition is based upon manuscripts preserved at Cairo, Aleppo, Beyrouth, and Berlin. The Aleppo manuscript, a non-vocalized and very incorrect copy, written by a Mussulman Sheikh in Yemen, had served as a base for the first edition. That of Cairo (dated A.H. 620) very rich in notes, and of which a photogravure specimen is reproduced in the volume in question, has been the base of the new edition now before us.

The so-called Beyrouth manuscript, having been obtained at Mosûl and deposited at Beyrouth in the Oriental Library of the Jesuit fathers at the time the edition we speak of was completed, the different readings of this manuscript were published in a supplement attached to the book. Many useful tables have been added to the text; they include 1st a list of the poems of Al-Hansâ in verse, with metric information, and the order of the pieces in the principal manuscripts, 2nd observations on the philologists and commentators named in the Diwân; 3rd A vocabulary of annotated words; 4th An index of proper names; 5th A geographical list of names of places; 6th A list of quoted proverbs, etc.; and finally, the most interesting work, a nomenclature of the customs of the ancient Arabs, such as can be deduced from the Diwân.

This new and well printed edition, is well worthy of the attention of specialists on account of its critical character, and its numerous additions. The Catholic press of Beyrouth is about to publish another work of the greatest interest, that is the first portion of a collection of "Arabic poetesses," also by P. Cheikho.\* We shall reserve ourselves to speak at length of this work, till such time as the other announced portions shall have been published. We can, however, already vouch that it tends to confirm this theme, that in Islam, notwithstanding the institutions which place woman in an inferior position, this, like elsewhere has not often shone in the first rank both in literature and in every branch of human activity. This is an assertion to which we shall return at another time.

We describe an original pamphlet by G. Jacob, the author of the very practical "Arabic Bible-Chrestomathy"† based on the statements that can be established between the Old Testament and the ancient Arab authors.‡ We make mention, in this respect, of another collection also very practical, which appeared some years ago and is accompanied by a glossary and notes; it is entitled Chrestomathia Qorani Arabica by Nallino.§ I do not want to close this review of Arab literature without drawing the attention to a curious collection of Arab proverbs, collected at Jerusalem and published by Lydia Einsler in the "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-

\* فياض الأدب في مرآي شواهد العرب بيروت ١٨٩٧

† Berlin, Reuther, 1888.

‡ *Altarabische Parallelen zum Alten Testament*, Berlin, Mayer und Müller, 1897.

§ Lipsie, Wolfgang Gerhard, 1893.

Vereins" (Heft 2, 1896) and of which I shall be satisfied in giving an alluring specimen :

ان كان صاحبك حل لا تلمسه كله

"If thy friend is made of honey, do not lick him up entirely."

#### TRAVELS THROUGH ARABIA.

Several narratives of journeys in Arabia have recently appeared. The most captivating is that of the well-known Strasbourg professor, J. Euting, of which he has published the first part.\* It is an account of his journey in 1883-84, and during which he copied the important Nabatean inscriptions, which have been interpreted and edited by him some years ago.† The account of the first portion of his journey, which has just seen the light, and which is full of drawings by the author himself, conducts us from Damascus to Hâjel (حائل) through 'Ormân, Kâf, Gyôf and the Nefûd. This narrative is of the greatest interest, on account of the details he gives us of the customs of the nomads and the sedentary tribes, of the position given to women in the interior of Arabia, of the Druses, the Wahhabis, etc. Euting has preserved an excellent souvenir of the desert, and we can well understand his enthusiasm. He says : "In the desert there is absolute independence, no need of money, air of an incomparable purity, an enlivening freshness at nights, complete absence of insects, abundance of odoriferous fire-wood and a perfect bed in the pearly sand!" We notice some remarks of a valuable historical or philological character : for example upon the Arabic as spoken, at Kâf, etc. ; upon the ancient name of the oasis of Gyôf, which was formerly called Dumah. Euting perceives in the name of Duhma (دومة) the דומה spoken of in Es. xxi. 11. We sincerely hope that the second portion of Euting's narrative will appear soon.

The same publisher has published an account of another voyage, full also of observations of a similar kind. The author, L. Hirsch, traversed a part of Southern Arabia, more especially the Mahra and the Hadramût.‡ It was not without difficulties that he succeeded in penetrating into the interior of this inhospitable region. An etymological detail of geography : the name Hadramût (حضر موت = حضر موت Gen. x. 26) possesses, according to Hirsch, the same signification as حضرة and حضرة, viz., that of the country "par excellence of cities" that is to say a civilized country in contradistinction to the desert and nomad country (بادية).

Finally we announce the publication by M. van Berchem of some interesting Arabic inscriptions, collected by him in Syria (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Heft 2, 1896) one, amongst them, coming from Haram of Hebron, and dated 732 of the Hegira.

\* *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, 1<sup>ste</sup> Thail, Leiden, Brill, 1896.

† *Nabathische Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin, Reimer, 1885.

‡ *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramût*, Leiden, Brill, 1897.

# NATIVE AND EUROPEAN ARABIC GRAMMARIANS.

A REPLY TO PROF. DE GOEJE.

BY DR. M. C. HOWELL, C.I.E.

IN my article, last October, on "Native and European Grammarians of Arabic," I remarked that *اداة*, as a technical term of grammar, "is ambiguous, equally applicable to a particle and a noun, as explained in the Glossary prefixed to Part I. of my Grammar," which refers to pp. 300-1 of Dieterici's Ibn 'Aqil's Commentary on the *Alfiya*, showing that *اداة* is so applied by Ibn Mālik and Ibn 'Aqil. Prof. de Goeje, neglecting this reference, preferred to consult Lane, who states (p. 38, col. i.) that *اداة* is, "in grammar, a particle, as being a kind of auxiliary; including the article *ال*, the preposition, the conjunction, and the interjection; but not the adverbial noun"; and on this *dictum*, for which Lane cites no authorities, the Professor relies to disprove my remark. Probably no authorities could be found. The modern Indian author of the *Kashshāf Istilāḥāt al-Funūn*, as much a foreigner to the Arabs as any European scholar, in one place (p. 100), says that *اداة*, "according to grammarians and logicians, is the particle, opposed to the noun and the verb"; but in another (p. 183) contradicts himself by speaking of "the *ادوات* of exception," which, as will be seen, include noun, verb, and particle. I have found *اداة* used by Arab native grammarians to signify (1) a letter characteristic of a particular formation; (2) a word, whether a noun, adverbial or non-adverbial, a verb, or a particle; (3) a group of two or more words forming a compound expression. Thus Ibn Ya'ish (p. 736, § 18) speaks of "the *اداة* of diminution," meaning the *ي* characteristic of the diminutive formation. The same author (p. 444, § 11) refers to "the *ادوات*, like *كَيْ* and *لَيْ*," here meaning *particles*; and (pp. 948-9) mentions non-adverbial nouns, like *مَهْمَا*, and adverbial nouns, like *مَتَى* and *كَيْفَ*, among "the *ادوات* of condition." Such nouns are styled *ادوات* by Ibn Mālik and Ibn 'Aqil (*Alfiya*, pp. 300-1), Ibn Hishām (*Sharḥ Shudhūr adh-Dhahab*, p. 117), Ar Radi (vol. ii., pp. 210, 215, 216, 217), and Al Fākihī (vol. i., pp. 193-4). Ibn Hishām (*Aḥdāḥ al-Masālik*, p. 89) says "Exception has eight *ادوات*: two particles . . . and two verbs . . . and two words used sometimes as verbs, and sometimes as particles . . . and two nouns." Al Fākihī (vol. ii., p. 160) expresses himself in similar terms. And, when Ibn Ājurrūm (p. 11) enumerates the "particles of exception," his commentator Khālid al-Azhārī (p. 102) corrects him with the observation "he means the *ادوات*, which he names *particles* by predominance," *i.e.*, because the particle predominates among the exceptives. The term *اداة* of exception is applied by Ibn Hishām (*Sharḥ Shudhūr adh-Dhahab*, pp. 92-3) and Abū-n Najā (Gloss on the Commentary of Khālid al-Azhārī, p. 104) to *لَيْسَ*, which is



a verb, and لَا يَكُونُ, which is compounded of a particle and a verb; and by Al Ushmūnī (vol. ii, p. 222) لَا سِيَمًا, which consists of three words, two particles and a noun, or a particle and two nouns, according to different explanations. Other authorities might easily be added; but the references already given are sufficient to show that Lane's explanation of اِنْدَا as a technical term of grammar is defective and erroneous. And the fact that it could be put forth by so profound a scholar as Lane, and be adopted and upheld by so eminent a Professor as M. De Goeje, is a striking demonstration of the fallibility of European scholarship when not based upon native authority.

The Professor, while admitting the learning of the native grammarians, adds that "We have at our disposal means of judging which they did not possess. Thus, for example, we are better qualified than they were to determine the origin and signification of the prefixes and suffixes of the Perfect and Imperfect. Now, the "prefixes" here mentioned, *i.e.*, the aoristic letters (حروف المضارعة), are explained in § 89 of Wright's Grammar as "Prefixed Pronouns expressing the Nominative." But this explanation, commended by De Goeje as "clear and simple," contains only one word "prefixed," which is not entirely wrong. For these letters are not pronouns, nor do they express the nominative. If they were, then the subject of the aorist (or imperfect) would always be a pronoun prefixed to the verb, namely, the letter in question. But the subject of the aorist is often not a pronoun at all, as in *يَضْرِبُ زَيْدٌ* *Zaid strikes* and *تَضْرِبُ هِنْدٌ* *Hind strikes*, where the subject is an explicit noun, and there is no room for any pronoun expressing the nominative. The Professor seems to admit the force of this reasoning in the analogous case of *تَضْرِبُ هِنْدٌ* *Hind struck*, where he has abandoned the position that the quiescent ت is a pronoun expressing the nominative. And even when the subject of the aorist is a pronoun, that pronoun is either latent, as in *أَضْرِبُ* *I strike*, or suffixed to the verb, as in *يَضْرِبُونِي*, where the pronoun is the و interposed between the verb يَضْرِبُ and the sign of inflection, *i.e.*, the ن. In no case is the subject ever prefixed to the verb, because it is a common-place of Arabic syntax that the nominative governed by the verb never precedes the verb. And therefore, though the ت in *تَضْرِبُ أَنْتَ* *thou struckest* is a pronoun expressing the nominative governed by the verb, the ت in *تَضْرِبُ أَنْتَ* *thou strikest* is not so. As to the term "prefixed," the aoristic letter, in relation to the preterite, may be called a prefix, since it is prefixed to the preterite to convert the preterite into the aorist; but, in relation to the aorist, of which it is an integral part, it should rather be called "preformative." Being only part of a word, it has no independent signification, *i.e.*, no signification independently of the other letters of the aorist. In combination with those letters, its effect is, as Ar Radī says, to "notify the agent," by which he means that it serves to premonish the hearer, before the expression or subaudition of the agent, that he may expect the agent of this particular aorist to be of a

certain person, gender, or number. Thus, when the speaker says يَضْرِبُ the *ى* notifies to the hearer that the agent, to be afterwards expressed or understood, will be of the 3rd person, and probably of the masculine gender, though its number is uncertain; but, whether it is to be an explicit noun, like زَيْدُ *Zaid*, الزَّيْدَانِ *the two Zaid*s, and الزَّيْدُونَ *the Zaid*s, or a latent pronoun هُوَ *he*, or *it*, the hearer has no means of determining until the completion of the sentence, when he will either find an agent expressed, or perceive from the omission of the agent that he is to supply an appropriate pronoun. It is in this sense of notification, or premonition, that the *ا* of الْعِبَارَةُ is said by Lane (p. 2, col. iii.) to be "significant of the speaker," which should rather have been expressed as "significant of the 1st person singular." But the *ا* of أَضْرِبُ *I strike* does not express the agent *ا* *I* any more than the *ى* of يَضْرِبُ زَيْدٌ *Zaid strikes* or the *ى* of تَضْرِبُ in تَضْرِبُ هِنْدٌ *Hind strikes* expresses the agent زَيْدٌ *Zaid* or هِنْدٌ *Hind*. Wright's explanation then is erroneous and misleading; and can only have the effect of plunging the uninstructed reader into confusion. As for the suffixes, Professor de Goeje, as remarked above, has abandoned the untenable position that the *ى* in ضَرْبَتِ and ضَرْبَتَا is a pronoun expressing the nominative; and he now complains that Wright "would never have thought it possible that he could be suspected of taking the *ى* in ضَرْبَتِ for anything but the feminine termination." This complaint comes very oddly from the Professor, because not only did Wright expressly state that the *ى* was a pronoun expressing the nominative, but the Professor has reproduced this statement *verbatim* (see page 50 of the 1st, and page 55 of the 3rd edition of Wright's Grammar). He adds that I "might as well have accused Wright of mistaking the termination *ون* for a pronoun." What can be said to this? If, as the context seems to show, the Professor is speaking of the *ون* in such expressions as يَضْرِبُونَ *they strike*, then the *و* is a pronoun; while the *ون*, or, more accurately, the presence of the *ون*, is the sign of the indicative mood, as its absence would be the sign of the subjunctive or apocopate (jussive).

I come now to *أَل*, which is of two kinds. For, when prefixed to a participle, as in الضَّارِبُ and المَضْرُوبُ, it is a conjunct (not a demonstrative) noun; and, when prefixed to a non-participial noun, as in الْعَلَمُ and الْجَارِيَّةُ, it is a particle (not a noun of any kind). When Professor de Goeje says that all native grammarians do not call *أَل* a particle, I fancy that he must be referring to the first kind. Now Wright, followed by De Goeje, asserts that *أَل*, apparently of either kind, is a demonstrative noun; and the latter Professor roundly affirms that the "native scholars who include the article *أَل* among the particles . . . are certainly mistaken." The burden of proof lies on the two Professors, whose only argument seems to be that

there is a *ل* in *أَلْ*, as there is in *ذَلِكَ*, and that the *ل* in *أَلْ* and *أَلَيْ* is evidently demonstrative. The *ل*, however, in *ذَلِكَ* has no demonstrative force, being a mere particle added to the demonstrative for the purpose of distinguishing the distant (*that*) from the near (*this*), while the demonstration is effected by the *ذَا* alone. If therefore the *ل* of *أَلْ* were identical with the *ل* of *ذَلِكَ*, which is not allowed by native grammarians, it would not make *أَلْ* a demonstrative. And the *أَلْ* of *أَلَيْ* and *أَلَيْ* is said by some to denote *presence* (not *demonstration*), and by others to be redundant. The argument therefore breaks down at all points.

My criticism upon Wright's explanation of *مَا أَفْعَلَ رَبِّمَا* was that it is not the explanation commonly accepted among native authorities. This being a case where authorities differ, Wright was of course at liberty to adopt the explanation which De Goeje assures us "he thought correct." But he ought to have mentioned the other also, because, whatever Fleischer may have thought, it holds the field among native writers, and is therefore most likely to be met by the student in commentaries, glosses, and similar works.

The meaning of my remark on § 196 was that *فَعْلَةٌ* and *فَعْلَانِ*, when used as names of measures or paradigms, should be printed without Tanwin, because they are then diptote, as is correctly explained in § 309, *د*, 7. A glance at §§ 237 and 331 of the *Mufaṣṣal*, as edited by Broch and Jahn, will show the proper way of printing such measures.

In reply to my objection that Wright's view of the origin of *كَيْ* and *كَيْ* was opposed to "the concurrent statements of Ibn Hishām and Al Ushmūnī," Professor de Goeje intimates that "the correctness of this view cannot be questioned notwithstanding 'the concurrent statements of Ibn Hishām and Al Ushmūnī' and whatever other authorities Dr. Howell may choose to cite." This being mere assertion, and not argument, merits no further notice.

Professor de Goeje asks whether I can find no better place for the adverbs than in the middle of the prepositions, which are particles. I suggest that they should rather be placed among the nouns, to which division of the parts of speech they admittedly belong.

I regret having overlooked § 120, *rem. a*; but since Professor de Goeje has directed my attention to it, I must point out that it seems to contain only half the required information, since it says nothing about *intransitive* reduplicated verbs of the form *فَعَّلَ* with their numerous exceptions.



## THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF ORIENTALISTS.

By R. N. CUST, LL.D.

FROM the 5th to the 12th September next, there will be held in Paris a Congress of Oriental Scholars. It is to France that science is indebted for the conception of this institution. It first met in Paris in 1873, and Congresses have since been held in London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leyden, Vienna, Stockholm, and Geneva. After a lapse of twenty-four years, Paris again offers a hospitable welcome not only to European, but also to American, North African, and Asiatic, scholars. Membership is open to all, who send in their names, in England, to Messrs. Luzac, 46, Gt. Russell Street, London, W.C., and pay the nominal subscription (16s.). The languages permitted to be used hitherto in communications, either oral or written, have, generally, been French, English, German, and Italian.\* The business is divided into sections with a certain number of general meetings. Excursions, entertainments, visits to museums, etc., are also provided.

The advantage derived from these Congresses has been great, and, it is to be hoped, will continue. They meet after intervals of one to three years,† generally in August and September, when many of the members are free from official duties. Delegates from States or learned bodies, from various parts of the world also attend these Congresses, at which scholars of different countries, who might never have had a chance of meeting, interchange ideas, and form friendships. The main object, however, of these Congresses is the impetus and solidarity imparted to Oriental studies. I have attended the Congresses of London (1874), St. Petersburg (1876), Florence (1878), Berlin (1881), Leyden (1883), Vienna (1886), and Stockholm (1889), and I am deeply sensible of the interest they created, the information they collected, the new vistas that were opened, and the friendships (life-long I hope) then formed with scholars, valued previously for their works only, but now also esteemed for their personality.

PARIS, 1ST TO 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1873.

This Congress, which had over 1,000 members, was formally opened by M. Léon de Rosny, the President, in the *Salle de Théologie* at the *Sorbonne*. Delegates attended from England, Belgium, Spain, Greece, Holland, Italy, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, India, the United States, and other parts of America, and the French Colonies, including representatives of fifteen learned societies. A Council was elected by ballot, representative of the different nationalities present. There were twenty-one meetings. Three volumes of reports were published. Half the

\* At the London Statutory International Congress of Orientalists of 1891 other languages were also used by European and Asiatic Scholars, and interpreters were provided to translate their communications into English.—ED.

† The original Statutes prescribe yearly meetings.—ED.

first volume is occupied with the study of Japan from many points of view; the other half with the subjects of China, Borneo and Buddhism. More than one hundred pages of the second volume were taken up by Egyptian discussions, in which one is glad to find that M. Maspero, the Secretary of the next Congress, took part. About the same number of pages are devoted to Assyriology and the name of M. Jules Oppert appears. Semitic studies occupy much the same space, and one sees with pleasure the name of M. Halevy conspicuous, fighting as vigorously as now. Iranian, Dravidian, and the general subject of India, occupy about sixty pages: Buddhism about forty, and we rejoice to chronicle the prominence of some ten scholars of this speciality who are still in our midst. It seemed, however, an undue stretch of the natural orbit of an Oriental Congress to have introduced the subject of Neo-Hellenism, a purely European study.\* Above all were the Statutes laid down at this Congress† indicative of the general principles that are to guide the series of these gatherings.

LONDON, 14TH TO 20TH SEPTEMBER, 1874.

A single volume records the Transactions of this Congress, of which I published a résumé in the "Calcutta Review" of 1875. The attendance was very fair, not only of specialists, but also of the general public, some of whom, indeed, were well able to discuss subjects in all the sections. Perhaps the arrangements with regard to the place of meeting were not so perfect in securing ample room for all the sections to meet in immediate vicinity to one another. Of these there were six—I. The Aryan presided over by Professor Max Müller: II. The Semitic by Sir H. Rawlinson: III. The Non-Aryan (of India) by Sir W. Elliot: IV. The Hamitic by Dr. Birch of the British Museum, who was also President of the Congress: V. The Archaeological by Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff: VI. The Ethnological by Professor Owen.

The countries represented were Great Britain, France, Germany, Hungary, Sweden, Russia, and India. No delegates came from the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, or the United States; nor do we find any Dutch, Danish, or Belgian, names among the members. Turkey and Greece were silent, but Egypt sent an accomplished scholar. It is a sad task to review so many illustrious men of various nationalities, whom science has lost since 1874.

Dr. Birch in his inaugural address alluded to the progress made in excavations and the discovery of inscriptions: he urged the importance of an Universal Alphabet. It now seems strange, that he had to make an emphatic declaration in favour of the reality of Cuneiform studies. This alone would mark the progress in human knowledge since 1874. In the Hamitic Section, his own province, he laid stress on the necessity of the labours of the Philologists being supplemented by the Ethnologist and Archaeologist.

\* Hellenism, as the connecting link between Europe and the East, forms a leading feature of the next Congress as it was one of the Statutory London Congress of 1891.—ED.

† They are reprinted in the special Congress number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1891.—ED.

The weak side of the London arrangements showed themselves, when it was found that there was only time for the addresses of presidents, without opportunity for discussion. Sir H. Rawlinson made the opening speech in the Semitic Section, and then a triangular duel took place in the French, German, and English languages between Prof. Oppert, Prof. Schrader, and the president. Professor Max Müller laid on the table the last sheer of the printed texts of the Rig Veda. Pandit Shankar Pandurang addressed the Congress on Hindu customs in a singularly prepossessing manner and in well-chosen language. An exhibition took place of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the Hamitic section Prof. Brugsch Bey made his remarkable statement on the route taken by the Hebrews from Egypt to Palestine along the coast of the Mediterranean. Dr. Leitner described his ethnographical and philological discoveries in Dardistan and his excavations of Græco-Buddhistic sculptures on the Swat frontier, a collection of which was exhibited at the Albert Hall.

It was finally determined that the next Congress should be held at St. Petersburg. The Lord Mayor of London entertained a certain number of members at dinner, and this was pretty well all the hospitality, that was shown by Great Britain to the assembled foreigners. The English Universities ignored the Congress altogether.

ST. PETERSBURG, 1ST TO 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1876.

Two volumes contain the reports of this Congress, but, as one is entirely in Russian, its use is scarcely international, but the second contains contributions in the English, French, Arabic, German, and Chinese languages. At this Congress appeared for the first time an essential of all Congresses, "the daily bulletin," without which foreign members often do not know where to go and what to hear. French was the *lingua franca*. The president was M. Grigoriew, and the presidents of the nine sections were as follows:—1. Siberia: M. Vassiliew. 2. Central Asia: M. Ch. Schéfer. 3. Caucasia: M. Gamazow. 4. Trans-Caucasia: M. Patkanow. 5. Extreme Orient: M. de Rosny. 6. India: M. Kern. 7. Turkey: Ahmed Vefyk. 8. Archaeology: M. Oppert. 9. Systems of Religion: M. Douglas. In each section there were two vice-presidents.

A list of questions on subjects to be discussed in the Congress was prepared by the organizing committee, which certainly was a great advance, as members thus knew what was going to be discussed, and there was much larger leisure and opportunity given for discussion, which really is the main object of the Congress. No subject could be mooted outside this list except by special leave of the president.

Don Pedro, the Emperor of the Brazils, was present as an honorary member, and made himself exceedingly agreeable. I wrote an account of the proceedings in the "Calcutta Review" of 1877. No attempt at private hospitality was made to the assembled strangers, but two entertainments were given in the Imperial Palace of Peterhof and Tsarkoe Selo, at which the Imperial Chamberlain presided: otherwise no notice was taken of the Congress by any member of the Imperial family or by the



nobility. It was remarked that there were no great German scholars present, and that there was an open feud among the Russian scholars, and many distinguished Russian scholars, some actually in town, absented themselves. A great mistake was made in admitting chance tourists, male and female, to membership. The English representatives were swamped by travellers, who took tickets merely for the sake of the Imperial banquets. A great advance was, however, made in organization generally; the "locale" was magnificent in one of the Offices of Government, and a select body of students acted as stewards to the meeting. Some members of the Congress made it their special duty to introduce foreigners of different nationalities to one another. The difficulty of language was very great, as by the organic rules none were allowed except French and the language of the country, but this rule was broken through, and produced evils of a different kind: at last, the four great languages of Europe only, and set speeches in Latin, were allowed in addition to Russian. There was no long presidential address, but the idea of holding contemporaneous sittings, and thus economizing time, was not arrived at until the Florence Congress. It was authoritatively declared, that no topic relating to the Christian religion, politics, administration, commerce, or manufacture, should be allowed. In Russia the Press was admitted: at the next Congress at Florence it was excluded. Such are the vagaries of Continental systems. In Russia women were allowed to be members, and even delegates; in Italy they were ejected. In Russia, the general public was admitted to the meetings: in Italy, even Oriental students were excluded, and the door closed absolutely on the public. These features are mentioned as warnings to future Congresses.

The nationalities represented by the members were English, French, German, Italian, Dane, Swedish, Norwegian, Finlander, Pole, Dutch, Turk;\* and very few of the greatest scholars of Europe were there.

Many subjects of paramount importance were discussed in the sections: Central Asia was naturally the speciality of this Congress, which was a great success, and the last business was to accept the offer of the Italian Government that the next Congress should be held at Florence. The report is a mine of information, and all impartial observers will admit that Russia is doing its duty to our science in these remote regions, and deserves thanks for the good work done, and the prospect of greater things hereafter. The presence of Buriat, Ostyak, Finlander and Tartar, gave an Oriental reality to the meeting, which can be found nowhere so well as in London or St. Petersburg, the capitals of the two Powers which almost divide Asia between them.†

#### FLORENCE, SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1878.

Two volumes represent the report of this Congress, as also one small volume; the bulletin issued daily: all in the Italian language. I published a report of the proceedings in "the Calcutta Review" of 1879. The Con-

\* A good number of Indian native gentlemen inscribed themselves as Members of this Congress, though none, we believe, were present.—ED.

† In London natives of the East are apt to assume English dress and manners, whereas in Paris and St. Petersburg they seem to be proud of their costume and nationality.—ED.

gress differed materially from that of St. Petersburg: the attendance of scholars was much greater, 120 in number. Women, and persons not interested in Oriental studies, were excluded. The sub-divisions of the subjects were no longer Geographical but Linguistic: the organization was left to the control of universal suffrage, and business was conducted in sections seated in different rooms, but at the same time. A palace was provided for the meetings and refreshments: it was clear, however, that an organizing master-mind was absent, and confusion and waste of time were the consequences. It thus clearly appeared, that Florence erred on one side as much as St. Petersburg on the other: what is required is a benevolent paternal authority, and constitutional rules and precedents.

The division of sections was as follows:—I. Hamitic, II. Semitic—ancient, III. Semitic—modern, IV. Aryan, V. Indian or South Asia, VI. Altaic or North Asia, VII. the Extreme Orient. As soon as scholars had arranged themselves under their respective sections, they elected their president, vice-president, and secretaries. Some countries sent national delegates. In some, learned societies were represented. British India sent a delegate.

The Congress was opened by Amadeo, late Duke of Aosta, ex-King of Spain; he entertained the delegates at dinner in the Palazzo Pitti, and the Ministers of Public Instruction entertained the whole Congress in the Palazzo Riccardi. The President was Senatore Amári, assisted by Professors Ascoli, Gorrésio, Severíni, Lasínio, and De Gubernátiis. Máspero was President of the Hamitic section: Renan of the Semitic—ancient: Schéfer of the Semitic—modern: Benfey of the Aryan; Roth of Indian or South Asia: Veláminoff of the Altaic: Legge of the Extreme Orient: and the list of vice-presidents comprised really illustrious scholars. In the Hamitic section, M. Naville read a paper on the edition of the Egyptian Ritual of the Dead, with the preparation of which he had been charged by the London Congress of 1874. Real good work was done in this section, which was not crowded but very effective. In the Semitic—ancient—section Renan occupied his post with great dignity. M. Lenormant, Prof. Oppert, Prof. Ascoli, Prof. Sayce, made interesting communications. Such meetings, indeed, advance Oriental learning.

The same cannot be said with regard to the Semitic—modern—section; it was crowded, but the subjects discussed were of the smallest literary interest, such as would occupy the minds of dilettanti scholars of the old school, not the great class of "INDICATOIRES" of the nineteenth century. I am forced to go back to Pliny to find a word. There was an absence from this section both of the modern philological and archaeological spirit, and the report reads more like that of a congress of University tutors of the last century met to discuss the reading of a passage in a Greek play, or the accentuation of a vowel, before the dawn of Comparative Philology had swept away the cobwebs of the Scholiasts. Was it worth while to discuss whether Mahomet could hold a pen or write? Any official in India knows, that provinces have been ruled and codes of law compiled at the dictation of a great man, who could not wield the pen. "The Aryan" supplied much material for reflection: Prof. Oppert explained how the Persian

Cuneiform alphabet was formed from the earlier Cuneiform syllabic and ideographic system. Prof. Schiefner spoke about the Language of the Caucasus, the subject of the patois of the Zingari or Gipsies, and the analogous linguistic features, which accompanied the transition of the Sanskrit and Latin dead languages into the two groups of living modern languages, were discussed. Dr. Leitner, the delegate of British India, exhibited and explained in this section his collection of Greek antiquities lately discovered by him on the Trans-Indus frontier of the Panjab.

The Indian section was small, but such an assembly of great scholars perhaps was never before seen in one room. A new difficulty here presented itself. I had prepared a communication on the Dravidian languages of South India, and, warned by the fate of English papers at the Russian Congress, I wrote it in Italian, but such are the chances of science as well as of war, that on this occasion the company was such that with the exception of myself, Dr. Leitner, and two or three Italians, no one present understood that language, and my paper, though read most distinctly by Prof. Pullé, fell flat, and at its close I had orally to go over the subject in an English address.

In the Altaic section little was done, in spite of the presence of such scholars as Vambéry of Buda-Pesth, and Donner of Helsingfors. An Italian had the hardihood to read a paper on a language in North America: this ought not to have been allowed in an Oriental Congress.

In the Extreme Orient section Prof. Legge read an address on the state of our knowledge of the Chinese: here a new difficulty arose: he was qualified to speak English or Chinese: his audience understood neither: so he made his opening address in Latin which was a mediæval anachronism, and was understood by few, though Italian and French, and sometimes English, scholars occasionally spoke in Latin at the entertainments of the Congress.

Other papers were read without a discussion: clearly there should be a committee of selection of papers, and those of intrinsic interest, but not likely to rouse discussion, should be taken as read, and printed in the report: what we want in a Congress of Experts is a problem to be solved, a nut to be cracked, and time to do so.

The last proceeding was to select a German city at the discretion of the German Oriental Society as the place for the next Congress.

One flaw in the proceedings of this Congress was the incompleteness, and tardiness of appearance, of the daily bulletin.

#### BERLIN, 1881.

The next Congress met at the capital of the German Empire: unluckily the International Geographical Congress was held at Venice at nearly the same time. On the last day I had to forego the pleasure of sharing in the hospitality of my friends in order to hurry across Germany and the Alps so as to be in time for the opening by King Humbert in person of the International Geographical Congress.

The President of the Congress was Dr. Dillman—"grande et venerabile nomen"; he was assisted by 117 professors and scholars of German



universities. The oldest and most venerated were Prof. Lepsius, Prof. Fleischer and Prof. Böhtlingk, but the two latter took no share in the proceedings. The countries represented were Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Servia, Spain, Egypt, the United States, Japan, China, India and Syria. The Congress was opened on Sept. 12th, 1881, by the Minister of Public Instruction: in Germany everything must be official: two volumes represent the Report: I made my own in the "*Calcutta Review*" in 1884.

One great blot must be recorded as a warning to future Congresses. The grotesque idea was started of producing natives of Oriental countries as illustrations of a paper: thus the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford produced a real live Indian Pandit, and made him go through the ritual of Brahmanical prayer and worship before a hilarious assembly: this shocks the religious sense of all thoughtful men. Prof. Max Müller of Oxford produced two rival Japanese priests, who exhibited their gifts; it had the appearance of two showmen exhibiting their monkeys. In the African Section I read a paper in German on the Languages of Africa, but it fell flat, because I thoughtlessly had not provided myself with a Negro, a Zulu, a Hottentot, and a Moor, as object-lessons of the great linguistic regions of that Continent.

There were only four sections: I. Semitic (ancient and modern): Dr. Schrader was the president, with a company of 60 scholars. II. Aryan, including Comparative Philology: 60 scholars also formed this company, and elected Prof. Weber as their president. III. Africa, including Egypt. Prof. Lepsius presided over a select body of 14 scholars, and was eventually relieved by Brugsch Bey. IV. The Extreme Orient, to which Archaeology and Ethnology was attached: 25 scholars grouped themselves around Prof. Von der Gabelentz and Dr. Bastian, as joint-presidents of the united sub-sections.

The Imperial Family and the nobility manifested no interest whatever in the Congress. Papers were read in English, German and French. Visitors were kindly received and entertained by the German Professors. There was no show, but a great amount of good work done.

There was too much of the pedantic and scholastic element in the Semitic section. There were exceptions however: Prof. Paul Haupt discussed the subject of the Sumerian or Accadian language, which brought Prof. Oppert to the front. Prof. Sayce read a paper on the inscription on the rocks of Van in Armenia.

In the Aryan Section Prof. Max Müller occupied a good deal of time—"Germanus an Anglicus anceps": his object was to note the shortcomings and want of liberality of Great Britain in the matter of Oriental studies. It was surprising to hear these charges from one, who had received so much in grants from the Indian Government. He described how he had discovered Sanskrit manuscripts in Japan. Prof. Monier Williams and Pandit Shārnaji Krishna-Varma, gave what appeared to me an improper exhibition of the modes of religious worship of the Hindu, holding them up to ridicule. If the Hindus in their towns were to exhibit Anglican Ritual, we should feel

offended. Prof. Monier Williams read a paper on the important subject of the transliteration of Oriental alphabets into Roman characters.

In the African Section M. Naville described the progress in the edition of the Book of the Dead, and announced the wonderful discovery of mummies at Dar-el-Bahari in Egypt, and the finding of important papyri. Brugsch Bey read his paper on the Egyptian Ethnological Subject, and I myself contributed a paper in German on "Our present knowledge of the Languages of Africa."

The fourth section was unimportant: one paper only deserves notice on a New Chinese Grammar by Prof. Von der Gabelentz. A banquet closed the proceedings, at which I gather from the newspapers that everybody seemed to wish to speak simultaneously. The Postmaster-General of Germany was among the guests, and in his speech expressed the only sentiment worth recording. He remarked that upwards of sixty millions of letters came annually from India to Europe, furnishing loads for nine hundred camels, and all requiring answers, which the Latin poet Horace had anticipated:

*"Jam Scythæ responsa petunt et Indi."*

At the last meeting it was announced, that Holland had been chosen for the place of the next Congress. For myself, I must confess that I left Berlin with pleasurable recollections, enlarged knowledge, and widened capacity to appreciate the information of others, and to add to my own store.

LEYDEN, 1883.

The Amsterdam International Exhibition had been fixed for 1883, so it was deemed advisable to have the Congress the same year. It met on the roth of September not at either of the great commercial cities, nor at the residence of royalty, but in the quaint little Dutch town, which occupies so prominent a position in the history of science and literature.

Women were admitted as members of this Congress: there is, indeed, something peculiarly genial in the Dutch character. 450 members were registered: English and French scholars found Leyden singularly convenient of access. The following countries were represented, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Servia, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Tripoli, United States, British India, Japan, Persia, Ceylon, China and the Dutch Colonies of the Indian Archipelago. Four volumes contain the official report in the French language. My report of it is published in the pages of the "Calcutta Review," 1884. The opening meeting took place in the town hall. The Ministers of the Interior, the Colonies, and War, were present: I note with disapprobation the intrusion of Government officials in purely popular assemblies: the first of the three officials opened the Congress, and the discourses were in French: Professor Dozy had been selected as President, but had died: Professor Kuenen was nominated to succeed him, supported by a body of remarkable scholars, De Goeje, Kern, Land, Leemans, Pleyte, Pignappel, Tiele, and others. Offerings of books to the Congress were then made. British India had delegated Pandit Shámaji Krishna-Varma, who made an address

in English. Dr. Leitner described his newly founded Anglo-Oriental University of the Panjáb, the first of the kind in India.

Five sections were formed, but as the first was subdivided, there were practically six companies of scholars. I. Semitic modern, and Semitic ancient, presided over by Prof. Schefer and Prof. Schrader respectively. Ninety-one scholars were attached to this section. II. Aryan, presided over by Dr. Roth, with fifty-three scholars. III. African (purely Egyptian), presided over by Prof. Lieblein with seventeen scholars. IV. Central Asia and Extreme Orient under Prof. Von de Gabelentz with twenty-five scholars. V. Malaysia Polynesian under Abbé Favre with forty-nine scholars.

In the Semitic section in both subdivisions there was a good deal of dry scholastic matter, but Prof. Tiele read a paper on the Worship of the Assyrian Goddess Istar, or Astarte, which provoked a long discussion. Prof. Sayce brought before the Congress the important subject of the origin of the so-called Median inscription Tablet at Behistun. A discussion followed on the meaning of the word "El" in Sabœan Inscriptions. Prof. Oppert and M. Halevy, took a large share in the discussion.

In the Aryan section two whole days a crowded assembly was occupied with the discussion of the origin of the famous cluster of alphabets, known as the Indian Alphabet. I had the honour of bringing the matter before the section. No final decision has even yet, in 1897, been arrived at. Photographs of the palm-leaf manuscript of Sanskrit found in Japan were laid before the Congress by Prof. Bühler in the name of Prof. Max Müller. The question of transliteration again came up: it is still unsettled in 1897. The subject of Jain and Avesta literature was brought forward as were also several topics of special Indian interest.

In the African section nothing was discussed except Egypt. Professor Pleyte read a paper on the covering of mummies with flowers. Papers were read and no discussion was allowed.

In the Central Asia and Extreme Orient sections—Dr. Leitner made a communication on the subject of the languages in the regions of the Hindu Kush, especially on that of Hunza on the slopes of the Pamir.

The fifth section or Malayan and Polynesian, being peculiarly Dutch, was well attended. Prof. Kern read a paper on the Mafur Language in Dutch New Guinea. M. Maré and Abbé Favre, spoke on the subject of the language of Madagascar, which has been proved to belong to the Malayan family and to have no connection with Africa. Prof. Hummel described the Java language. Prof. Hunfalvy made a communication on the different methods of counting in different countries: the subject of Proverbs was alluded to by Rev. J. Long of India. An attempt was made to induce the British Museum to make a loan of its priceless manuscripts: a wish was conveyed to Great Britain by the Congress, but in due course a decided negative was received from the trustees, as an Act of Parliament forbids it.

The proceedings ended with the usual banquet, and toasts and speeches. One was of exceptional interest: the Dutch Colonies of Java and Sumatra had suffered lately from earthquakes, and there was great distress. I was



requested to propose a resolution of condolence with the sufferers and the collection of subscriptions to be sent out. This proposal was cordially approved, and a collection of one thousand gulden was made by the agency of little girls trooping down between the tables with their baskets.

It was announced to this Congress that the next meeting would take place at Vienna in 1886.

#### VIENNA, 1886.

This Congress was opened on September 27, 1886, by His Imperial and Royal Highness, Archduke Rainier, the patron. Baron Alfred von Kremer, a distinguished Oriental scholar, was the president, and the University of Vienna lent their grand new buildings as the locale. Women were admitted as members. Experience gained in previous Congresses enabled the Vienna organizing committee to provide against all difficulties. There were representatives of every country in Europe, of Egypt in Africa, of India and China in Asia, and the United States. Four hundred had entered their names, and paid their subscriptions, but only 147 appeared. A daily bulletin was circulated, which kept all members *en rapport*. The sessions lasted six days, and the work was fast and furious. A report in the German Language was published in five volumes, and a copy sent to each member, though tardily. I published my report of the proceedings in the "Calcutta Review" of 1887.

At the opening meeting, offerings of books were made, and I had the honour of presenting one hundred and four volumes of Translations of the Scriptures in the languages of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania published by the British and Foreign Bible Society with the aid of scholars from Germany, Holland, Austria, Russia, and England. The books were ordered to be placed on the shelves of the University Library.

The following were the sections: I. Semitic—modern; II. Semitic—ancient; III. Aryan; IV. African, including Egypt; V. Central Asia and extreme Orient; VI. Malaysian and Polynesian.

In past centuries Latin and Greek exercised a tyranny over the work of education and research: a similar kind of tyranny is attempted by the Aryan and Semitic scholars of Europe, and has to be sternly resisted. It is clear from the outlines of this Congress, that the three sections of these languages occupied an unduly large portion of the time of this Congress for the very simple reason that the majority of scholars were totally ignorant of the subjects of the three last sections, and yet they occupied the larger portion of the globe.

Ninety-one communications were made in writing, a large majority of which were read in the sections, sixty-six relating to Aryan and Semitic subjects, and twenty-five to the rest of the world. The subjects selected were new, practical, and indicated research. The sections sat simultaneously. The bulletin reported progress. Notice of publications of new books was made, and the opinion of the Congress solicited as to the expediency of publishing new books, or new editions of old books. The interchange of thought of learned men, which followed, was of the greatest importance. In the Semitic Section—modern—Prof. Chwolson of St. Petersburg exhibited photographs of numerous Syriac tomb-inscriptions found in the

province of Semiretch, in Russia in Asia : this find will lead to further explorations. Dr. Snoucke Hurgronje of Leyden spoke on the subject of Mekka proverbs and sayings, opening out a new field. Yakub Artin Pasha of the Department of Public Instruction in Cairo described the work of the Egyptian Institute. He was followed by a colleague, who addressed the Congress in Arabic. This was a notable departure.

In the Semitic Section—ancient—there were sixteen communications—Hebrew, Assyrian Cuneiform, and Babylonian subjects.

In the Aryan Section there was a great gathering of scholars, and thirty-two communications were made. Dr. Bhandarkar of Bombay read a paper on Sanskrit MSS. in English, and the way, in which the Indian held his own amidst European scholars, was gratifying to remark. Mr. Grierson read a paper on the mediæval vernacular literature of India, and the Congress passed a vote urging on the Government of India the importance of preparing a detailed survey of the dialects spoken in India. An interesting discussion took place on the subject of the connection of the patois known as the Gipsy with some of the vernaculars of India, in which Mr. Leland took a foremost part. Prof. Bühler presented the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, edited by Mr. Fleet, and this led to an important discussion.

In the African Section Egyptology was most discussed to the exclusion of the subjects connected with the rest of that vast Continent. The vision of scholars is often narrow, and unsympathetic with anything beyond their own hobby. Few profess, that the world is their harvest field. It is one of the real dangers of future Congresses, that a certain great subject should occupy all the time and interest to the exclusion of all new ones. The Greek and Latin scholars, who alone ruled two centuries ago, have now yielded the ground to another set of narrow specialists. The points brought forward were no doubt interesting, but not suitable to a Congress "*de omnibus rebus orientalibus antiquis aut modernis.*"

Miss Amelia Edwards read a paper on the practical subject of the haphazard dispersion of Egyptian antiquities over Europe and the United States, said to be concealed in private country houses, and obscure provincial museums; what was required was an all-embracing register. Prof. Naville reported the completion of his critical edition of the Egyptian Book of the Dead: he had, however, limited his research to Papyri not later than the 19th dynasty, so there is much more to be done.

In the Central Asia sections there was very little business. In one discussion Tcheng-Ki-Tong, secretary of the Chinese Legation at Paris, stepped forward in his ordinary costume, handled the chalk with all the aplomb of a French professor, spoke excellent French, and gave another instance of the improvable capacity of Oriental nations: the proper study of mankind is man, and the sight of a yellow man calmly and without trepidation fighting the supercilious European scholar with his own weapons on his own arena was more encouraging than the sight of an old MS. of a forgotten religion, or an old mummy of an extinct race. The pigtailed Chinese seemed to look with contempt on the scholars of Europe, who dared to dabble with his ideographs, while the Hindu read his paper

with an impassive air without the least sign of self-consciousness. Prof. Terrien de la Couperie read a paper on the languages spoken in China before the advent of the present occupiers of the Middle Kingdom.

The last section of Malaysia and Polynesia was still less supplied with papers. I read a paper in German on the Languages of Oceania, in which wonderful progress had been made, and Dr. Fred Müller and Prof. von der Gabelentz took part in the discussion. The time is not yet come for such subjects to occupy their proper place: there is a fond preference to the dead past over the living present.

There was a grand banquet in the town hall, and a great variety of speeches. The young Chinese, above alluded to, spoke in a loud and clear voice, and drank the health of the Congress.

The next Congress was announced to be held in Stockholm.

#### STOCKHOLM, 1889.

The condescending kindness of Oscar, King of Sweden and Norway, the hospitality of the good people of these two kingdoms, and the hazardous experiment of holding the Congress, partly in Stockholm the capital of Sweden, and partly in Christiania the capital of Norway, rather tended to impede the business of real scholars, who came together not for a junket, but for an exchange of information and ideas. The Report of the Proceedings lies on my table in five volumes: and my account at the time is published in the "*Calcutta Review*" of 1890. I was the reporter of the "*Times*" newspaper for the Congresses of Leyden, Berlin, Vienna and Stockholm, and had the assistance of my lamented friend, Dr. Reinhold Rost, in my labours.

A positive irruption had taken place of flâneurs, tourists, and casuals: set speeches were made in all the languages of Europe in the presence of His Majesty: there was only a dummy President, M. d'Ehrenheim, and an overweening Secretary. *Bona fide* Orientalists were stared at as in a Barnum's all-world show: the good Scandinavian people seemed to think, that it was a collection of *Orientalists*, not of *Orientalists*, and were disappointed at no elephants, camels and tigers having been provided: the contemporaneous arrival of a menagerie would have been most fortunate. Good work was indeed transacted somehow or other, but there was a feeling of disappointment in thoughtful minds: it is obvious that the difficulty of obtaining invitations to other cities was greatly increased, as the reception of such crowds was expensive: as a fact, no future place of meeting was fixed. "*Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*" The daily bulletin was imperfect: we had clearly come to the parting of the ways, and, if these delightful meetings were to be continued, the problem of the mode of doing it had to be reconsidered.

The usual nationalities were represented: Universities and learned societies sent delegates: the presents of books to the Congress were magnificent: the British and Foreign Bible Society sent translations in one hundred languages: the India Office and Vatican Library sent contributions: no previous Congress had received such splendid presents: they were the first-fruits of a grand harvest of intellectual activity.

The number of members amounted to 713, of whom 515 were strangers



to the country. The Orientals sent as specimens were: seven from Egypt, two from Algeria, three from Japan, four from British India, four from Persia, and twenty-eight from Turkey. Many of these might with advantage have stayed at home. Death had thinned the ranks of scholars; some were kept away by illness, and were wise, for a member of such a Congress need be strong as well as learned. Women were admitted, but it was beyond reason, that the Congress should be choked, like the Flavian Amphitheatre at Rome, by an ignorant mob seeking only "*panem et circenses*," banquets and garden-parties.

A perusal of the list of subjects is really painful: some wrote on subjects of a dim and remote past: others on contemporary incidents: others on grammatical inflections, or the true value of a syllable or even a letter: however, if there had been less frivolous amusements in the programme, the result of this Congress, as evidenced by the bill of fare, would have equalled any of its predecessors.

The Congress lasted from Sunday, September 1, to Wednesday, September 11. There were some striking receptions, one by the King in his palace on Lake Malo, and one by the University of Upsala on the Hill of Odin.

Another feature is worthy of notice:—the King fed twelve scholars in a kind of cave at one of the hotels, paying their hotel bill. The all-powerful Secretary followed suit, and fed twelve additional prophets in a cave of his own; but it is fair to say that they were poor *bomb-fide* scholars, who could not have got to this Congress without this assistance.

On the last day a shower of stars fell on certain male and female members of the Congress: handsome gold medals were bestowed on genuine Orientalists, and special gold medals conferred on great absent scholars. This is a dangerous precedent, as future Congresses may have no stars or medals at their disposal, and, as a fact, the refusal of honours to one or two, who applied for them, was a cause of subsequent trouble.

The languages used to enlighten the members and communicate ideas were French, English, German, and Italian: those that were used to bore the hearers, were Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese. In all my Indian experience of Benares, and Amritsar, I never heard anything so unworthy of a sensible man like the Indian delegate scholar, as the lugubrious and foolish chant, which he uttered, and the whistling howls emitted by an Arabic student of El Azhar of Cairo. Such exhibitions at Congresses are mischievous and degrading. Clearly the Congress-idea reached its bathos at Stockholm.

The sections were the usual five: by a stroke of genius, to avoid bad feeling, one section elected three men to occupy in turn the post of Chairman. The King opened the Congress, and the dummy President informed us of one thing, that he had no knowledge of Oriental Sciences, and he proved this by suggesting the idea, that the assembled professors and tourists were "*habitues, que vous êtes, aux splendeurs orientales.*" The Secretary, who had made a tour in Palestine, remarked, "*Je connais un peu l'orient*"; I may emphasize the words "*un peu*" as accurately describing his Oriental scholarship in the true sense of the term. This

personage compiled, with the alleged approval of the King, a set of new statutes for future Oriental Congresses, which set aside the original statutes of Paris that had, in the main, been the guidance of all Congresses since their foundation in 1873.

I notice the real contributions to existing knowledge: Prof. Euting—Nabathean inscription in the Sinaitic Peninsula. Dr. Glaser—the inscriptions of South Arabia. Dr. Burgess—Archæological Researches in India. Dr. Bühler—Asoka's Thirteenth and Fourteenth Edict. Dr. Cust—Geographical Distribution of the Turki Branch of the Ural-Altaic Family of Languages. Dr. Leitner—the Language and Customs of the People of Hunza-Nagyr, as descriptive of a new departure in the sciences of philology and ethnography.

The final banquet of the Swedish Congress took place at the Grand Hotel, Stockholm, and a remarkable menu was circulated in—19—nineteen languages: this was a fair type of the whole Congress, costly, showy, unscientific, with everything done to attract uncritical wonder and admiration rather than to promote science and research. Two special trains took off the main body of members to Christiania, where there were more banquets. Life at Stockholm became endurable to those, who went no further. I myself retreated to Moscow. This was my seventh Congress in seven capitals of Europe, and I began to lose heart as to their future, unless radical changes were made.

LONDON, 1891.

After an interval of seventeen years the Congress was again held at London. It represented thirty-seven countries, and the members inscribed numbered 600. The Rev. Dr. Taylor, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, acted in the presidential chair for Lord Halsbury, Lord High Chancellor of England. The Congress was opened on August 31st, and lasted to September 11th. There may have been a clash of opinions, and a diversity of feeling, connected with this Congress and the Congress of London of 1892, but I knew nothing about it at the time, and remember nothing now. In my eyes all true Oriental learning is sacred, impartial, and free from personal prejudices.

The "Academy" on the 19th September, 1891, gave a summary of the "Proceedings" which is valuable. The "Times" and the Daily Press paid much attention to this Congress, the published papers read at which are stated to extend to four volumes. I have only studied the 198 pages of its "Proceedings."

A new and most commendable feature of this Congress was the presentation of printed "Summaries of Research," up to date since the last Congress, taking the place of tedious presidential addresses, which only covered the ground known to the speaker. The following Summaries, among 15, seem to me to be specially noteworthy: Prof. Vasconcellos d'Abreu for Sanskrit; Prof. Montet for Hebrew; Prof. Basset for Arabic; Dr. Ziemer for Comparative Philology; Prof. Cordier for Chinese; Prof. Amelineau for Egyptology; Mr. J. J. Meyer for Malayan; M. Clement Huart for Osmanli Turki.

Notice was taken of remarkable explorations also, including those of

Mr. Flinders Petrie, M. Caine, and others. No less than 160 papers were contributed by such scholars as Maspero, C. A. de Cara, Abbé Albouy, Prof. G. Oppert, Pandit Janardhan, M. Aymonier, Dr. Leitner, Prof. Schlegel, Dr. Bellew, Mr. R. Michell, Colonel Tanner, and others. The papers themselves will be found in the published volumes.

The orbit of the Congress was widened by the introduction of kindred, yet new, subjects such as Folk-Lore, Oriental indigenous Education, Ethnography, Numismatics, Oriental Archæology: the policy of this widening of an already very wide arena for report and discussion may be discussed: if however it is an error, it is one in the right direction. A Congress cannot live, if its subject-matter shrinks into a narrow orbit, such as a grammatical discussion, or a one-sided theory about any particular matter.

The opening meeting took place at the Inner Temple Hall, under the presidency of Dr. Taylor, who delivered a brief address. He remarked, that all the members of this Congress were either Orientalists, or promoters of Oriental Studies; the social element did not outnumber the scientific.

The sections and their presidents were as follows: I. Summaries of Oriental Research since 1886: Prof. Montet was president, and Dr. Leitner the Secretary. II. (1) Semitic Languages except Arabic, under the presidency of Dr. Taylor; (2) Arabic and Islam: Prof. de Gayangos; (3) Assyriology: Prof. Jules Oppert; (4) Palestinology: Abbé Albouy. III. Aryan: Prof. Carolides. IV. Africa except Egypt. V. Egypt: Sir C. Nicholson. VI. Central Asia: Mr. G. Curzon, Dr. Bellew, and Dr. Leitner. VII. Comparative Religion: Prof. Montet. VIII. Comparative Language: Prince Lucien Bonaparte and Prof. Carl Abel. IX. Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies: Dr. Leitner, and Sir L. Griffin with Prof. Wright and Prof. D. Adams as Vice-presidents. X. Indo-Chinese: Principal Aymonier. XI. Chinese: Prof. Schlegel, with Prof. Cordier as Vice-president. XII. Japanese: Prof. Léon de Rosny. XIII. Dravidian: Baron Textor de Ravisi. XIV. Malayan and Polynesian: Prof. Schlegel. XV. Instruction to Explorers: Dr. Leitner. XVI. Ethnographical Philology: Dr. Beddoe. XVII. Oriental Art, Art-Industry, Archæology and Numismatics: Mr. Wm. Simpson. XVIII. Relations with Orientals: Sir R. Mead. XIX. Oriental Linguistics in Commerce: Sir L. Griffin. XX. The Anthropology, Science and Products of the East: Mr. Brabrook.

It takes away the breath of the reader to consider the multiplicity of these subjects. The menu of such a severe intellectual banquet is too diversified for digestion even in an eleven days' feast in so many simultaneously held sections, some sitting ten hours a day, but it was a protest against the excess of amusements at Stockholm.

Another feature of this, as of the first Paris, Congress, was to indicate appreciation of original inquiries by a Medal of Honour, and of additions to literature by a Diploma; the principles were explained, on which the various categories of certificates were awarded. This seems a disputable practice: the grant of medals and honours by a Sovereign such as the King of Sweden at the Stockholm Congress was open to objection, but even the idea of such honours being conferred by the Organizing Committee of an



Oriental Congress may lead to animosities, which, however, did not occur at this Congress, as was the case with the royal honours conferred at the Stockholm meeting, against which, indeed, the London Congress was a protest, mainly originated by the founders of the Paris Congress and supported by most of those, to whom the Swedish festivities, scarcely relieved by a little work, gave offence, a feeling which grew when it was found that an attempt was made to put the liberty of future Congresses under a King and a "Senioren-Convent" of a few Philologists, chiefly German.

At the final meeting Seville was selected as the place of meeting of the next Congress, and the distinguished Statesman Canovas de Castillo was selected as president, and the meeting was fixed to take place in 1892, but it never came off. Nor did that of Lisbon, to which it was transferred, although some 50 papers had been contributed to it, owing to the fear of an outbreak of cholera in Portugal in September of that year.

The Incorporated Law Society and the Inner Temple Halls and rooms, which are near one another, supplied the locale of this Congress. There was also a day's sitting at the Oriental University Institute at Woking, where the treasures of its Museum were also examined and commented on by Prof. J. Oppert and others. The entertainments chiefly followed the conclusion of the Congress and were limited to visits to the University of Cambridge, whose Vice-Chancellor received it in state, to the British Museum, to Stonehenge and to a banquet, whilst also some concerts were given illustrative of ancient and modern Oriental music. Several Chambers of Commerce sent deputations to the Congress, in which perhaps for the first time in the history of these Congresses, many of the Foreign Ministers of Public Instruction, and most of the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers in England were members or gave addresses, and several of the Governments connected with the East took part. The British Colonial Secretary of State was represented by an active Scholar, and Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen, showed a special interest in its Proceedings. The main result, however, of this Congress was that the original catholic Statutes and principles of these international meetings were publicly re-asserted, as not confined to any one set of scholars or any privileged branches of Oriental learning, the applicability and usefulness of which in modern education, politics, comparative studies, commerce and art-industries were also shown. Hence it was called "the Statutory Congress."

#### LONDON, 1892.

A Second Oriental Congress met in London on the 5th September, 1892, in the Theatre of the University of London. The Earl of Northbrook, president of the Royal Asiatic Society, opened it in due form. The list of members and delegates of States, of Universities, and learned Societies was large. Two volumes of large-sized paper with 600 pages in each contain the report, which was printed and circulated within the year. This is an essential feature in a good Congress. I was not a member of this Congress; my information is gathered from the newspapers and the reports. I did not approve of a Congress of a particular nationality being presided over by a foreign Savant, when there were plenty of illustrious scholars in Great Britain.

There were ten sections: I. Indian: President, Sir Raymond West; Vice-president, Dr. Bühler and Lanman. II. Aryan: Prof. Cowell; Vice-presidents, Ascoli and Kielhorn. III. Semitic (1) Assyrian: Prof. Sayce; Vice-presidents, Prof. Hommel and Ward; (6) General: Prof. Robertson Smith; Vice-presidents, Karabáček and Kautzsch. IV. Persia and Osmanli Turki; Sir Fredk. Goldsmid; Vice-president, Darmesteter. V. Chinese and Extreme Orient: Sir Th. Wade. VI. Egypt and Africa: Le Page Renouf; Vice-president, Prof. Reinisch. VII. Australia and Oceania: Lord Stanmore. VIII. Anthropological: Dr. Tyler; Vice-president, Prof. Darmesteter. IX. Geographical: Sir M. E. Grant Duff; Vice-presidents, Count de Gubernatis and Dr. Gilman. X. Archaic Greece and the East: Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone.

There was indeed a supply of remarkable communications. Turning over the pages of these two magnificent volumes every communication seems to be worthy of thoughtful study and to add to knowledge. It is satisfactory to record that the cost of the Congress did not exceed £1,100, but one-third of the expense incurred in publishing the report was supplied by a munificent friend. The final meeting took place on the 12th of Sept. and Geneva was fixed as the place of the next meeting in 1894.

My report of the London Congresses of 1891 and 1892 is, perhaps, brief, as at every step I take I feel that my remarks might tend to revive the memory of now-surmounted difficulties. Both the Congresses, held at London, were essentially useful, brilliant, and well-attended. It is devoutly to be hoped for other reasons that the Congress will not meet annually, but the London Congresses of 1891 and 1892 show that, when this does happen, there is no diminution of power and interest.

GENEVA, 3RD TO 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1894.

This Congress is the last actually held of the series; four volumes in the French language will contain the report; three volumes, Nos. II., III. and IV. have appeared; No. I. has not yet seen the light. I was a delegate to it of the Royal Asiatic Society, but my health failing, I sent my daughter, who is also a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, to take my place, and who wrote a report of this Congress, which was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1894. I contributed, however, an essay to this Congress in the English and French languages on the ancient Religions of the World before the great Anno Domini.

Prof. Edouard Naville, the celebrated Egyptologist and Assyriologist, was the president of the Congress. In his opening address he justly claimed for the Swiss nation a place in the first rank of European nations as regards Oriental studies. Prof. Maspero from France, Lord Reay, president of the Royal Asiatic Society from England, Prof. Windisch from Germany, Count Angelo di Gubernatis from Italy, and Ahmed Zeki from Egypt, addressed the opening meeting.

There were the following sections: I. (1) Indian under the presidency of Lord Reay, with Prof. Weber and Dr. Bühler as Vice-presidents. I. (2) Aryan and Linguistics: Prof. Ascoli, with Prof. Breal and Prof. Schmidt. II. Semitic: Prof. Kautzsch, with Prof. Oppert, Prof. Tiele and Prof. Almqvist as V.P.'s. III. Mahometan: M. Schefer. IV. Egypt

and Africa: Prof. Maspero, with Prof. Renouf and Lieblein as V.P.'s. V. Extreme Orient: Prof. Schlegel, with Prof. Cordier and Prof. Valenziani as V.P.'s. VI. Greece and the East: Prof. Merriam, with Prof. Perrot and M. Bikelas as V.P.'s. VII. Geography and Eastern Ethnography: Prof. Vambéry, with Prince Roland Bonaparte and M. de Claparede as V.P.'s. The nationalities represented were Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, United States, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Egypt, Hungary, India, Russia, Belgium, Turkey, Australia, Algeria and Persia. There were delegates from 12 States, 38 Universities, 31 Societies, 15 Academies. The number of the representatives of foreign countries at Geneva amounted to 216: there were a great many members from Switzerland. The number of women entered for *bonâ fide* serious purposes amounted to 43.

Certain subjects were discussed: one the hopeless question of transliteration into the Roman of Oriental alphabets. M. Senart called attention to an inscription found near Peshâwur in India in an unknown form of written character: an appeal was made to the Government of India to adopt measures for the better preservation of inscriptions. Mrs. Lewis exhibited her photographs of the Syriac MSS. found by her at Mount Sinai; an appeal was made to the Khedive of Egypt to protect the monuments on the Island of Philæ, and in the midst of the din of discussion, and the festivities on the Lake, the death was announced of the great Egyptologist, Brugsch Pasha, an event which was deeply deplored. One request seemed rather *ultra vires*: the Congress expressed an opinion that the Japanese should modify their written characters, so that their language might be more easily acquired by foreigners. It is well known by linguists that the written or printed character used is a very small item in the difficulties of acquiring a language. In India, we have twenty different forms of written characters, but no one has suggested that such an interference should be attempted with them. Time and contact with other nations can alone effect such a change, if, indeed, it be desirable at all, but it is beyond the Ukase of a Tzar, the Bull of a Pope, or even the suggestion of an Oriental Congress.

The President announced that the decision of the organizing committee was that the next Congress should be held at Paris in 1897.\* This decision was hailed by all. The circuit of Europe had been made in the 24 years, which have elapsed since Paris started the idea in 1873. Approaches had been made to Spain and Portugal, but had failed. Greece, however much it would have attracted members to Athens, was impossible; the idea of Constantinople or New York would not be tolerated; so the Congress wisely returns to the place of its birth.

I thus close my account of the eleven Congresses since 1873: I have inspected with interest and profit the reports of them all; I wish every success to the Paris Congress under the guidance of my valued friends, the illustrious scholars of France.

\* There it was also decided that, if it be deemed to be desirable, any modification of the original Statutes of 1873 may be made in accordance with the rule contained in the Statutes themselves, but I hope that any such modification will be effected in the direction of the greater liberty and usefulness of our studies.



CONCLUDING REMARKS.

One painful feature of these periodical meetings is, that in each gathering we miss some honoured face and figure, which has, in the interim, disappeared. I should like to have recorded some of the honoured names; it seems to me after a lapse of years a real honour to have touched the hand of, and exchanged ideas with, great scholars, whose names will last long after the civil or military heroes of the time have been totally forgotten. I should have mentioned them by their simple names, laying aside their ephemeral orders and childish titles. We speak of Homer, Plato, Cicero and Virgil, without the title of Privy Councillor, or Companion of the Star of India, to which the ruler of their time did not admit them, or the really ridiculous decoration for a quiet scholar, in his study, or a German writer, or a Dutch publisher, to have conferred on him, that of a Northern Star. How Horatius Flaccus, who would have been a delightful Congress man, would have poked fun at Virgil, if he had been decorated for his immortal poem in this way! But want of space forbids: it would be a delightful labour of love to develop the idea in a separate essay at some future time.

The lessons which I learn from the history of past Congresses are:

- I. That the place for the meeting of the next Congress must absolutely be fixed before the business of each Congress is done.
- II. That the Congress is not to leave the countries of Christian Europe; this excludes absolutely Constantinople and New York: scholars could not afford the cost of the journey.
- III. That the choice of president and organizing committee be left to the country which is selected, and that under no circumstances is a foreigner by blood or nationality to be selected as president.
- IV. That no interference on the part of the State authorities is to be tolerated; the Congresses are essentially private reunions, without reference to politics or religion.
- V. That convenient places for the meetings and the sections and all in one locality be provided.
- VI. That no one, male or female, be admitted a member, who is not a scholar, a student, or certified by a scholar to be personally interested.
- VII. That no official titles, honours, diplomas, or stats be distributed during the Congress to members of the Congress under any pretence.
- VIII. That banquets, entertainments, etc., except of a strictly private character, be discouraged: earnest scholars do not care for such things: only flaneurs, like moths round a candle, are attracted by them.
- IX. That the report be published within one year of the assembling of the Congress. That no languages but German, Italian, French, and English, be used at the meetings.
- X. That discreditable exhibitions of Hindus, or Mahometans, performing their devotions for the purpose of amusing a crowd be forbidden. Natives of Asia, Africa, and Oceania, to be admitted on the same footing as Europeans, and with the same personal respect.
- XI. That the press be admitted to all meetings thrown open to the members; and the general public in a part of the hall reserved to them.
- XII. That a summary of the progress of Oriental research in the subjects discussed at the last Congress be presented at the following Congress.
- XIII. That there be a strong impartial committee of papers, and subjects to be discussed; that scholastic and narrow humdrum subjects be rejected. Some papers may be deemed valuable as contributing to the report, but as they would not lead to

discussion they should not be read, but taken as read. The object of the Congress is to elicit diverse opinions of competent scholars.

- XIV. That commerce and geography be excluded, as they have their own arena, and their own Congresses: the underlying object of a Scientific Oriental Congress of Language, Archeology, Ethnology, and Religion in its broadest sense, is to introduce such studies to the outer world, and knock down partitions of prejudice in the minds of members of different nationalities.
- XV. That all rivalries of different branches of science, or of nationality, be sternly repressed. All present are equal, all entitled to respect, many to love and honour. The self-asserting busybody should be got rid of by a vote of expulsion.
- XVI. Devoted though I am to the subject of excavations in Greece, it will be wise to exclude from the orbit of Oriental Congresses Europe and America absolutely: they have or will have their own arena.

The following letter has been addressed to Dr. G. W. Leitner by Professor H. Cordier, the Secretary, with Professor Maspero, of the organizing Committee for the forthcoming International Congress of Orientalists at Paris:

#### THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

A new Decade of this Congress will begin in a few weeks; the eleventh session will be held from the 5th to the 12th of September next in Paris, the cradle of the meeting in 1873. The Orientalists from all parts of the Universe visited in turn almost every capital of our old world, and it would have been fortunate, had the opportunity been seized at one of these meetings to quell all the difficulties that are agitating *Dame Europa's School* and other schools also. Paris first, London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leiden, Vienna, London twice, and Geneva offered their splendid hospitality to the learned interested in Oriental lore. We need not speak of the past; we are entering a new field. Geneva was the neutral ground where all schism disappeared into a common faith: the advancement of science. Paris, the birthplace of the Congress, will fully confirm and ratify the work of peace done at Geneva, with new strength, we hope—such Antæus renewing his vigour at the contact with his mother Earth; henceforth no Hercules will stop the progress of our Science; we look to the future. *Forward*, as our American cousins and friends say.

From everywhere, we receive such hearty support that we feel confident of success. I may add that Great Britain with her Royal Asiatic Society, and India with her various Governments have been among the first to give us their help to ensure the success of our work: the propagation of the knowledge of the History, Languages and Civilizations of Oriental people among Western Nations.

HENRI CORDIER.

Paris, June, 1897.

## THE POETS OF THE TAMIL LANDS.—I.

BY G. U. POPE, D.D.

SOME readers may ask, which are the "Tamil lands"? and the answer is, the districts of South India where the Tamil language is spoken. Those that wish to know more about this language may study the "Tamil Handbook."\* These districts in very ancient times were divided (though of course the divisions varied at different periods) into the Çōra, Pāṇḍiya, and Çēra kingdoms, to which must be added the Tondai-Mandalam, at times a distinct kingdom. The capital of the Çōra kingdom was for the most part Combaconam or Tanjore. That of the Çēra dominion was Caroor; while Madura was the chief city of the Pāṇḍiyan territory at the time of the events recorded in our legends. The Tondai-Mandalam, which really belonged to the Çōra kingdom is the district between the Pālār and the Pennār. In it was Kalahatti. This region is now divided into Collectories, of which Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevely, Coimbatore, and Salem, are inhabited by Tamil speaking people. The area of these regions extends considerably further, as many of the sacred shrines lie to the north and west; but, on the whole, it is with this country that these legends are concerned.

A great number of temples, some dedicated to Vishnu, but many more to Çiva lie scattered over this region. Some of these are of great magnificence, and possess large endowments. Others are small, but almost every village has its temple; and the stonework of very many of these attests the skill, devotion and liberality of former generations of Çaiva worshippers.

Before the reader is introduced to a few of the many poets of South India, it seems desirable to give a fact or two about the languages in which they have sung. These constitute the *Dravidian*, or South-Indian, family of languages, in which are included Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, Tuluva, Kūrgi, Toda, and Badaga. These are spoken by forty-five millions of people, *i.e.*, by all the indigenous inhabitants of India south of the river Kistna, and by many north of it. To these it has become the fashion to apply the epithet *Dravidian*; but the Sanskrit term *Draviḍa* is applied to a much larger extent of country, and would include the Mahrattas, and the inhabitants of Guzerat, who are of altogether different race and speech. It is said that the term *Dravidian* is a convenient appellation: but, what is incorrect will be found in the long run to be inconvenient; and it is used here under protest, and with this explanation. In ancient times, before there were any Muhammadans in India, or indeed in the world, the Southern Hindus knew of two great languages—the Vada-mori and the

\* The Pāṇḍiyan land included the present districts of Madura and Tinnevely.



Ten-mori, *i.e.*, the northern speech and their own southern speech.\* The northern was Sanskrit, with its Prakrits, or dependent vernaculars; the southern was Tamil, with its cognate dialects. It has been almost taken for granted that the name Tamil was derived from the Sanskrit DRAVIDA. Native scholars deny this; but it must be allowed that on philological points their authority is not always conclusive. In regard to the derivation of the word Tamil, I have ventured to suggest that it is a corruption of *Ten-mori*, *Tem-mori*, *Tamir*, which Europeans write Tamil. A parallel derivation may be adduced. The cocoa-nut palm was brought into India from Ceylon, and originally, most probably from the Nicobar Islands. In the Tamilian languages it has no name except *Tenna-maram*, "the southern tree." Its fruit is called *Tennaikai* and *Tekkai*. In this case the proper name for the South-Indian family of languages would be the TAMILIAN. They differ very widely now from one another, though possessing in the main a common stock of roots, and having abundant signs in their inflectional systems and idioms of their common origin. In later days, after the Afghan and other Muhammadan invasions, and during the long and splendid reigns of the Mogul emperors, there arose, and was spread over India, a composite language which is variously called Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustāni, in which Arabic and Persian words are strangely mingled, in different proportions, with Sanskrit and the various vernaculars; and this, in some shape or other, is understood by vast multitudes of people even in the extreme south. It will be seen, therefore, that for a perfect mastery of the languages of India, three great parent languages have to be studied, and these are SANSKRIT, TAMIL, and ARABIC. The Sanskrit is the key to all the oldest Hindu sacred writings, and mingles itself in varying proportions with well-nigh every dialect in India. Classical (or high) Tamil is the basis of the great languages of the South; while Arabic is the key to Muhammadan literature, and one of the chief elements in all varieties of the Hindustāni. Tamil had the advantage of being cultivated, fixed, and formed chiefly by the Jains, who hated everything Brahmanical, and gave it a highly original and most beautiful grammar, preserving its peculiar characteristics, and developing it according to the genius of its own idiom and structure. Canarese and Telugu fell more under the influence of the Brāhmans, *i.e.*, of foreigners, who tried to reduce everything to the likeness of Sanskrit. Those literatures are, therefore, saturated with Sanskrit. Malayālam is a later development, or corruption, of Tamil. To illustrate the whole subject from the analogy of Greek, Telugu is the Ionic dialect, with a large amount of added Sanskrit: Canarese is the Doric, with a somewhat smaller infusion of the same: while Malayālam is modern Greek, and the Tamil itself is the pure and mighty Attic speech of South-India. The other southern dialects are almost wholly uncultivated.

\* There has always been a rivalry between North and South. Thus in *Nāḍaḍi* it is said:

"Whatever soil you sow it in, the *Strychnos* nut  
Grows not a cocoa-palm. Some of the Southern land  
Have entered heaven! *Mari's* life decides his future state.  
Full many from the Northern land inhabit hell."

See "The four hundred quatrains." Clarendon Press. 1893.

Telugu is the most flexible, harmonious, and, from its illimitable Sanskrit resources, the most sonorous of the family. Tamil obliges all Sanskrit foreigners to become naturalised, and to conform to its phonetic system; and it has this great peculiarity, that it is possible to write or speak exhaustively in it on any given subject without any introduction of Sanskrit derivatives; or, on the other hand, a speaker may use Sanskrit notional words almost exclusively, while the particles and inflections are Tamil, just as an English writer or speaker might adopt the Saxon style of Swift, or the classical pedantry of Johnson. Of course, in Tamil as in English, the tasteful combination of the two is the perfection of style. Tamil poetry, however, as you would expect, is best when it is as nearly pure as possible. And the best poetry is a well of Tamil undefiled.

South-Indian verse, like all other Oriental poetry, presents its special difficulties, and these often repel the English student, who thinks (often rightly) that the result will hardly repay him for his toil. Yet, it may be affirmed that a foreigner can never really understand a people till he has made himself familiar with the verse in which the soul of the nation gives expression to its deepest convictions, its most cherished feelings, and most earnest aspirations; and, although in prose we do not use the archaic words, the poetic inversions, and the condensed elliptical style of poetry, we can hardly expect to write or speak any language with power and precision unless we have made ourselves familiar with its best poetry. It is, therefore, a pity that South-Indian poetry seems to the student to be written in a language quite different from that in ordinary use. The reasons for the exceeding difficulty of South-Indian verse are, partly the fact that almost the whole of it is very old (and most of the verses quoted in these chapters are from eight hundred to a thousand years old); and partly the fact that Eastern bards, for the most part, regard all that is simple in expression as superficial, and compose nothing which is not intended to have at least three sets of commentaries. Thence arises the difficulty that commentators multiply, and disagree, and the poetical idea is often lost in the inky floods which these literary cuttle-fish pour forth around it. If we take such a poem as Browning's *Sordello*, with its infinity of perplexing allusions, its curious inversions and ellipses, and its embedded gems, we can form some idea of much of the most esteemed South-Indian verse. Suppose again, that *Sordello* had been written in the dialect of Chaucer, or Piers Plowman, and that all its words were run up together without division or stops, in a character like that of some of the old manuscripts in the Bodleian, and often on stained and worm-eaten palm-leaves instead of paper,—and an idea can be formed of the difficulties to be encountered in the study of much Oriental poetry. And the stanzas themselves are often like some ancient tessellated pavement around which you walk perplexed and pondering, until at length its meaning dawns upon you, and you slowly come to recognise a pattern sometimes grotesque, or even repulsive, but sometimes too of rare and suggestive beauty.

South-Indian poetry is full of conceits and fancies, and too often of impurity. It is indeed hard to distinguish, and it requires the power of the fabled Hamçā\* to separate the wisdom and beauty of most of the

\* See *Nāṭakā* 135.

Indian literature from the inanity and grossness which too often mingle with these. Though, indeed, one must say, (and educated Hindus are not slow to detect it,) that many books in various languages—Italian, French, Latin, Greek, and English—are nearly as objectionable as anything in Tamil, and yet circulate freely among ourselves.

In India generally nothing but poetry is allowed to be literature. Everything of any value is in metre. Tamilians divide all books into the "*Illakāṇam*" and "*Illakkiyam*"—i.e., (1) grammars, and (2) compositions which conform to the laws of the grammars. And all—even medical and mathematical treatises—are in verse. This is not unknown in Europe. The reader will remember the Eton grammar :

"Vo fit vi ; ut volvo, volvi : vivo excipe vixi."

As a specimen the reader of Tamil may be referred to the *Nannūl*, which is one of the best Tamil grammars. This has a verse in which scholars are classified in a way which cannot fail to interest all professors, tutors, lecturers, and teachers. It may be quoted as eminently characteristic :

"The swan, the cow, the earth, the parrot pert,  
The pot with holes, the browsing goat, the buffalo,  
The straining fibre : these, the first, the middle sort,  
And last of scholars shadow forth."

There are these eight types of students. He means to compare the worthiest—(first class men)—to "swans or cows"; the middle sort—(second class)—to the "earth and the parrot"; the last to the "pot with holes," "the goat," "the buffalo," and the "fibrous web of the palm-tree," which is used to strain *ghī* or melted butter. And why?

A "swan"—(the *haṃṣa*, a fabulous bird)—is reputed to have the faculty, if you put before it milk mingled with water, of drinking only the milk, and leaving the water in the vessel. A "cow" eats abundantly, and then ruminates at leisure. These two then are emblems of the discriminating and reflective student, the best sort of all.

Again, the "earth" yields her increase, but only in proportion to the labour bestowed on it; and the "parrot" retains in memory your instructions, but can only repeat the lesson taught, without expanding or applying it. Thus these represent the second and inferior class of students, who are deficient in spontaneity and originality.

The lowest sort of would-be scholars is compared to a "pot full of holes": what you pour in runs out as fast as you pour it in; to a "goat," which goes from shrub to shrub, eating the tips only; to the "buffalo," that rushes into the stream, flounders about in it, stirs up the mud, and then drinks the turbid water; and to the thin muslin-like "web of the palm-tree," used as a strainer, which lets all that is valuable pass away, and retains only the impurities and worthless dregs! The Native grammars contain much of this ingenious trifling. The commentaries, often very able ones, contain the only really classical prose in the languages of South India.



SIXTEENTH REVIEW ON THE  
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PAHLAVI TEXTS. PART III. DĪNĀ-Ī-MAĪNOG-Ī KHIRAD,  
 SIKAND-GŪMĀNĪK VIGĀR SAD DAR. TRANSLATED  
 BY E. W. WEST.

BY THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.

THE DĪNĀ-Ī-MAĪNOG-Ī KHIRAD, opinions of the spirit of wisdom, was written originally in Pahlavi, probably by a layman (among the Parsis), and at an early but unknown date; some have placed the work as early as A.D. 590. Certain definitions as to good and bad government which it contains could hardly have been written after the Arabs had come in. If therefore these definitions are of the same age as the rest of the book, as it seems most natural to suppose, the work must have been composed before the fall of the last Persian King. Its contents are very miscellaneous; I give some specimens.

There was once a sage, so it is stated in Chapter I., who said, "If the religion of the sacred beings,—that is, 'of the Yazads,' or, as we might say simply, 'of God,'—be true, and if its law be virtue, and if it be desirous of welfare, and compassionate toward the creatures, why are there so many sects, so many creeds, and so many evolutions (?) of mankind?" To solve such a question trouble must be undergone, for in the end the body is mingled with the dust and reliance is on the soul—a fundamental principle therefore is of the first importance, for a good work even which a man does unwittingly is little good, and the sin which a man commits unwittingly amounts to a sin in its origin (perhaps meaning that it arises from original sin). He who does not take, or gain, his soul, takes nothing; the spiritual and worldly existences are two strongholds. And so this sage started forth in search of wisdom into the various countries and districts of the world, inquiring as to their many religious beliefs. And when he saw that they were "so mutually afflicting and inimical among one another," he then knew that they were not of Divine appointment;—so he returned to Iran and inquired anew of the destours, "What is best," he asked, "for the maintenance of the body and the saving of the soul?" They answer, "Wisdom is good, and for wisdom God produced the creatures; that is to say, through the 'innate wisdom'" (a characteristic expression referring to wisdom which is original, and not that derived from the hearing of the ear). He then inquires for the book, the "Spirit of Wisdom,"—that is to say, for the Maīnog-i-Khirad,—as a guide and instructor; for he knew that it is possible for one to do for one's self every duty and good work through the power of wisdom. Thenceforth he

became more diligent in the performance of the ceremonial which wisdom enjoins and in carrying out the principles which it inculcates.

The following are some of these principles referred to: "Him who is less than thee," that Spirit of Wisdom goes on to say, "consider as an equal, and him who is an equal as a superior, and him who is greater than an equal consider as a chieftain, and a chieftain consider as the ruler of all; and among rulers be ye obedient and submissive and speakers of truth. Slander not, for slander is worse than witchcraft."\* "Be not covetous, lest the demon deceive thee, and the treasure of the world become tasteless. Be not wrathful, for a man in wrath forgets his duty and his prayers; and until his wrath goes down he is just like Aharman (the Devil)." "Be not anxious, for so you lose the enjoyment both of the world and of the spirit, and contraction happens to your body and your soul"; "be not lustful, lest harm and regret come to thee"; "do not envy, lest your life become tasteless; happiness and adornment, celebrity and dominion, skill and suitability, are not through the will and action of men, but through the appointment of God."

"Be not slothful, nor leave good works undone. Choose a wife who has character; in the end she is respected. Commit no unseasonable chatter (*sic*), so that distress may not come to the angels through thee. Run not about uncovered (without Kusti, the sacred girdle), lest harm come to thy bipeds and thy quadrupeds through thee. Walk not with one boot lest grievous distress come on thy soul (West thinks that the meaning is 'walk not bare-foot so as not to pollute the body by touching unconsecrated things'). Perform no release of fluid standing on foot, lest the demons drag thee to hell (because more ground would be polluted [?]). Be diligent and moderate and eat of thine own toil, giving the sacred beings their share. Do not extort from others, for that is like holding a human head in one's hands and consuming its brains. Abstain from the wives of others, for otherwise you would disregard three sacred things,—wealth, the body, and the soul. Fight fairly with your foe; with a friend act with the approval of (mutual) friends. With a bad-tempered man have no dispute, nor molest him in any way whatsoever; be no partner with the greedy, and do not trust him as a leader. With a slanderer do not go to the door of kings; with an ill-famed man form no connection, nor with an ignoramus; do not argue with a fool, nor walk on the road with a man who is drunk. Do not borrow from a man of bad heart," etc. "Abstain from idols, for if Kai Khûsrôî had not destroyed their temples, the foe would have become so violent that millennium could never come." Here follows that beautiful passage which is found in its original in Yasht XXII. of the Avesta. Its Pâzand version is interesting, but of course it is best to treat it directly from the original.

The questioner then proceeds with his inquiries: "By what does Aharman (Satan) most lead people to hell?—by prosperity and adversity; his pleasure is grim discord; his food is from the impenitence of men; his influence has its foundations in malice, and with the wrathful he comes and goes."

\* I change the wording of the original throughout.

"How is the dwelling of the understanding and the intellect and the seed of a man in his body? The place of the understanding (so the Spirit of Wisdom goes on to answer) is in the brain of the head; and when the brain of the head is sound, the understanding and intellect and seed are on the increase; but when a person attains to old age, the brain of the head remains only at a diminution; and he who is an aged man on account of the diminution of his understanding and intellect knows less of that which it is necessary to do with wisdom. Wisdom in the beginning mingles with the marrow of the fingers of men's hands; and afterwards its seat and place are in the heart; and its dwelling in the whole body becomes such as the shape of the foot in the shoe."

"What is the duty of the stars? (to give a specimen of the astronomy) and how is the motion of the sun and the moon? The first star is Tishtar (Sirius), and fertility is in his path; and the star Vanand is entrusted with the gates of Alburz (the starting place for heaven); and the star Haptök-ring with 99999 guardian spirits keeps the gates of hell; the remaining innumerable constellations are said to be the guardian spirits of the worldly existences."

"Which is the opulent person who is fortunate?—that one who has produced opulence by honesty; the others are unfortunate."

Fatalism seems avowed;—"when destiny helps the lazy, ignorant and bad man, those faults become like goodness, and so the goodness of the good becomes reversed to him whose destiny is unfavourable."

"How shall we worship the Yazads? First be thankful for the little and the much, meditate upon the gratifications which come from the sacred beings, and even in the misery which comes from the Evil One (Aharman) do not be doubtful as to the treasure of God; do not seek your own welfare through the injury of others, and take care especially of fire and of water; be perfectly sure that nothing but happiness comes from the Yazads and nothing but misery from Satan and the demons; do not sin voluntarily (and with deliberate intention), and come and renounce it before the high-priests, if you sin through ignorance, folly and weakness."

"Three times a-day one must worship standing opposite the sun; and if you have sinned against angels or men, beasts of burden, oxen and sheep, dogs and the dog-species, and other creatures of Aûharmazd the Lord (by neglect or bad treatment), you must become sorrowful and penitent, and do good works in atonement as much as you can."

"Why is the untalented no friend of the talented? He is in fear of the talented lest he should receive trouble from their skill, and owing to this circumstance shame come on himself."

"Why are mountains and rivers made?—to arrest the winds, foster the clouds and vivify creation," etc., etc.

The *Šikand-Gumânîk Vigâr*, "the doubt-dispelling explanation," is a controversial work against the Muhammadans, Jews, Christians and Mânichæans. The author's name was Mardân-farukh, son of Aûharmazd-dâd; and he wrote about the middle of the ninth century. He wishes to prove that nothing evil could be derived from God. The translation is made from the oldest known MS. in Pâzand and Sanskrit belonging to Dastar



Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona, and was written, as it is supposed, by Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ, and as Dr. West thinks, in the year 1568 or earlier. I give some specimens of its style, but I will endeavour, as always, to put what I write in what seems to me to be an easier and simpler form than appears in the printed book. "Man was made by the Creator to control the other creatures, and so to advance His, the Creator's, will." "God created the religion of omniscience as an immense tree with one stem, two branches, three boughs, four twigs, and five shoots;—the stem is agreement; the branches are performance and abstinence; the boughs are good thoughts, good words and good deeds; the twigs are the four classes, the priesthood, the warriors, the husbandmen, and the artizans; the five shoots are the five rulers, the house-ruler, the village-chief, the tribal chief, the provincial governor, and the supreme officer over all (called a Zarathustra, the name of the great founder of the creed having become the title of an office)." "Why does not the Creator Âûharmazd keep Aharman (Satan) back from evil, for no Creator who is powerful is incapable of resisting evil?" The answer is "that evil deeds are proper 'of congenity,' for the fiend in chief (in other words, a fiend in chief) has a status of himself." "The omnipotence of the Creator is effective over what it is possible to change, and there it is limited. What is not possible cannot be stirred either by a capable or by an incapable being. As his capability is limited, so is his will; for he is sagacious, and the will of a sagacious being is directed upon that which it is possible to accomplish and does not pass on to that which is impossible; and it is not possible to change a demoniacal nature into a Divine one."

"The conclusion is this," see page 192 (and this is a remarkable summing up considering the age in which it was written) "provided everything be through the will of the sacred Being, then no one, whosoever he may be, is a sinner (because his actions occurred in accordance with the will of God); and the Apostles and the religion were appointed without a purpose."

"If it be expedient to bring anyone to an account of his sinfulness, it is more expedient to ruin him who is the original doer, maintainer, and creator of every evil and crime; for he who is the cause of the origin of evil is worse than the evil." (N.B.) "It had been better if God had not created sin in the first place than to have first allowed it and then to have said: 'ye shall not commit it, and I will cast him who commits it into eternal hell (*sic*).'" In the opposed Scriptures which he proceeds to controvert, the writer finds the following: "Why do mankind desire and commit that crime which I, the creator, design for them?" And the Parsi author remarks: "It occurs concerning the will and work of His own hand, and yet He frightens them with punishment in body and in soul (for sins which follow from His own, the Creator's, will). Again He (Jehovah) says: 'I Myself am the Deluder of mankind, for if it should be My will, they would then be shown the true path by Me, but it is My will that they should go to hell.'" (See the Qur'ân, VI., 39; XIV., 32, 34; S.B.E., vol. vi.) "God leads the wrong-doers astray, for God does what He will . . . ; in hell they shall broil." "There are three modes in which

the Sacred Being gives evidence about His creatures. One is that He Himself is the Devil (Aharman). One is that He Himself is the Deluder of His creatures, and again He makes His creatures confederates of Aharman in deluding others; there are instances in which I (Jehovah) occasion it, and there are instances in which Aharman does so."

"When men occasion crime themselves they are confederates with Aharman, Aharman himself keeping at a good distance from the crime." These are all opinions (of course) which the author contemptuously rejects. He goes on citing what he believes these abominable first principles to be (I shorten and simplify the language of the translation here as throughout). If it be the will of God that all men should abstain from sin through their own free choice (or not?), is it His will that they should thus escape hell and gain heaven; if not what a small opinion this implies of His goodness, and how evil He seems if this is His will; if this be so He should not be worshipped as Divine." "But if He wills the righteousness and salvation of His creatures, then it is right to worship Him as Divine. If their salvation be His will, is He capable of performing it? if not, how can we worship as almighty an incapable Being?"

"If He can carry out His own wish for the salvation of His creatures, then we can glorify Him as Almighty. If He is capable of performing His will, does He then do so in fact, or not?" "If He does perform it then this should be manifest to all mankind, which it is not."

"If He is capable and does *not* perform His will for the salvation of His creatures, then He is unmerciful and an enemy of mankind."

"If He performs it, it is no harm to Himself and an advantage to mankind, and His will is carried out; but if He does not perform it, this is no advantage to Himself, and it is a harm to mankind; and His will is hindered thereby; if He does not perform His purpose of salvation through will, then He may be good-willed in general but He has no will to do good (in this case, the supreme matter), then He has no consistency; but if we say that He is without will, then we say that He is weak, He either injures Himself, or else some one else is the injurer of His will." The conclusion is that, given a manager without competition and perfect in His sagacity, there should have been no unworthy actions with their painful results.

Was then the command which God gave to Adam good, or was it evil? "Ye shall not eat of this tree?"

If it were good then the tree was evil; but it is not befitting that the Sacred Being should create anything which is evil; if the tree were good the command was evil, for God should not allot a benefit away from His own servants who were good," etc.

On page 203 we have what I should call a precious relic, that is to say, a trace of "Greek reading;" the paradoxes as to the existence of God, viz., that He is everywhere, and yet nowhere, etc., etc., are evidently an echo of Greek talk about the *ὄν* and the *δύ*.

Space prevents a further description of this remarkable production, one of the most valuable to my mind in the entire Pahlavi series; even where its tone grates upon our religious sensibilities it is yet of exceptional value

for scientific purposes. The author freely attacks the account of the creation and fall in Genesis with its dangerous bordering upon a gross anthropomorphism, and he surveys the rest of the Pentateuch and concludes in all honesty, however much he may be mistaken: "If this be a Sacred Being the truth is far from Him; forgiveness is strange to Him, and knowledge He has not; but" (this he adds with much harshness) "He is Himself the fiend who is a leader of hell, whom the devilish defiled ones worship as Lord." [Surely if an honest opponent could form such a conclusion from the Old Testament, it shows at least the indispensable necessity for the Church to go forth as the interpreter of the Bible, for the Scriptures, when circulated broadcast by themselves, have produced sad results (this only in passing).]

The New Testament is also attacked, and with a great lack of critical accuracy; but the document is curious and valuable none the less. Manichæism then comes in for its share of castigation, but space fails me to dwell longer here.

The *Sad dar* (or "hundred subjects," literally "the hundred doors") is a religious treatise of a miscellaneous character. Both prose and metrical versions of it exist. Its original was said to have been composed by three celebrated high priests near the time of the Arab conquest, which really means little more than that it was considered to be a very ancient document at the time at which this statement was made. I subjoin a few extracts changing the language somewhat, as usual, to secure brevity and flow.

It is a book about the "proper and the improper"; "no doubt or hesitation should be introduced into religion." "We must make an 'effort' not to commit any sin, for even a small sin may harm us hereafter"; then "a man must continually mind his own business." It seems to have been thought an advantage to be despatched by a highwayman, for every sin goes clean away from a man who suffers thus.

"No one should despair of the pity of God. One foot of a bad king remains protruding from hell because he kicked with that foot some hay before a starving goat that was tied." "Make a thorough effort and so become newborn." "Six indispensable things are the season-festivals (to be kept), the days of the guardian spirits, attending to the souls of relations, reciting the Sun-praise three times a day, reciting the Moon-praise three times a month, celebrating the *Rapithwin* once a year."

"When a man sneezes recite the *yathâ-ahû-vairyô*, for a fiend comes out with a sneeze"; "the eighth subject is maintaining the religion, and to do as many good works as there are leaves on the trees, and grains in the sand-banks"; "refrain from the sin against Nature; wear the thread girdle, the sacred *Kusti*. *Jamshêd* (*Yima Khshâeta*) began the custom; he who has the sacred girdle tied around his waist is out of the department of the Devil, and in the department of the Lord."

"Watch the fire that it does not go out nor become polluted, and a menstruous woman must keep three steps away. Waste no new clothing upon a corpse; and every step trod at a funeral is worth a hundred *stris* of merit."



"Keep up a fire when a woman is pregnant and watch it well, for it was a fire which kept the one hundred and fifty devils off who wished to slaughter Zaruthushtra when he was born."

"If a pregnant woman puts her foot upon a piece of bark from a wooden tooth-pick, the child may come to harm." "A man without a son or daughter cannot pass the Bridge to heaven; if he have none, he must adopt one, or his surviving relations must adopt one in his stead." "Agriculture must be honoured; he who eats of a tree which another plants draws strength from that other."

"Give food to the hungry, for his good works will then help thee; thou hast helped to bring those good works to pass; when ye eat the consecrated cake pray inwardly to Health and Deathlessness (two of the Ameshaspends) if not, thou mightest as well have eaten the poison of a snake; tether your animals when they are fed up well; for if they feel their oats and kick a man in their friskiness, you who gave those oats are held to blame." "Give some Haoma (the sacred fermented liquor, like the Soma) to a baby, for it will stir up its wits." "Keep a promise even to your own hindrance; the way to heaven is blocked to a cheat, and a curse descends to one's offspring; breaking a solemn contract is the worst of sins." "At fifteen years of age take a guardian angel, a sage to guide, and a priest to intercede; a priest has enough authority with God to forgive any little sin." "Always ask a priest when you are in doubt about doing a thing; until you do so, evade it to gain time, for if you go on and act while in doubt, and do not ask your priest, your action is a sin (even if it be right)." "Keep the Avesta in memory, for if you forget it that will put your soul as far from heaven as the earth is wide." "They used to feed a man like a dog" (so the book goes on) "who forgot his Avesta; that is to say, they did this in old times, or else they handed him his food at the point of a spear."

"Beware of giving to the unworthy, for what you give the unworthy becomes as good as extinct." "Don't pour away water at night toward the north; and if you must, then recite a *yathâ-ahû-vairyô*; light a candle first, if you must drink at night, and eat a little food."

"Keep three pieces of food always for a dog, and don't beat him, for of the poor none is poorer than a dog; even when he is asleep on the road don't kick him nor stamp at him to get up, for you will need the help of dogs to pass the Judgment Bridge" (the company of dogs was necessary); "if there had never been a dog there never would have been a sheep" (the wolves would have got them).

"Don't kill a crowing hen for she is helping the cock to drive the fiends away." "Set a mark where a corpse lies buried, that people may avoid the spot, for the harm which it gives is like a scorpion's sting."

"Don't slaughter (too much), for every fibre of a goat's hair becomes like a sword in the other world; don't kill a cock, not one that crows at least, and consecrate the head, or at least a kidney." "Recite the Ashemvohu when you wash your face, and keep your mouth shut to escape the contagion fiend."

"Perform the Bareashnûm, else if you do not the fiends will make your

body like a corpse kept a summer's month, and the Archangels at the Chinvat Bridge will not be able to endure it." "Do not forget the guardian spirits" (which are the souls of your ancestors and friends), "and provide plenty of cakes when the day comes round; they will remember you when you need their help." "Try and not drink of the same cup with a man of another creed; it makes a man bold, and gives an inclination toward sin." "Look out for the fire and keep it ablaze, once in the night and twice by day, for all the fires are satisfied when one fire is fed."

"Don't distress your priest or your father and mother, for their satisfaction is connected with that of God."

"Don't slander or commit a rape, or cause a woman to occupy another bed" (away from her husband). "Kill unclean beasts, especially the frog, the snake, and scorpion, the ant that flies (that is, the locust), the common ant and the mouse; he who kills a mouse kills as good as four lions."

"Don't put a bare foot to the ground or you may defile or be defiled," etc., etc. On the whole a most interesting and valuable volume, full of pithy lore; racy of the soil where it first sprouted, and teeming with shrewd good sense, as well as curious fancies.

L. H. MILLS.

Oxford, *March*, 1897.

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## SIAM.\*

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN view of the coming visit to England of the King of Siam, it may be of interest to learn how that kingdom is believed to have originated, and what ethnological place it occupies in the Far East.

When I was stationed in the south-west of China seventeen years ago, I had my attention directed to a mysterious aboriginal race of people called the Lolos, one of whom sent me a book in his native language. This incident led to inquiry into the equally mysterious disappearance of another powerful race, which once occupied part of the Lolo territory. It subsequently transpired that the emigrated tribes were almost certainly the ancestors of the Shans, whom I will show are the same race as the Siamese.

As usual in matters appertaining to Eastern Asia, it is from the Chinese records that we draw the most precise and valuable information. It appears that 2,000 years ago the Chinese Emperor Wu Ti decided upon an expedition to what is now called the province of Yün Nan, and the result was that in A.D. 50, after a century or more of struggling, the local chieftains were grouped together under the Chinese officers at the border-town now known as Momein. Amongst these tribes was one called Ai-lao; and I subsequently found, when in Tonquin, that the Annamese to this day so style the Laos or Shan tribes upon their frontiers. A bilingual Annamese history book which I bought in Ianoi, records wars

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\* We cordially welcome this paper as it contains much information that is new, especially the statements tending to show that the Shans are the same race as the Siamese. At the same time, our readers will remember the many important papers that have already appeared in this Review on these nations, as two separate entities and in their subdivisions. On the recent and present state of Siam affairs nothing, for instance, could have been more valuable than the contributions of MUANG THAI, MEI NAM KONG, and General Sir H. Prendergast, that were published in our issues of July 1893, October 1894, and April 1896, respectively, not to refer to the French and British officials that wrote anonymously in our pages on a subject that was within their special knowledge and authority. At any rate, no one can thoroughly study the interesting, historical and ethnological enquiry, to which Mr. Parker has brought the treasures of his experience, without reading the following papers in "*The Asiatic Quarterly Review*" with the respectful attention that the standing and the local learning of their eminent authors so eminently deserve. We only quote the following, among others of equal merit: "A Journey to Eastern Siam," a very long paper, by Mr. J. HOLT HALLETT (October 1887); "The Shan States," by Capt. A. C. YATE (October 1888); "The British Shan States" (of 47 pages), by Mr. J. G. SCOTT, the great explorer and writer on the "Wild Wa" (July 1889). Not unconnected with the enquiry may also be found to be the highly interesting paper of General A. R. MACMAHON on "Karenni and the Red Karens" (July 1889), whilst the two papers that Captain G. E. GERINI has favoured us with on "Trial by Ordeal in Siam," though not connected with the subject, suggest origins in Siam with which the Shans have, probably, little to do.—ED.

with the Ai-lao in the 11th, 12th, and 14th centuries; but no mention is made of the word "Siam." Even so late as 1727, the Manchu Annals mention a revolt of Ai-lao and Lolo in the neighbourhood of the Tonquin frontier. A chieftain, now mediatised by the French, whom I met at Hanoi (the French capital), made it quite clear to me that the Siamese, Shans, Laotians, Muongs, and what not, were practically of one *souche*, extending over the northern parts of Burma and Tonquin, as well as over what is now called Siam. The Siamese are the *Thai noi*, or "Little Shans," and the northern states are the *Thai nai*, or "Great Shans." A few years after this, again, I had the opportunity of comparing vocabularies in Peninsular Siam, and in North and South Burma, and of discussing the question with native chiefs and Shan-speaking English officials and missionaries, the result being ample confirmation of the view that a great and extensive homogeneous race, now numbering over twenty millions, had within historical times always existed wedged in between China, India, and Burma; and that through want of cohesive force it had invariably lost its political opportunities.

In A.D. 650 we find the Ai-lao have formed a powerful commonwealth or federation of six principalities, and the Chinese historians for the period inform us that each of these principalities was called in the native language a *chao*, which is still the Siamese and Shan name for "prince." The Panthay Prince Hassan, son of the unfortunate "Sultan" of Tali, called my attention when at Rangoon to a Chinese history of this confederation (published in 1550) which I now have before me. The state was bordered on the west by the Hindoo kingdom of Magadha and the then rising kingdom of Tibet; to the south were the Cambodians and the Burmese—then known as Pyoo; to the north and north-east, China; to the south-east Annam. The state was highly organized, apparently upon a military basis, and the people were acquainted with the art of weaving cotton long before the Chinese heard of its existence. Very full descriptions of the manners and customs are given by the annalists, but it is only necessary to mention one or two points of special interest here. Buddhist influence, *via* Magadha, was very strong. One syllable of the king's name was almost invariably given to his successor, and something like this hereditary system of nomenclature is still in vogue amongst the Shan chieftains of Burma. The Chinese statements connecting the federal state with India are confirmed by the fact that the Pra-kéo inscription of Bangkok is Siamese, written in Sanskrit character; but the Buddhist influence came also later on from the south as well.

The king took advantage of China's troubles with the Turks to annex some territory, and joined interests with the *gialbo* of Tibet. But the Tibetans were soon found to be irksome taskmasters, and after a few years the new king, Emozin, offered China to attack the Tibetans if China would send a contingent of friendly Turks to assist. A tremendous battle was fought at the "Iron Bridge" at the River of Golden Sand in A.D. 794, and the Tibetans were completely defeated. Emozin accepted from the Emperor of China the title of "King of the Southern Chao," received the Chinese special envoy with great magnificence, and entertained him at a banquet with Turkish dances and songs.

In his subsequent wars with Tibet Emozin took prisoners a number of Abbasside Arabs and Turkomans from Samarcand. A celebrated Korean general in Chinese employ had recently crossed the Pamirs, and for the first time had carried Chinese arms into the region of Chitral, Belor, and Baltistan; thus there were at this period active political relations between the Caliphs and the Chinese Emperors.

But Emozin's successors became again involved in war with China: one of them even arrogated the titled of "Emperor of Ta-li," and went so far as to march upon China, laying siege to the metropolis of the modern Sz Chwan province. In 880 the Chinese Emperor even promised to give a princess in marriage to the king of Southern Chao.

By this time, however, China had fallen a prey to internecine strife, and relations with the south-west had entirely ceased. On the other hand, the Burmese king Anawratâ threw off the yoke which the Chao confederation had for a time thrown upon Burma; the once powerful kingdom—now called Ta-li—drifted into the hands of petty usurpers, and remained so; until, towards the end of the thirteenth century, Kublai Khan endeavoured to subjugate both Burma and the intervening Shan states. The succeeding Chinese dynasty decided to leave the native Shan chieftains on the Burmese-Yün Nan frontier in charge of their own people, and ~~these chiefs~~ are what the British, using the Burmese term, still call the *tsawbwas* of the Shan states.

I may now explain the origin of the word Siam, which, as we pronounce it in English, is a barbarism in every way. The Burmese have always called the Thai races—for that is what the Siamese, Shans, etc., style themselves—by the name of Sham, and in Burmese the final nasal is indifferently pronounced *n* or *m*. The first Portuguese and Italian missionaries who came to the Far East wrote the word with perfect correctness Sciam, which the French naturally abbreviated to Siam, corrupted by us into the dissyllable Sai-yam. The usual Burmese way for distinguishing the Siamese from other Shans is, or was, to call them *Sham Yodaya*, or *Ayudia*,—of course after the name of one of their first capitals; but I myself made enquiry in Mergui, Tennasserim, Renoung, and south-western Siam, and found that some at least of the Burmese in those parts simply used the word *Sham*, without the addition of the specifying word *Ayudia*, to indicate the Siamese. When the first Europeans came, they did not penetrate far up the Mekong, Menam, or Irrawaddy rivers, and, the rest of the Shans being under Burma or China, naturally failed to discern traces of the northern connection. I spoke to several learned Siamese and men of rank when in Bangkok, and found that they were all totally ignorant of their migration from China; of their ancestors having once formed a powerful state within the bounds of the modern Chinese Empire; and of their ethnological identity with the most northern or Chinese Shans. On the other hand, the Chinese have not the smallest idea that the great militant Chao kingdom of 1,200 years ago is partly represented by the somewhat degenerate Siam of to-day. True, the modern Siamese recognise the fact that the northern Shans of Luang Prabang, etc., are the older branch of the Thai race, but they seem to have nothing



more than the vaguest traditions of immigration into the Menam valley from the north, and to have lost all recollection of the time when the centre of Shan power was in China proper. On the other hand, although in the seventh century the Chinese sent envoys by sea to a "Red Earth" country, which the historians of the Mongol dynasty identify with Siam, it was only after Kublai Khan's death in 1294 that the name Siem (or Siam as it is still pronounced in one Chinese dialect) appeared in Chinese history. The king represented that during the reign of his father presents of embroidery and white horses had been sent from China: the Emperor Timur willingly granted part of the request, but declined to give more horses, "lest the Hindoos and other neighbouring states should criticise such proceedings unfavourably."

The Siamese have a legend that they were already established in Lapong in A.D. 575, and that in A.D. 638 their King threw off the yoke of Cambodian rule and established a new national era. It so happens, however, that A.D. 639 is the "common era" of Burma, and there is reason to believe that the monarch who signalised his reign by introducing it conquered both countries, and was supreme over a great part of what are now called Upper Burma and Upper Siam. No doubt when the Chao confederation was at the height of its power, and in a position to deal on equal terms with both China and Tibet towards the north, it would be numerically strong enough to throw off colonising branches also in a southerly direction, and there are specific traditions in Indo-Chinese history, under date A.D. 707, of a conquest of North Cambodia made by the Yun tribe of Shans. In 1296, again,—almost the very year in which the Chinese annals first mention Siam by that name,—the Mau tribe of Shans are said to have turned their former masters the Cambodians into tributaries. There were settlements of Shans at Phitsalok, Sukkotai, and Sangalok on the east branch of the Menam; Nakhon Savan, and Kamphong-pet on the west branch; and traditions that they extended south as far as Ligor in the peninsula. But it is not necessary for our present purpose to wade through the maze of conflicts between the rival kingdoms—all under Hindoo influence—of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, for Bishop Pallegoix (1838-1862) was, after most careful sifting of evidence, distinctly of opinion that the "Sciam Yodaya" did not effectively found their kingdom until 1350, when Phaya Uthong of the west branch moved down from Kamphong-pet to Ayuthia.

The Chinese dynasty which in 1368 succeeded the Mongols had extensive relations with Siem by sea, and their history devotes quite a long chapter to the subject. According to this account, there were then two conflicting states, Siam and Lohuk, the latter of which conquered the former; indeed the amalgamated power for some time bore the national name of Siamlohuik. It will be noticed that Marco Polo, who describes Burma, Ciampa, Java, and the Indian Seas generally, says nothing of Siam; but he describes a kingdom called Lochac, where "brazil-wood is in abundance, and gold in almost incredible quantities. There are elephants and other animals for hunting; . . . 500 miles southward from Lochac one finds an island named Pentam (Bintang), . . . 130 miles south-east of which you find the island of

Java the Lesser." It would be rash to identify Lochac with Lohuk on the above evidence alone, but on the other hand there seems to be nothing against such an identification. The history of the Chinese dynasty which preceded the Mongols speaks of two countries, one Loviet, 15 days by water south, and another Lohuk, 25 days north-east of a mysterious state called Tanmeiliu, which was 50 days west of Cambodia, 35 days east of West India, and 45 days north-west of Java. Tavoy or Tennasserim would fit in with this description.

In 1371 the King's name, in its Chinese dress, was Sam-liet Chao P'i-ya, in which it is not difficult to recognize the common Siamese titles Somdetch Chao Phra, including the ancient word *chao* already described. The heir-apparent was sent to do homage at the Chinese court, and the king was patented as ruler of Siem-Lo, which to this day is the sole Chinese name for Siam. From that time onwards tribute offerings of sapan-wood, elephants, pepper, and spices were sent at intervals. In 1404 a question arose as to the right of Siam to cultivate friendly relations with Loochoo, and the king was also warned that he must keep on friendly terms with Sumatra and Malacca. In 1509 interpreters in the Siamese language were permanently stationed at Peking. The Siamese annals mention the taking of Loveck, the Cambodian capital in 1532, and possibly *this* may be the Chinese Lohuk. On the other hand the Malay annals state that the Siamese had already reached the end of the peninsula before the first Malay colonies came north to Singapore in the 12th century; this agrees with the Sukkothai inscriptions of the 13th century. At any rate, the Chinese historians mention the war with Cambodia, and state that Siam reached the zenith of her power about 1575; she even offered China assistance against the Japanese in 1592, with a view to defeating the designs of Hideyoshi upon Corea. After Hideyoshi's death, the first of the Tokugawa Tycoons opened diplomatic relations with Siam, and requested that some sapan-wood might be sent to him. It is rather remarkable to find the Siamese offering aid against the Japanese, for, according to Sir E. Satow, in 1579, 500 Japanese assisted the Siamese to repel a Burmese attack. Siam continued to send tribute to the Chinese court until the suicide of the last Emperor and the conquest of the Manchus in 1644.

In 1652 the Siamese applied to the first Tartar Emperor through the Governor of Canton for a fresh seal and patent, and the King Sêm-liet P'a-la Ku-lung Chao Ma-hu-luk-k'un Yu-t'i-ya P'u-ai (evidently some such name as Somdetch Phra Klom Chao Mahalongkorn Ayuthia Pwai) sent tribute in 1665. After the exchange of frequent missions, he was granted a patent in 1673: the Emperor was very easy in the matter of tribute, and, as in the case of Corea, allowed Siam to profit by her missions as much as reasonably possible in a mercantile way. For nearly a century after that things seem to have gone on very smoothly: facilities for trading at Amoy and Canton were granted; the Siamese were allowed to buy rice when rice was scarce, and to sell it free of duty when their own crop was superabundant. The Chinese do not appear to have heard anything specific of Constantine Phaulcon's doings in Siam; of Louis XIV.'s intrigues; or of the Siamese wars with Cambodia, Burma, and Annam; if

they did hear, it was only in a general way ; and certainly about this time the Manchu Emperors began to feel uneasy concerning the trade coming over the seas. In 1718 the French name seems to have already acquired an evil odour : the Emperor says : "Of the red-haired breed it is difficult to fathom the cunning : amongst them are England, France, Holland, Portugal, etc. Although they go by different names, they are all of one kind, but the French tribe appears to be unusually cruel and ferocious, whilst the Macao clan is in some way connected with them." It was only in 1729 that China heard of and opened relations with the state of Nanchang, or Lao-chwa, *i.e.*, the Chwa family of Laos or Ai-laos, so that for many centuries the land route between China and Siam must have been unexplored and forgotten. In 1736 compliments are exchanged with the King Sam-lit P'a Chao Kwong P'a Mahu-luk-K'un-sz Yut'ia P'u-ai (perhaps Sombetch Phaya Chao Klom Phra Mahalongkornse Ayuthia Pwai) ; and a king with a slightly different name sends tribute in 1749.

China was now engaged in a desperate war with Burma ; so was Siam ; the conquest of Siam in 1767 by Alompra and his "tattooed bellies"—a name still used in Amoy to designate the Burmese—was duly reported to the Emperor by the Viceroy at Canton. After this date no more is heard of the Japanese in Siam, their settlement in Ayuthia having been destroyed by the Burmese with the rest of the town. Meanwhile a Chinese adventurer (Siamese mother) usurped the throne of Siam at Bangkok, and the Emperor of China, who was anxious to make use of the ousted royal family, if possible, as an instrument of vengeance against the joint enemy Burma, had to consider very seriously what policy would pay him best. Both the Chinese annals and the various European accounts are a little self-contradictory as to who this usurper was : it seems there were two in succession, and that the first, Tak-sin, commonly known as Phaya Tak, went mad, and was replaced by another bearing the Chinese family name of Chêng (or Tang in the Amoy dialect), known as Phaya Tan, or Phaya Chakri. These two often appear to be merged into one by mistake. The Chinese usurper applied for recognition, and sent some Burmese prisoners to Peking in order to ingratiate himself with the Emperor Kienlung. This monarch, who was a perfect master in the arts of diplomacy, drafted a temporizing reply for the Viceroy of Canton to send, stating that "at present it would be impossible to submit so irregular a proposition to his Majesty." Finally the Emperor came to the conclusion that it would suit him best to support the usurper and throw over the old Siamese dynasty. In 1775 the usurper even offered to assist China in an attack upon Burma, provided he were supplied with sulphur and cannon : but the Emperor, who just then had his hands full with Tibet, looked askance at this, and drafted another evasive reply for the Viceroy to send, reserving to himself, in effect, freedom to act according to which way the wind should ultimately blow. Finally the Emperor agreed to invest the usurper with the dignity of King of Siam, and to "allow him to attack Burma on his own account," provided he would "explain more fully his claims to the Siamese throne, and not consider Chinese recognition as in any way a reward for any damage he might succeed in doing to Burma, or, in the event of disaster,



expect assistance from China." In 1776 the Viceroy of Canton was able to send the agreeable news that the juvenile King of Burma was again at war with Siam. But the Chinese usurper kept the Emperor in a very nervous condition: first he wanted permission to trade at Amoy, Ningpo, and even at the Japanese ports; then to purchase copper vessels in China; next to borrow 1,000 copper shields "for defence against the Burmese"; and so on. The obedient Viceroy was directed to reply, as coming from his own inspiration, that "from ancient times till now shields in China had always been made of iron."

In 1782 the new King of Siam reported the death of his father, whose dying words were an exhortation to his son to serve China faithfully: but the Emperor was in no hurry to sell his favours cheaply; the King was directed to send full particulars, and to formally supplicate for investiture. A year or two later a Siamese special envoy was passed on to Peking in order to sue in person for a royal patent. Whilst these negotiations were going on, Siam made a second startling demand for 2,000 copper shields "for defence against the Burmese," which was of course refused; the King did not receive his investiture before 1786. In 1789 Siam was ordered to preserve peace with Burma, Bodoaprá, King of that country (called by the Chinese after his ordinary name, Maung Waing), having meanwhile sent a conciliatory mission. Siam replied by asking that Burma might be instructed to give back to Siam the provinces of Mergui, Martaban, and Tavoy. The King of Burma meanwhile, not to be behind-hand in politeness, sent to the Chinese frontier some Amoy traders he had captured from the Siamese.

On the Emperor Kiaking's accession in 1796, Siam sent an envoy with congratulations, and of course received the usual stilted sermon "to behave well, obey China, and live ever happily in consequence." A subsequent mission of condolence was sent back at Canton on the ground that the late Emperor's funeral obsequies were over; but tribute was sent in 1801, and in 1803 the Shan chiefs subject to Burma were reminded that the Emperor could not encourage any hostility against Siam: on the other hand, they were informed that China could not interfere in disputes between Siam and Burma. The King of Siam was also notified that if he wished to trade with China he must not send Chinese resident traders as supercargoes, but must despatch certificated Siamese agents.

For many years after this Siam appears as a tribute bearer, and in 1820 she was officially notified, along with Burma, Corea, Annam, Loochoo, etc., of the Emperor's demise. In 1821 the King of Siam is called by a new personal name, and one rarely if ever used by genuine Chinese in China, *i.e.*, "Buddha"; but as he still carries the Chinese surname of the usurper, it would appear that he was the third of the dynasty, and the King known in Siam as Phra Yat Fa Nobhalai. In 1825 there is a statement that "the heir-apparent Fu of Siam was patented King." As a matter of fact Phra Yu Huca succeeded his father in 1824, and Huca is evidently the Siamese form of the Chinese word Fu or Fuk, pronounced Houk by the Amoy traders who frequent Siam. This King sent several special missions of congratulation to Peking when the Chinese had succeeded in

crushing Jehangir's rebellion, and in recovering possession of Little Bucharia. In 1839, as an act of special grace, Siam's tribute was allowed to be sent every four years instead of every three; so that, although the formality was in a mercantile sense a profitable one for the minor power, the duty could not have been an agreeable one to her in every respect.

China was now getting into trouble with England, and the tribute missions of Siam grew less regular, nor do the changes of kings seem to be any longer reported. Tribute was last sent in 1849; but Phra Chao Prasat Thong was reigning at this time, and indeed had been reigning at least as early as 1834; it was evidently no longer thought worth while to ask for investiture, or—as is always exacted in China—to report the full personal name. In 1855 Sir John Bowring made a treaty with Siam, and China was totally ignored.

His present Majesty, sixth of the dynasty, is therefore in a sense partly Chinese by descent, and his name corresponds, almost syllable by syllable, with those of his predecessors two or three centuries ago. I believe it is Somdetch Phra Paramindr Maha Chulalonkorn, these formidable-looking words being simply cacophonous corruptions of Sanskrit or Pali titles. The Siamese language is in its origin monosyllabic and tonic, like the Chinese and Annamese; but Siam was never under Chinese literary influence, and the effect of Pali literature has been, as in the case of Burmese, to render the tongue partly polysyllabic, and to weaken the necessity for using tones. It also contains an admixture of Khmer (Cambodian), and, in some parts, Malay and Annamese words.

The fact of the dynasty being in a sense partly Chinese evidently accounts in some measure for its partiality for Chinese governors. I spent some days in 1892 with the hereditary Chinese Rajah of Renoung, who has his walled palace, his dynastic tombs, and everything else on the old feudal Chinese model. The Chinese Rajah of Kra was there on a visit, and I met still another Chinese Rajah in Hongkong: they are practically sub-kings, and farm out their little states on strictly business principles, subject to an annual tribute to the King of Siam. A successful Chinese comprador, or even a prosperous coolie, makes an excellent sovereign or governor of inferior races; and indeed it is a Chinese that farms out the whole of the Siamese revenues with the exception of the customs import dues. One third of the whole population of Siam consists of Chinese (Ch'ek) or half Chinese (Chin); the proportion in the large towns, and especially the industrial centres, is even greater than that.

The Siamese themselves have, as a race, no aptitude for business: that they retain some of their old martial qualities is plain from the fact that they are able to keep the Chinamen well in hand. They are strict Buddhists, like the Burmese, but, both in appearance and grit, in some respects resemble the Japanese, being pugnacious, proud, and less easy-going than either Burmese or Annamese. However, modern Siam is a subject upon which there are many good books available: the object of the present paper is only to go back to the root of things, and to contribute a mite towards explaining who the Siamese really are.

## INDIA BEFORE THE ENGLISH.

BY R. SEWELL, M.C.S.

## INTRODUCTORY.

AMIDST a babel of contending opinions as to the success or non-success of British administration in India, when a large number of disputants maintain that progress in that country has been phenomenal, while others declare that England is ruining India body and soul, it will be well for a few moments to turn from the war of words and clash of conflicting arguments to the solid standpoint of historic truth; and to attempt to gather from unimpeachable ancient records how the matter stands. For I am convinced that in the minds of the majority there is much misty ignorance regarding the true condition of India before the advent of the British, so that opinions are often formed upon bases quite unsound.

The case stands broadly thus. Many Hindus are convinced that their country was better governed by their own rulers than it is now, and some people in this country think the same thing. Well, if that be the case, Her Majesty's Government ought to learn the truth. It would lead to better government in future. And if it is not the case, the Hindus ought to learn the truth. It would lead to their greater contentment in the future; and contentment means happiness. So that for the benefit of both sides investigation can, I think, only lead to good results. But at the outset the enquiry must be conducted on purely historical lines, since it is on those lines alone that we can proceed with safety. We want the actual facts; nothing else is of any value.

The difficulty is how to treat the subject. It would, of course, be impossible to satisfy everyone, even were our historical foothold of the firmest. If I were to take one period only, such a course would naturally be open to objection. If I were to attempt to paint the condition of Southern India 150 years ago it would be argued that such a selection would preclude the possibility of fair judgment, since the country was then in a very chaotic, almost anarchical, condition; while if I were to select solely the government of the Cholas 1,000 years ago, I should lay myself open to the rejoinder that that period is too remote. I do not therefore pretend to take any special period. I merely hope to be able, from contemporary records, in a few odd corners to lift the veil which hides the present from the past, and to throw a little light on some interesting questions of the day.

I desire first to call attention to the fact, insufficiently grasped I think even by English gentlemen long resident in India, that from the earliest times the Hindus have been, as compared with some European nations, a people wanting in the historic faculty—unaccustomed to retrospects; they are therefore by nature unused to the habit that prevails amongst educated Englishmen of comparing what is with what was. They have very few ancient chronicles of contemporaneous events of any historical value; and those few are not studied in a critical spirit. They have no autobiographies, no historical novels, to guide them as to the condition of



their country in past days; so that obviously they can form no sound judgment as to whether the government of the English has proved a blessing or a curse to their country. And I think that it would prove of incalculable advantage both to India and England were their own history and the growth of the various peoples and nations taught in the Hindu schools in such a way as to implant in the minds of their young men sound and truthful conceptions of the condition of the country in days before the English acquired the reins of Government.

The Hindus, as well as many Englishmen, are apt to dream of a past golden age, when all India was governed by one Emperor native-born. They talk of the grand days of Râma, of Asoka, of Vikramâditya and others, but I hope to be able to prove that no such empire ever existed. The Hindus think that taxation under native rule was lighter and less harassing than at present. I shall shew from contemporary documents that under one of the purest and most long-lived Hindu sovereignties—that of the Cholas—taxation was much heavier, and infinitely more galling than it is now. Under the Muhammadans it was worse still. They think that the Land Survey system was better. I shall shew that under the Cholas it was so intricate that the peasantry must in consequence have been absolutely at the mercy of the village chiefs. Again, whereas at the present day a native of India is as free to move about the country and exercise himself in trade with the whole world as an Englishman is in England, in former days he was confined to his own village and a very limited surrounding area by the absence of roads and communications, and by the terror of thugs and dacoits who robbed and murdered the traveller with impunity. A few other points will also be noticed.

I have said that the Hindu, by the habit of his race, seldom looks backwards into the Past. We in England do. We travel by train, breakfasting, say, in London and lunching in Derby, the carriage comfortably warmed and running smoothly along, and we dream of the advance of the age, and the difference between the journey as it is accomplished now and what it would have been a hundred years ago. But how do we know anything about the then condition of things? Of course by our study of the facts of history as taught to us at school, and college, of contemporaneous records, of autobiographies, and historical novels. In a word we compare because we possess the means of comparison. Very few of these sources of information exist for the Hindu. Much might be obtained from a scientific study of ancient writings and from inscriptions, but these are not as a rule studied. And even here there must be comprehensive limitation. For if we may judge by their inscriptions the faculty of faithful history-writing has from the earliest ages been conspicuous by its absence in India. The Hindus of all ages appear to have cared little for the events of days beyond the limit of their own personal knowledge. The Muhammadans indeed have left us valuable records of their times, such as the history of Ferishta and many others; the Hindus, so far as I am aware, never. They think such records useless. When a thing is done it is done, and there is no need to write a book about it. Certainly the Hindus whom I have met have, as a rule, taken little or no

interest in historical subjects. I was at one time in correspondence with the best educated Hindu officers of the Government as well as private gentlemen resident in all parts of the Madras Presidency on the subject of the antiquities and history of Southern India, a research which led to the publication of my two volumes on Madras Antiquities; and during the whole of the twenty-one years of my residence there I interested myself everywhere in old monuments and inscriptions. I found amongst the Hindus an almost universal want of interest in these subjects. They would take no trouble to decipher the inscriptions, and if a monument was of considerable antiquity it sufficed them to say that it had been erected by the gods. That was enough. Any myth would do, any fable or fairy story. To really arrive at the true circumstances seemed to them waste of time—foolishness.

It has often fallen to my lot, when camping out on duty, to have my tents pitched under a lofty hill, upon the topmost crags of which stood boldly out the bastions and towers of one of those grand old fortresses that dominate the surrounding country in so many parts of Southern India, and I have asked the townsfolk around me what they know about it. Very seldom I have heard some short tale regarding it, as that a prince or chief once threw his wife from one of the parapets; but more generally the answer has come "It is a fort." "Yes," I would reply, "I can see that for myself, but have you not *one* story about it? No legend of any fighting or siege? Have you no notion of who built it? or why? or when?" Almost always came the disheartening reply, "None." Sometimes I would get an answer similar to that given me at Karunguli in the Chingleput District. There is a large square rough-stone fort there, situated in the open plain. It was originally built by the Muhammadans about two centuries ago. It passed into the hands of the French in 1750, and in 1759 was taken by the British under Sir Eyre Coote. Orme's History contains an account of the siege, with a plan annexed to it. The attack lasted six days and the garrison capitulated and marched out with all the honours of war, colours flying and drums beating. I went one day into the village a few hundred yards away to see if I could find any trace left of the English batteries, opposite the clearly defined breach on the north wall. I found the place for which I had been searching, and then began to ask the village officers and the inhabitants of the houses round about whether there was any tradition in the village regarding this event. None whatever. No one knew or cared. "It was a fort"—that was all. But who built it? Answer, "It is said that it was built by Arjuna in the times of the Kurus and Pāndiyas." Their ideas jumped back to the wars of the *Mahābhārata*.

It is true that this ignorance of the real condition of their country in past days is not confined to the people of India. We in England are often singularly backward also in this respect. But we possess as a nation what I may term the historic faculty. We have contemporary records, written in all ages by people who thought, at the time, that the events of the day ought not to be entirely lost sight of by future generations. Some nations of ancient days possessed it—but not all. The Jews possessed

it. The Egyptians apparently not. But I am not only referring to a record of political events, of dates and battles. I refer more to the general notion prevailing as to the former condition of the country. Story books and novels dealing with past days constitute the principal sources of information to a British schoolboy or young man. The Hindu has none such.

It is this want of the historic faculty which leads the Hindu into the land of dreams, the land of poetry, and here he is at home. He does dream of a Past, but the dream is in most cases a mere vision of non-realities. He dreams, as I said, of there having once been a time when all India from the Hindu Kûsh to Ceylon lay under the Imperial sway of magnificent monarchs of supreme power and dignity, the like of whom the world has never seen, under whose benignant and enlightened government flourished all the Arts and all the sciences in unparalleled splendour. He dreams that under this government the people were more free and less heavily taxed, that the taxes were somehow less burdensome, less irritating; that there was little or no oppression of the people by corrupt officials. As to the sciences, I once heard one of these dreamers, a young Brahman who spoke excellent English, declare in a lecture that the knowledge of medicine arose in ancient India as well as the knowledge of every other science; and that such was the power of diagnosis possessed by the ancient Hindu doctors that, whereas one of our poor ignorant latter-day surgeons is compelled to examine the person of a patient to ascertain the cause of his illness, in old India the leech could at once come to a right conclusion merely by touching the end of a stick pushed through a hole in a curtain by a person hidden behind it. There was similar excellence, he averred, in all branches of study.

That I am not exaggerating in my view of the notions which gain ground in the mind of the Hindus may be shewn by a very recent instance which any of my readers may verify for himself. It is a declaration of his belief by a highly educated and gifted gentleman—a "territorial Mahārājah"—writing in the pages of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* in January of last year, with reference to a paper on the "*Sovereign Princes of India and their relation to the Empire*," by Sir R. Lethbridge.\* The writer professes to be engaged on a retrospect based on the authority of the past history of the country, but for his history he goes to the ancient epic poems and even then totally misreads them. He says:

"In the halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty, this land of Bharata enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful reign, the Court of Ayodhya on the one hand, and the Court of Hastinapura on the other hand, having acted as centres of political supremacy, binding the vassal sovereigns by the common tie of patriotism towards their mother land, and loyalty towards their sovereign, recognized as such, by divine right. From the glimpses of political history we can gather on the authority of our ancient epics—the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata—we learn that every political act of great moment was, before its execution, proposed by the sovereign head and carried by the unanimous voice of the vassals. . . . . The

\* *As. Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1895, p. 312.



war of the Mahābhārata was another momentous act of politics that was brought about by the united voice of the subject sovereigns and vassals who were scattered about the length and breadth of this vast and glorious empire consisting of 56 Aryan Principalities (note, please, "*Aryan*"). Still later, when we come to Somnāth, we find the Hindu sovereigns assembled under a common banner, in the cause of their religion and country to oppose Mohamed of Ghazni." From these instances he argues that in ancient India there must have been one grand Imperial Constitution over all the land, with the chiefs forming the responsible Council of the sovereign, and he pleads for a re-establishment of this system. A little later he describes the political condition of the whole country as consisting of "the Imperial Majesty of India and her vassal sovereigns united in holy relation." All this is a very pretty fancy, no doubt, but it appears to me to be simply untrue. Apart from the facts of the case, which are well known to the real student of Indian History, think for a moment how impossible in practice such a conception is. How would it be possible for a sovereign in South India to travel, merely in order to attend a Council at Ayodhyā, all the length of India and back to his own territory at a time when there were no roads, and when he would have had to take with him an army for his protection? A couple of years' absence would have been necessary, and I have never yet read of any admission by Chola or Pāndiya sovereigns that they were vassals of Ayodhyā. The writer himself, no doubt conscious of the weakness of his position, is wise enough to speak of this system of vassalage as appertaining to "prehistoric" times, but he does not hesitate to use this supposititious prehistoric constitution as a plea for the introduction of a similar state of things in the reign of Queen Victoria.

Is it not time, then, for the English to teach the Hindus the real truth? Is it not almost a scandal—is it not productive of endless mischief—that, supposing these things to be untrue, we make no attempt to teach the people what the truth is?\*

It is too late to influence by sound education the convictions of those

\* To make sure of my facts I have perused the Calendars of the University of Madras for last year. Before leaving India, animated by the same spirit that now possesses me, I pressed that University to further the study of the true history of the country. This was in answer to their request that I would name a special historical subject for the Master of Arts Degree examination. The University did not accept my views, but fixed for that special study "*The Italian Republics of the middle ages*," and the paper set contained such questions as "What do you know of the Sedition of the Ciompi and the Plot of Marino Falleri?"

The Matriculation Examination contained an historical paper in which four questions related to Indian History, one only having reference to anything pre-European. The "First Arts" Examination contained no paper on history at all. The B.A. examination contained a paper on Greek and Roman History, one on Ancient and Mediæval Institutions, but all concerned with England, one on the History of the Middle Ages in Europe, and one on the History of Great Britain, poor India being totally neglected. And so with the M.A. examination, which deals with a multitude of abstruse subjects, and has papers on Carthaginian History, the Normans, Germany, but in which the Indian section contains only the history of English India in the last 100 years. I am glad to see however that they have encouraged the study of Indian numismatics, which leads to a study of history.

already of mature age. The mischief has so far been done. But we can at least teach the facts of history to the younger generation ; and thus secure that a just historical comparison, based on truth and not on a misunderstanding, may become possible for that great body of thinking men who, a few years hence, will be the guides of Hindu convictions throughout the length and breadth of the country.

#### ANCIENT INDIAN EMPIRES—A MYTH.

My first attempt will be to combat the too often received idea that at some past date India consisted of one nation under one ruler. This appears to be contrary to the facts of history. India seems to have always been, as Europe has always been, a congeries of separate peoples, mostly living a life full of tribal and racial animosities and jealousies and constantly at war with one another. It is the nineteenth century alone that has seen the whole of this great country consolidated and unified under the peaceful rule of one sovereign ; for even in the time of the Mogul sovereigns, who certainly were supreme, the country was in an exceedingly disturbed condition. At no time was there universal peace.

The very name "India" is a growth of little more than a century. Formerly Europeans spoke of Hindustân, but "Hindustân" did not mean India any more than "Hanover" means the present German Empire. The races were just as distinct, the languages just as various as the races and languages of Europe.

Let us look forward for a moment at the world as it may possibly be a couple of centuries hence. The whole of Europe has been unified under the rule of a single Emperor, the unification having been finally completed only about fifty years back. Is it possible to imagine the educated classes of that country, living in such widely separated tracts as the Highlands of Scotland and the mountains of the Morea, seriously believing that at some fairly recent period—the actual interval being to them a matter of no moment—all Europe had constituted a single realm, peaceful and happy under the sway of a single magnificent ruler ? It will be said that such ignorance would be impossible. But it would be an exact parallel to the beliefs of the leaders of Hindu thought at the present day as to the past history of their country. Or take the case of Africa. Conceive that in another hundred years the whole of that great continent has come under the empire of one of the great European nations, and that tranquillity and freedom reigns from end to end of it. A very slight knowledge of history would enable the inhabitants to realize the condition of Africa in the nineteenth century—the constant warfare of races, the ghastly horrors of the slave-trade, the wanton destruction of human life, the massacres and slaughters of unoffending people by savage chiefs—chaos almost inconceivable, where in very truth, might was the only right, and law was practically non-existent. And can it be conceived that the Government of the day would be so short-sighted as to allow the negroes, through pure ignorance of their past, caused by want of education, to believe that Africa, a century or two previous, had been the peaceful and happy possession of a universal monarch, under whom the single African

nation had lived a life of Elysium? Yet this would only be a parallel to what our Government has done and is doing in India.

#### THE EPIC POEMS.

The earliest inhabitants of India of whom we know anything were the so-called Turanian tribes. These were pitilessly crushed and harassed by their Āryan conquerors, and called *Dasyus*, evil spirits, demons, barbarians, and as a self-governing race nothing remains to tell of their existence save the remnants of a few despised and outlawed tribes in the hill tracts. The invading Āryans looked on them as savages and cannibals, made slaves of them, and slaughtered them mercilessly. It is true that in the South of India the masses of the people are still probably pure Turanians, but after its conquest they never governed themselves, so far as we know, the royal races of that tract being of pure Āryan descent. (Note how the territorial Mahārājah spoke of 56 *Āryan* principalities.)

The exact age of the great Epic Poems, the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, is not yet definitely decided. If they teach us anything at all historical, they prove nothing but the existence of constant wars of dynasties and races throughout the length and breadth of the continent. That Rāma may have been a bold and successful conqueror is perfectly true, but how great was the area conquered and how long his dominion lasted is altogether conjectural. If he, a pure blood Āryan, actually conquered the Dakhan and the South, then the poems conclusively prove the existence at that period of hostile races, and their subjugation by an alien monarch of the North.

Do we find in the poems any claim of universal empire? Far from it. According to the *Rāmāyana* (Book IV., Ch. 41), there were fourteen separate races inhabiting the country south of the Tungabhadra alone, i.e. the extreme south of the peninsula. And that these were not mere local tribes under one lord is proved by the fact that the writer includes not only Cholas, Pāṇḍiyas and Keralas, but also (I think erroneously) Kālingas and Āndhras. And to the north of this tract many works place the great Dandakāraṇya or waste country of Dandaka, a large area consisting of rocks, forests, and uncultivated plains, situated near the Godāvari river.

In the *Mahābhārata* we find two branches of the local reigning family fighting savagely for the territory of Hastināpura. They call in the aid of neighbouring chiefs, of whom there were many. Six different kingdoms are mentioned as existing in one tract on the Ganges, viz., Hastināpura, Mattra, Pāñchāla, Benares, Magadha, and Bengal. Kṛishna, the ally of the Pāṇḍavas, had a principality in Gujarāt. Among the other allies are chiefs from the Indus, and from Kalingā, south of Bengal. We hear also of the Bhīl Rāja, south of the Jumna.

When the Pāṇḍavas left Hastināpura, a very short distance sufficed to bring them to countries subject to aboriginal chiefs called Rākshasas or Aśuras (demons). Ayodhyā was only as far south-east as Allahābād. Arjuna's exile leads us to more independent kingdoms, the Nāgas and Manipura. The Pāṇḍavas entered the service of the Virāṭa Rāja, about



100 miles south of Delhi. It is evidently mere poetic license that makes the poem end with the conquest by Yudhishthira and his brethren of every Rāja throughout the length and breadth of India.

The *Rāmāyana* is a distinctly later poem, but there also we find that the whole country lay under the dominion of numbers of chiefs totally independent of one another. There is no pretence at any claim to universal sovereignty throughout the epic. The story concerns a small state with a limited area, and the neighbours are mentioned by name, Mithila (Tirhut), Girivraja (Rājgir in Behar) the old capital of Magadha, the Bhīl Rāja whose frontier was only 20 miles from Allahābād. Prayāga (Allahābād itself) was outside Rāma's territory, so was Bandelkhand. The whole country south of the Jumna and Ganges was in the possession of aboriginal chiefs.

To come to more historical times we have the accounts of the Greek invasion of Northern India. Darius Hystaspes crossed the Indus in B.C. 521, and conquered and annexed to the Persian Empire the whole of the Panjāb and the Indus Valley. To the Persians succeeded the Greek Kingdom of Alexander and his successors. After the Greeks came the Scythian hordes and their kings, Huvishka and Kanishka.

When Alexander seized the country he found no lord paramount in Upper India. The Panjāb was under separate kings more or less at war with one another. Chandragupta and Puru of Magadha were local sovereigns ruling over a few vassal states in their immediate neighbourhood. Megasthenes (about B.C. 300) states that there were 118 nations in India, and mentions none of these as subordinate to Chandragupta. There was therefore no pretence at universal sovereignty at that time, and indeed a large portion of Upper India lay under foreign domination for 600 years, Greeks succeeding to Persians, and Tartars to Greeks.

After this we come to Aśoka (B.C. 250 roughly); and as it is on his behalf that we hear the claims of universal empire put forward more often than on that of any other monarch, it is worth while to examine the matter a little closely.

#### ASOKA.

We shall find that Aśoka was by no means a universal *Chakravarti*. Quite the contrary. It is impossible that his monarchy could have extended beyond at most the limits of Hindustān proper. Chandragupta founded his monarchy by conquest after Alexander's invasion, and became overlord to many of the less important chiefs of that tract. Bimbasara succeeded him, and was followed by Aśoka. In the later years of his life the latter became converted to Buddhism, and spread his doctrine far and wide over India, but it must not be supposed that he possessed also the temporal power over all that tract. To prove that this was not the case we have only to examine his own edicts where he mentions the names of contemporary neighbouring sovereigns.

In the thirteenth edict\* he mentions his conquest of Kalingā in the 9th year of his reign, and his resolve to make no further conquests.

\* The quotations are throughout given from Hofrath von Bühler's *Asoka Edicts* in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii.

Kalingā lay to the immediate south of Bengal. That it was a hard nut to crack is proved by Aśoka's own declaration, that during the war 150,000 souls were carried off as prisoners or slaves, 100,000 were slain, and many times that number died. He deeply repented of all this terrific slaughter and suffering, and never again attempted a war of conquest.

In the second edict he mentions expressly "nations and princes that are his neighbours," such as the Cholas, the Pāndiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputra, and the Yona (or Greek) king Antiochus, with his vassals. The Cholas and Pāndiyas reigned in the Peninsula south of Madras, the Keralaputra in Malabar. The locality of the Satiyaputra is not clearly known, but lay probably to the north of the large southern kingdoms, possibly in the Dakhan. In the 5th Edict Aśoka mentions, besides his own subjects, the "Yonas, Kamboyas, Gandhāras, Rastikas, Pitinikas, and others which are my neighbours."

In the thirteenth Edict, Aśoka himself most distinctly states that his claim to any supremacy in India was a purely religious one. He says that the chiefest of conquests is "conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the Gods both here in his empire and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where the king of the Yonas called Amtiyoka *dwells*, and beyond this Amtiyoka *where* the four kings *dwell*." The names of these are given—Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander—they were at that time kings of Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene, and Epirus. Mention of them clearly shows that Aśoka claims no temporal sovereignty over their territories. And the king then goes on to mention, in the same sentence, the Cholas and Pāndiyas. By analogy he claimed no sovereignty therefore at that date over Southern India. Then he mentions a number of separate nations, over whom similarly he claims no sovereign rights—the "Viśas, Vajris, Yonas, Kamboyas, Nābhitis, Bhojas, Pitinikas, Āndhras and Pulindas." Dr. Bühler considers that the Viśas were the Bais Rājputs, and the Vajris the Vrijis of Eastern India. The mention of the Āndhras, who held at least the Southern Kalingā country, seems to prove that Aśoka's temporal kingdom did not extend further south than Northern Kalingā, i.e. that it was confined to the limits of Bengal and the portion of the Kalingā country which he had conquered—his only conquest. Lastly the king notes that he spread his doctrines by means of messengers. According to the Singhalese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, Moggaliputto, in the time of Aśoka, sent missionaries to several tribes, and amongst these are mentioned some names not noted in Aśoka's edicts, viz.: the Mahārattas and Aparāntakas. This explains the existence of a rock edict of Aśoka even so far south as North Mysore. The king claims no sovereign rights of any kind over that tract, but, earnest in spreading his kindly and benevolent doctrine over all India, he obtained permission of neighbouring kings to inscribe his edicts on rocks in their territory.

It is thus shown that Aśoka held no universal empire, and that India, in his time as before, consisted of a large number of distinct nationalities, tribes and kingdoms.

INDIA AFTER ASOKA.

This state of things was certainly not changed by the invasion of the Tartar Yueh Chi, and of the Scythian tribes, Huns or Śakas, who overran Upper India, and under Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka, established a dominion in that tract that lasted for some centuries with varying fortunes; being at its greatest about A.D. 50.

Contemporaneously with these Scythian inroads the sovereignty of Asoka's successors of the Maurya, Sanga, and Kanva dynasties came to an end, and we find the Āndhras coming to the front on the Eastern coast. Did they then acquire or ever claim universal sovereignty? By no means. They seem to have been powerful, but their territories were not extensive, and they mentioned neighbouring kings in their inscriptions.

And so with the other dynasties of that period, Guptas and others. It is true that our information as to the condition of India until at least five centuries after our era is somewhat vague. But at Asoka's date, and after the downfall of the Āndhras and our emergence into greater historical light, we find the Cholas and Pāndiyas in possession of their territories, and never the slightest trace of any chief who claimed to be paramount over the rest. Indeed the very doubt and confusion probably arose from a disturbed condition of things, strife of races and the clash of contending arms, wars amongst neighbours, and inroads of savage tribes from over the mountains of the north.

The Hindu poems, grand and beautiful as some of them doubtless are, must not always be relied on for historical accuracy. Claims to universal monarchy on behalf of their chiefs are often made in poems and inscriptions, but on very insufficient grounds. I know of a fine spirited chronicle, the story of some chiefs in the Dakhan, where descriptions are given of the movements of their armies, their victories and conquests. They are said to have conquered Mālava, Konkana, Drāvida, Kalingā, Sindh, Bengal, Kōśala, all the countries of India mentioned in the great epics. Their armies were as the sand of the sea in number, their cities were built of precious stones, their streets were paved with gold, the inhabitants invariably dressed in satins and silks. The king was a *Mahārājādhirāja Chakravarti*, or universal emperor of all India. When he moved to battle the sun was darkened with the flights of his arrows, the tread of his elephants shook the earth to its foundations, so that even Indra trembled on his throne in Heaven. And so on. And all this was written about a small princeling who owned a little territory on the Kṛishnā River about 50 miles square and never left it.

VIKRAMĀDITYA.

Not long ago I heard a lecture delivered by a highly distinguished Indian official, in the course of which the speaker alluded to the prevalent belief in India as to the existence of at least two great emperors of India who possessed universal dominion. These were Asoka and Vikramāditya, the latter of whom is supposed to have introduced the Vikrama era, which has its epoch in B.C. 56. I have already disposed of Asoka, and will now for a few minutes discuss the myth of Vikramāditya. No such name exists in all the history of India except as that of certain kings of a local



dynasty, the Western Chālukyas, in the country about Bombay and the Western Dekkan between the years A.D. 670 and 1126; and I have personally very little doubt that it is really around the first of that name that all the romantic web of stories and legends and fancies has been weaved. Though possessing quite a limited area of territory he was in his way a considerable monarch. His father Satyāśraya, or Pulikesi II., had acquired much land by conquest of neighbouring kings and nations, and Vikramāditya consolidated his power by defeating a confederacy of three chiefs of the Pallavas, afterwards seizing their capital Kāñchi, or Conjeveram, South of Madras. His grants and inscriptions are full of poetic boasting of his grand achievements. Śankarāchāryār, the great reformer of the Śaiva faith appears to have lived in his reign. The king was a patron of literature and the arts; he invited Brahmans to visit him from various parts of India and loaded them with rich presents. Their return has been to immortalize him in song and story. Legends are told of his miraculous birth and marvellous actions. He has become a sort of Indian Haroun-al-Raschid, so that the XIXth century Hindu claims for him universal supremacy over all India, and antedates him more than seven hundred years in order that it may appear that he was the founder of the Vikrama era. Do I then actually dare to assert that Vikramāditya was *not* the founder of the well-known Vikrama era? Such is most certainly my opinion at present.

I know that the assertion has been constantly made; and I am well aware that in all probability for many years to come the fallacy will be obstinately cherished. It was repeated before the Society of Arts a few days ago, and it will continue to be repeated. But none the less it appears to be absolutely untrue.

The real origin of the Vikrama era is lost in the mist of ages. Dr. Kielhorn has, in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, summarized in most scholarly manner a large number of Vikrama dates given in inscriptions, and for the assertions I am about to make I depend entirely on his careful and painstaking research. The earliest inscriptions in which the era is used, though *without giving it any name at all*, come from Eastern Rājputānā, but for nearly 900 years after the epoch only 10 are known. The earliest of these occurs in A.D. 370, the last in A.D. 840. The period of the earliest is more than four centuries after the epoch. The first mention of the name *Vikrama* (not *Vikramāditya*, be it observed, but "*the time called Vikrama gone by*") is in the year A.D. 840-41, nine hundred years after the epoch, and 170 years after the time of Vikramāditya I. It is only in A.D. 992 that we first hear of a "king Vikrama" in connection with the era, and this is in a poem. The use of the era seems to have been very sparing down to the year A.D. 1042, only 3 inscriptions being known which are expressly referred to the Vikrama era, and to have only gradually spread in later years. The tract where it is first found in use is, as before said, Eastern Rājputānā. It spread to the north-east and east, to Kanauj, Gwalior, and Bandelkhand, and afterwards towards the south-west and south to Anhilvād. It will be noted that this tract is altogether different from the territories ruled over by the Western Chālukyas, but that it includes the country of the Chaulukya and Vaghela princes of Anhilvād.

Dr. Kielhorn lays particular stress on "the gradual change that may be observed in the phraseology of the dates in *Chaulukya* documents. The earliest of these (A.D. 985), 1000 years after the era, calls it simply *samvat*, "the year." In 1028 A.D. and 1090 we have *Vikrama samvat*. In A.D. 1138 it is "The year of the illustrious Vikrama." Finally about A.D. 1200 we have for the first time, "the year established by the illustrious Vikramāditya." This was amongst the same race over whom Vikramāditya I. had ruled more than 500 years earlier; ample time for a legend connecting him with the era to have grown up in consequence of the similarity of name, and the fact that the reign of that king had become associated with glorious traditions.

If any king named Vikramāditya had really established the era we should expect of course to find his name associated therewith in the earliest dates extant, whereas it is never mentioned for, as far as we yet know, 1250 years.

After A.D. 1200 the usage is common, and we may fairly assume that by that time the inhabitants of that tract, Rājputānā and Northern Bombay, had begun to believe in a legendary king named Vikramāditya who established the era to which they had been for so long accustomed. However it is possible that we may have to put the date of this general acceptance of the legend later still, for Dr. Kielhorn states that "over the largest part of the territories in which the era was used it was, down to Vikrama 1400 (A.D. 1342) styled the Vikrama era by poets only."

And now for the most probable theory yet advanced as to the origin of the name. Professor Kielhorn points out (*Ind. Ant.* XX. 407) that the years of the Vikrama era originally began in the autumn, with the month Kārttika (October-November). That is the season when in that tract the prolonged hot weather is over, the burning winds, the parched condition of the plains, the fierce dust storms of the summer are past. Welcome rain cools the air, vegetation bursts forth, and the whole of Nature arises "like a giant refreshed." It is the season when armies go forth to war. And the *Vikrama-kāla* is thus the poetic "war-time," "action time," for *vikrama* means a "stepping" "striding," or otherwise "heroism" "prowess." Long years afterwards the people connected the name with the name of a king Vikrama whom they supposed to have lived at that time. Later still they associated the celebrated king Vikramāditya with this epoch, being ignorant of his real date, and so the usage arose and became stereotyped. I may be permitted even to ask whether it is not possible that *vikrama* may be merely a synonym of our word, "current," as applied to an era. I quote from Professor Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, where *vikrama* is translated "stepping or going beyond, stepping or striding over, going, walking, proceeding . . ." with other meanings that need not be referred to. In this sense the "Vikrama year" would be merely the "current year," the "running era."

#### LATER YEARS.

I may now pass onwards in my historical sketch. We have come down to about 500 years after the Christian era, and find no trace of a universal

monarch. About this period we do hear of a very powerful sovereign King Silāditya of Kanauj. He seems to have held the whole of the north. But be it understood *only* the north. His attempt at conquest south of the Nerbudda failed entirely.

It is only in the extreme south that we find, down to comparatively recent dates, the ancient Āryan sovereignties remaining undisturbed by foreign invasion. They were subject to perpetual warfare amongst themselves, but down to Muhammadan times they retained with varying fortunes the territories occupied by them from at least the date of Aśoka. These were the Cholas, Pallavas, Pāṇḍiyas, Keralas, Cheras and a few others of lesser importance. They held the South of India below the Dakhan. Further North, in the Dakhan country and the South of Bengal, there was a succession of separate sovereignties, the Āndhra dynasty succumbing to the Pallavas, and the countries to the west falling under the dominion of Chālukya conquerors from Anhilvād and Rājputānā. The Chālukya kings mention a large number of races and kingdoms in their early inscriptions—for instance, Nalas, Mauryas, Sendrakas, Mātangas, Kaṭachchuris, Gangas, Ālupas, Lāṭas, Mālavas, Gūrjaras, all of whom one after another fell under their dominion. Then came a great inroad of Chālukyas to the East, over which a branch dynasty ruled for four centuries, and further invasions by them of the Pallava and Chola countries to the south. Besides these we have powerful lines of local sovereigns in the Kādambas, Rāshtrakūṭas, Śilāhāras, and Rāṭṭas, each in turn conquering and holding large tracts for definite periods.

In the eleventh century A.D. the Cholas of the south, arose to great eminence. They acquired the territories of the Eastern Chālukyas by a royal marriage—they finally destroyed the Pallavas, and for a time at least conquered and held the territories of the Pāṇḍiyas. A little later the Hoysāla Ballālas rose to power in the Maisūr country and the dominions of the Western Chālukyas, and then the Ganapati kingdom of Orangal arose, while the Pāṇḍiyas regained their territories, and the Cholas lost power.

But for a moment let us turn to the north. If perpetual strife and warfare between neighbouring princes had been the rule in the south it was no less so in the tract which we have learned to call Hindustān. Race fell before race, nation before nation, dynasty before dynasty in bewildering confusion till the whole of that country fell under the sway of the invading Muhammadans.

Delhi was captured in A.D. 1193, and the whole of Northern India fell under Muhammadan sway. Early in the fourteenth century the Muhammadans swept into the Dakhan. They seized the territories of the kings of Devagiri and Orangal, and established themselves firmly, founding a dynasty called the Bahmanis, which claimed independence of Delhi. This again split up into five separate sovereignties, and in A.D. 1565 these, uniting, crushed for ever the last great Hindu kingdom of the south, that of Vijayanagar, which by that time had itself destroyed all the older Hindu dynasties.

And so for the first time in history we come to a period when India may



possibly be said to have fallen under one rule. But this was not so in reality, for the Muhammadan chiefs established a succession of separate sovereignties each one warring against the other, the whole against their own over-lord. Their domination also was an alien, not a Hindu, domination. There has never been in all history, amongst the Hindus, anything but a perpetual warfare of races, king against king and tribe against tribe.

And so the cherished theory of a universal empire falls to the ground, and it is to be hoped that it will, ere long, be consigned to the limbo of all other false and mistaken theories. The mistake has arisen partly in consequence of historical ignorance, and partly in consequence of the equal government of the English, under which all historic feuds and racial hatreds have been merged in the attempt to establish universal justice for all inhabitants of India alike, from north to south and from sea to sea.

#### TAXATION.

Let me now turn to the question of taxation under Hindu sovereigns. We hear loud outcries sometimes against the English taxation of India. Hindus of light and leading are bold to declare that under their old chiefs the people were less heavily taxed, and that in themselves the taxes were less burdensome, and less irritating. Was this so?

I will turn to the most long-lived Hindu sovereignty with which I am acquainted, a sovereignty which certainly existed as far back as B.C. 250, and which was only finally crushed by the Muhammadan invaders in comparatively very recent days—I allude to the Chola Dynasty of the south of India, which had its capital at Tanjore.

Through all this long period it was governed by a succession of Âryan Princes, claiming to belong to the "Solar Race," and we hear of no interruption to this dynastic autocracy. Unlike most other parts of India, therefore, it will yield us an excellent picture of purely Hindu government if we can arrive at the administrative details. Fortunately we are to a certain extent enabled to do so, for on the walls and plinth of the great temple at Tanjore has been sculptured a very lengthy series of royal grants and royal edicts of the best days of the Chola Kingdom, the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. and these have been lately given to the European world in the splendid volumes of the *Archæological Survey* published by Dr. E. Hultzsch. Dr. Hultzsch is one of the most painstaking and accurate epigraphists of the day, and the exactness of his translations may be depended upon. Let us see then what we can gather regarding the system of taxation under the Hindu kings. At p. 117 of Dr. Hultzsch's volume\* we have a list of taxes, due by the inhabitants of a village and made over to certain persons by royal grant, in the eleventh century A.D. The list runs as follows:—all kinds of revenue (*âya*) including the tax in money, two taxes whose names are given in the Tamil but the meaning of which is not yet known, tax for the village watchman, tax for the village accountant, tax for unripe fruit in the month of Kârttigai, tax on looms, tax on oil-mills, tax on trade, another untranslatable tax, tax on goldsmiths, tax on animals, tax on tanks, tax on watercourses, tolls, another untranslatable tax, tax on weights, fines for selling rotten drugs, tax on shops, tax on salt, tax on

\* *Archæological Survey of India. South Indian Inscriptions. Vol. II., p. 117.*

elephant-stalls, tax on horse-stables. There are probably others also, but the inscription is partly broken away in one place.

Here is another list of the same period in the same locality, from which we can supplement the former, and it must be noted that all these are new and separate imposts, since I omit reference to taxes already mentioned:—*Nāḍāṭchi*, *nirāṭchi*, (whatever these may be), one *nāli* of rice for every platter, one *nāli* of rice on each day sacred to the worship of ancestors, tax on weddings, tax on washermen's stones, tax on potters, rent for use of water, collections of leaves, brokerage, tax on neatherds.

And here again is another list of the same period from a fresh source. Tax for the maintenance of Police; a rice-tax paid every year in the month Kārttigai; a special tax levied per head on all belonging to the Jain religion; fees in the nature of stamp-duty on documents; a tax leviable for the support of the Prime Minister.

Now was this state of things exceptional? Certainly not, for lest it may be supposed that the Chola Kings were more grasping than other representatives of the other Hindu dynasties in the matter of the taxation of their subjects, I proceed to show what the taxation of the Indian citizen appears to have been at the time when the Greeks visited India (about B.C. 300) and also shortly before the English took over the country, so that we shall obtain an insight into his condition in all ages.

We find from the description of Palibothra, modern Patna, given by the Greek traveller Megasthenes, that the citizens of that town must have been greatly harassed by the provisions enforced by their ruler for the purpose of filling his treasury. At that early date there was a regular Government registration of all births and deaths for purposes of taxation. The buyers and sellers of goods in the bazaars were not left to themselves as they are now, but a State officer was appointed to watch all transactions, however petty, and seize for the State one-tenth of the price of everything sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax was punished by death. Other officers, in the nature of police, exercised general supervision. The State could not even leave the manufacturers alone, for since for its own purposes it had to encourage sales, so equally it was led to unnaturally force the supply. This meant that artisans must never be idle; and so, Megasthenes tells us, there were officers of State appointed to superintend all arts and industries to prevent negligence on the part of the workers.\* Can anything be imagined more prying, inquisitorial, or irritating, than this system of an army of paid spies bent on forcing every branch of trade and seizing part of the proceeds of every petty sale? Think of the overwhelming opportunity for bribery and corruption which the system afforded. For every three or four shops must have been appointed a petty official with almost unlimited power, whose protection and countenance could be easily bought, and whose capacity for annoying was infinite. Being probably paid by results of sales he lay under a direct inducement to oppress and victimize the shopkeeper and artisan. The result may be easily conceived.

Here then we have taxation by Hindu rulers at widely different epochs, separated by an interval of twelve centuries. We will glance at the system

\* Strabo XV., i. 50. (M'Crimble's *Ancient India*, p. 87.)

of taxation by another Hindu ruler, Chikka Deva Râya of Mysore, two centuries ago. He maintained not only all the old taxes at that time existent but actually invented twenty new ones, some of which have at least the merit of being ingenious. Three are specially deserving of notice.

(1) Two per cent. was permanently added to the assessment all over the country to re-imburse the treasury for loss by defective coins. (2) When a man rented a village and engaged for payment of a fixed sum to the State, if his actual receipts fell short of this total he levied a contribution on his farmers. But the King fixed as a permanent tax the largest contribution ever so levied, in addition to the assessment. (3) If a farmer sold his grain in the village or neighbourhood he escaped payment of tolls. Therefore the King imposed a cash payment per plough all over the country to compensate for this supposititious loss.

All this grinding tyranny lasted down to the times of the English. In the Coimbatore District in 1799,\* Major MacLeod found the following imposts in full force and effect,—*over and above the Land tax.*

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|---|--|
| 1. Tax on Potters.  | 21. Rents for betel-nuts.  |
| 2. " payable by persons wearing caste-marks on their forehead.                    | 22. Fees for the measurement of grain, necessitated by the sharing system.   |
| 3. Fees levied on stalls at weekly fairs.   | 23. Taxes on offerings at a sacred temple.   |
| 4. Tax on dyed stuffs.  | 24. Levies made for the poor, or poor-rate.  |
| 5. " on ghee.   | 25. Taxes on agricultural hoes.  |
| 6. " on tobacco.  | 26. State exaction of a portion of the fees paid by villagers to their village officials (this in itself another well recognized tax). |
| 7. " on grain heaps.  |  |
| 8. " on chunam.   |  |
| 9. " on watchmen ( <i>taliyâris</i> ).  |  |
| 10. " on agricultural-irrigation watchmen ( <i>nirgantis</i> ).                   |  |
| 11. " on keepers of pack-bullocks.  | 27. Tax on sale of cattle.   |
| 12. " on dancing-girls.   | 28. " on cattle-stalls.  |
| 13. " on overseers of labour ( <i>maistries</i> ).                                | 29. " on water-lifts.  |
| 14. " on immoral persons.   | 30. " on fisheries.  |
| 15. Rents for lotus leaves.   | 31. " on looms.  |
| 16. Rents for gardens in back-yards of houses, and in plantations on river banks. | 32. A tax such as the third of those alluded to above as having been introduced by Chikka Deva Râya of Mysore.                         |
| 17. Fines on cattle grazing in fields.  | 33. Levies made on ryots for expenses of the Divisional Officer ( <i>Tabsildar</i> ). (These were probably very onerous.)              |
| 18. Rents for young palmyra nuts.   |  |
| 19. Rents for tamarinds.  |  |
| 20. Rents for use of soapstone or potstone.                                       |  |

(All these five as well as many others are old Chola taxes and evidently survived during the intervening centuries.)

\* See the Coimbatore District Manual, p. 172, etc.



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| 34. An additional payment enforced on every ryot at his first payment of instalment of Land Revenue. | 49. Tax on salt manufacturers.                           |
| 35. A plough-tax.  | 50. " on iron-smelters.                                  |
| 36. Tax on houses.   | 51. " on indigo-makers.                                  |
| 37. " on shops.  | 52. " on drawers and distillers of fermented palm juice. |
| 38. " on carpenters.   | 53. " on boatmen.  |
| 39. " on blacksmiths.  | 54. " on carts.  |
| 40. " on goldsmiths.   | 55. " on manufacturers of beaten rice.                   |
| 41. " on papermakers.  | 56. " on basket makers.                                  |
| 42. " on dyers.  | 57. " on pedlars.  |
| 43. " on shoemakers.   | 58. " on cattle and sheep (per head).                    |
| 44. " on barbers.  | 59. " on blanket and carpet weavers.                     |
| 45. " on washermen.  | 60. " on mat makers.                                     |
| 46. " on oil-mills.  | 61. " on stone masons.*                                  |
| 47. " on pack-bullocks.  |  |
| 48. " on salt pans.  |  |

Enquiry showed, as might of course have been assumed, that all kinds of fraud and corruption were rife. Village officers would give nominal leases of land to servants of the farmers, so as to enable them to escape the house-tax; for farmers were free of house tax, while their own servants were taxed on the huts they lived in. This house-tax varied in every village, sixteen different rates being found for blacksmiths and goldsmiths, and eighteen in the case of carpenters. It was found that taxation rested chiefly on the poorest who could not sufficiently bribe the tax-gatherer and village official, the richer people in great measure escaping. The tax on shops was made so comprehensive that a man was made to pay for a market-basket, a leather grain-bag, and even for the pack he fastened on to his bullock when going to the fair. Women who squatted by the roadside selling betel, tobacco, and petty wares in baskets were taxed at rates varying from Rs. 3. 8. 5 (a star pagoda) to nine and a half annas.

Besides all these there were the harassing transit-duties on all goods at innumerable chaukis, or toll-houses, established throughout the country. In 1801 the Madras Board of Revenue reported that this system of transit duties was most pernicious, and that the native tax-gatherers wrung from the people at least twice as much as they paid into the Treasury. They

\* I am anxious not to exaggerate. Some few of these taxes remain, though in other forms, but according to the fairest analysis that I can make with my present lights, 45 taxes have clean gone. One, fines for cattle grazing on fields, comes under the head of criminal revenue as fine for proved trespass. I include four under modern income-tax in so far as concerns the richer classes, the poorer paying nothing, though all were formerly taxed. Houses and shops pay no tax to the State, but they are taxed for purely local expenditure in municipal towns and village unions, for streets, lighting, sanitation, and the like. And so carts and bullocks which use the roads. In the case of seven others (Nos. 3, 18, 19, 20, 21, 30, 48) the State in some shape or other derives some income at the present day, though one (No. 3) is solely devoted to local expenditure. I include the tax on salt-pans amongst these, though under the present system there is no salt-tax, the revenue being derived from a Government monopoly of the trade.

called it "a great engine of oppression." Almost all these taxes have been swept away by the English Government, even the payment of ordinary tolls being no longer demanded.

In the year 1853 the Madras Native Association presented a petition to the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into Indian affairs, in which they implored that the people might be relieved from at least one branch of this gigantic taxation, which was then called "moturfa," a name we received from the Muhammadans. The Petitioners' own words described this moturfa as "a tax on trades and occupations embracing weavers, carpenters, all workers in metals, all salesmen, whether possessing shops, which are also taxed separately, or vending by the roadside, etc., some paying imposts on their tools, others for permission to sell, extending to the most trifling articles of trade, and the cheapest tool the mechanic can employ; the cost of which is frequently exceeded six times over by the moturfa under which the use of them is permitted."\*

Mr. Dikes, Collector of Salem, reported to the Select Committee not only that the taxes were oppressive in themselves, but that they even varied in each district and in every village, and that their assessment was in the highest degree arbitrary, so that there was no security anywhere. The villager could only submit or bribe the officials, and this of course he did freely. Whenever an energetic trader increased his business the tax-gatherer came down on him for increased payments. "If," Mr. Dykes said, "the trader was a man of any sense he bought off the village authorities and did not get his assessment raised, the extent of his dealings not being reported." The Commissioners pointed out that this system of taxation, as regarded the weavers, was "more than usually inquisitorial, as the amount varies with the number of looms employed by each payer; houses were frequently entered in order to discover concealed looms, as the Indian loom is easily dismantled and put away." The tax was most grossly irregular also. For instance, in the Tanjore district, thickly populated, overrun with the Brahman and priestly element, where the village folk are exceptionally intelligent—the village officers also—the tax paid to Government by 232,321 payees amounted to three annas per head; while at the same time in Kurnool, a country of sparse population with inhabitants generally dull and unintelligent, the rate per head, for 12,104 payees, was Rs. 4. 10. 0. How much per head one wonders, did the clever Tanjore village-officers receive for themselves for the favour of concealing the dealings of the traders?

Here is a still further list of taxes (altogether independent of those mentioned above and of the land-tax) which I found in the Government Office of my last District, Bellary. It embraces merely a few items of village taxation collectable at so recent a date as 1835.

1. Taxes exacted on the occasion of marriage.

(a) From bride.

(b) From bridegroom.

\* Quoted, as are many other passages, from the admirable volume of Mr. Strinivāsa Rāghavaiyāṅgar, Inspector General of Registration at Madras, entitled "Memorandum of the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the past Forty Years."

2. Tax called *Handertaney* for erecting marriage pandals or pavilions.
3. " called *Woodcky* on widows' re-marriage.
4. " called *Bediki* on marriage of women to men while their own husbands are still alive.
5. " collected from persons breaking the rules of their caste.
6. " on re-admission to caste after having been expelled.
7. " leviable on appointment of a person to be a priest of the Jangam caste.
8. " called *Puttam kaniki*, or tax leviable on a person succeeding to the office of priest.
9. " leviable from people of the Sātāni caste, who perform worship in the lesser temples.
10. " called *Guggalam*, or a tax on pilgrims who return successfully from pilgrimages and perform the vows they have made.
11. " on ovens used by washermen.
12. " on Government lands held on favourable tenure (*ināms*).
  - (a) Tax at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  seers of rice for every crop irrigated from a well by the use of one machine for raising the water (*kapila*).
  - (b) Tax at a bundle of rice-straw in grain for every field irrigated under tanks.
13. " on fermented liquors (toddy and arrack).
  - (a) On the stills.
  - (b) On the retail shops.

These taxes were regularly collected by the State, and the account from which I extracted the list was one of the ordinary treasury papers showing the amounts that had been paid into the Government office in the Bellary District during the year in question.

Let me now state what is our modern British system of taxation. It may be summarized in the words of the author of the Coimbatore District Manual. Speaking of the land revenue he writes, "Every modification has been entirely in favour of the ryot. . . . Roughly speaking the progress of the system has been from comparative restriction to almost absolute freedom . . . from a practice of sharing profits even on the ryot's capital to entire relinquishment of everything except the fixed assessment, from a somewhat inquisitorial system to complete non-interference with individuals" (*Op. cit.*, p. 92).

We have assessed the land revenue at so much per acre of cultivated land, the measurement of which is fixed by actual survey. As regards the ratio of the Government assessment to the gross produce of the land Mr. Srinivāsa Rāghavaiyāgar shows in his "Memorandum" that the rates are at present between one-fourth and one-fifth for irrigated lands, and between one-fourth and one-sixth for unirrigated lands—"in the case of lands in the poorer dry districts it is very much less." Besides this there is the village-service cess, taking the place of all the fees formerly exacted from the ryots by the village officials, and the local-fund land-cess for the upkeep of all the roads, hospitals, dispensaries, bridges and other district works. Both are charged on the assessment at so much per rupee of land revenue. These three cesses are, in the village accounts, lumped into



one charge, and this one charge is what the ryot has to pay. It is fixed and definite, and this single payment is all with which he is ever troubled. He pays it moreover, by easy instalments, the periods of which are settled so as to fall at a time when, by sale of produce, the farmer is in the best position to meet the demand. The higher-class merchants now pay the income-tax, and the income-tax alone. There is no other direct State taxation, though there is local taxation to provide funds wholly spent on local requirements and improvements. For the few years between the abolition of the *moturfa* and the institution of the income-tax, the latter class paid absolutely no taxes whatever to the State. They subscribed nothing to the maintenance and government of the country. The income-tax moreover, is very moderate, all the poor being entirely free. It is only the rich who pay, and as compared with the system of taxation under Hindu governments, the tax, though certainly inquisitorial and unpopular, is beyond all question lighter and less onerous. The professional and trading classes are, as well expressed by the author of the "Memorandum," "bound to contribute their fair share to the public burdens, and therefore this solitary tax is quite sound in principle. The people are getting accustomed to the tax," and it is only sheer ignorance of what they suffered in the past that makes them accept it otherwise than gladly. Remembering that these classes pay no land revenue we find that the people are thus subject individually to one solitary State tax under the present British administration. Let anyone compare this with the taxation under Hindu administration as given above, and then say whether the masses of the people are worse off now than they used to be.

#### LAND-REVENUE.

My next point, one which will not occupy much space, is the system of revenue land-survey and assessment under the native chiefs. Bitter complaints are sometimes raised against exactions practised by the native subordinate officials of our Revenue Survey and Settlement Department (not against the English remember). But it appears to be entirely forgotten that the old Hindu Kingdoms had similar institutions, only that they were so elaborate, intricate and minute, that no ordinary ryot could possibly understand them. There must have been a far larger army then of supervisors, clerks and measurers than under British administration. And if there is corruption amongst these gentry to-day we may well imagine what it was in those days, and how the poor farmer—quite at their mercy for details, and holding his land, not direct from the State, but merely as one of a number living in a village which paid a lump sum—must have been fleeced. The village officials paid their demand, and then came down on the farmers to make good the whole amount, whatever may have been the state of the season. At the present day the farmer in ryotwari tracts has a Government lease which gives him the details and total of all that he has to pay, including cesses; and education in at least the three R's is so much encouraged that he can read this lease, check the figures, and so secure himself against increased demand. Moreover they have English officers at hand to whom they can appeal for protection in case of any attempt at

corrupt practices on the part of their village officers, and of this privilege they make free and constant use.

Here is the Revenue survey system of the Cholas as disclosed to us by an inscription on the Tanjore Temple (*p. 62, of Dr. Hultzsch's volume alluded to above*):

"The village of Iraiyaṅṣēri contains, according to measurement, twelve measures of land, one half, two twentieths, one fortieth, and one three hundred and twentieth;  $\frac{1}{20}$  of one quarter and three eightieths; and  $(\frac{1}{20})^2$  of three quarters and one twentieth. There have to be deducted three quarters of a measure of land free from taxes, two twentieths, one eightieth and one hundred and sixtieth;  $\frac{1}{20}$  of one half and three twentieths;  $(\frac{1}{20})^2$  of three twentieths, one hundred and sixtieth and one three hundred and twentieth;  $(\frac{1}{20})^3$  of three eightieths; and  $(\frac{1}{20})^4$  of three quarters and one twentieth; consisting of the village site, the site of the houses, the Pariab quarter, the watercourse called the Kannan channel, and the other channels which pass through this village and irrigate other villages, the village threshing-floor of this village, the ponds of this village and their banks, the sacred temple in this village and its sacred court, and the sacred bathing pond of the god. There remain eleven measures of land, three quarters and one hundred and sixtieth;  $\frac{1}{20}$  of one half, two twentieths and three eightieths;  $(\frac{1}{20})^2$  of one half, two twentieths and three eightieths;  $(\frac{1}{20})^3$  of three quarters, four twentieths, one hundred and sixtieth and one three hundred and twentieth; and  $(\frac{1}{20})^4$  of four twentieths. The revenue paid as tax is one thousand one hundred and sixty nine *kalam*, two *tūni*, two *nāri* and one *uri* of paddy (rice in the husk) which has to be measured by the *marakkāl* called *Adavallān*."

We thus see that the tax was imposed in lump on the whole village, and that the several farmers were absolutely at the mercy of the village elders as to their individual shares. When disputes arose it would seem very easy with such an elaborate system of measurement to confuse the minds of the village councillors, however anxious they may have been to decide aright, or to entirely befog the intellect of the aggrieved cultivator. Weights and measures varied in every village, and even if the amount of *marakkāls* of grain payable were at last definitely settled, the intriguing village official could take refuge in the difference between the *Adavallān marakkāl* and the local measure of the same name.

Now for all this, what have we substituted? We deal, as I have said, direct with each cultivator, the village accountant being merely the record-keeper. Each ryot has his paper shewing precisely how much he has individually to pay to the State in cash as land revenue. And in place of this supremely confusing system of measurement we have one which would describe the village in question thus:—Total so many acres, assessment so many rupees; deduct waste and communal land so many acres, assessment so much; taxable remainder so many acres, so much assessment. Finally our acre is a fixed measure, and the village officers are furnished with necessary chains, so that no mistake is possible. Which system conduces most to the welfare and contentment of the Indian farmer?

Let it be remembered that here I am only referring to the condition

of the agricultural classes, not of the Brahman, the large landowner, or artisan.

The practice of a Government dealing with a village as a whole creates a vast amount of unhappiness in a place where the head-men are, as is unfortunately too often the case, unscrupulous or rapacious, for the individual lies entirely at their mercy. He has to pay whatever his chiefs choose to demand. But the whole-village system lasted from the earliest days with which we are acquainted all through the days of Government by the Hindu kings, all through the Muhammadan period, down to the first quarter of this century.

The system of payment in kind also gives rise to an infinity of evils ; but it has been the system uniformly enforced by the Hindu Governments. The late Dewan of Pudukottah, Mr. Seshiah Sâstri C.S.L., has shewn up the evils of this practice in his Report on the administration of that State for 1879-80 (*para* 160). Though somewhat detailed I cannot refrain from recording some extracts, since my own experience coincides precisely with that of the writer. It discloses a system which must have been productive of infinite misery, suffering, injustice, and wrong. I have taken the liberty of translating his technical vernacular terms into English. The system was one where the crop was shared, in kind, between the farmer and the State ; the term is "A'mâni" ; I translate this "share-system."

"(a) The Ryots *having no heritable or transferable property* [note this] never cared to cultivate the share-system lands in due season. . . . To prevent this a penal agreement is forced from them to the effect that they would not fail to cultivate the share-system lands first.

"(b) As soon as the ears of the grain make their appearance an army of watchers . . . is let loose. . . .

"(c) When the crop arrives towards maturity it is the turn of the Government village officers . . . to go round the fields, and note down estimates of the crop. That there is considerable wooing and feeing at this stage goes for the saying. *As in other matters, so in this, the race is to the rich and woe to the poor.*

"(d) As soon as the village-officers have done . . . down come special estimators from the Government divisional offices to check the first estimate. Their demands have equally to be satisfied. Then comes the business of obtaining permission to cut and stack the crops. . . .

"(e) Then comes the threshing and division of the grain on the threshing-floor. What takes place then may be imagined. If the outturn is less than the estimate, *the ryot is made responsible for the difference without more ado. If it is more woe be to the estimators.* . . . During all this time the unpaid army of watchers continues on duty [being maintained and bribed, of course, by the unfortunate ryot, who in case of failure is liable to ruin by false accusations]

"(f) Now the Government grain is removed to the granaries. Is all danger over now ? By no means. A fresh series of frauds commences. . . . The half-famished village watchman . . . mounts guard, and he and the village headmen are held personally responsible for any deficiency which may occur on the remeasurements of grain *out of the granary.* It often



happens that the poor watchman . . . helps himself from time to time . . . [Then comes the day of reckoning, and] there is crimination and recrimination without end, the watchman charging the village heads, and the village heads the watchman. The Government officials . . . come down heavily on both, and often both are ruined. . . .

"(g) Time passes and the month denoting favourable markets comes round. There now remains the business of disposing of the Government grain from the granaries. Simple as it may appear, enormous difficulty is experienced, and we have to face another series of frauds, now on the part of the higher Government officials. Tenders are invited but only few come and bid low. Tenders are again invited, but to no better purpose. . . ."

And so the disheartening story goes on, a story of fraud and deceit and corruption, where the weaker, *i.e.*, the poor villager, always goes to the wall.

When Mr. Seshiah Śāstri took charge of the Pudukottah State in 1878 he states that "the cry was plunder and extortion everywhere."

This, then, furnishes us with a practical modern example of the state of the agricultural villages under the Hindu system. In saying this I disclaim absolutely all intention of unduly disparaging native methods. There was a good side, doubtless, as well as a bad. So there was in England during the period of the barons, with which historically the condition of India in days before the English may be compared. But no Englishman would like to go back to the old slavery; and it is my profound conviction that, if the Hindu really knew what India was like in old days, he, like the Englishman, would be more ready than he is at present to welcome modern methods.

But now another question. Was the amount of land-revenue exacted by the State under the old Hindu and Muhammadan Governments greater or less than at the present day? The English take from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{5}$ th. Mr. Srinivāsa Rāghavaiyaṅgar points out that there is ample evidence to prove that the land-tax usually taken by both Hindu and Muhammadan sovereigns was fully one-half the gross produce. Whether it be true or not we have no means of knowing, but Strabo (xv. 1, 40) declares that in the time of Megasthenes the Hindu sovereign, possibly he of Palibothra, claimed the ownership of the entire land, "and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce" (McCrindle, "*Ancient India*," p. 84). Dr. Burnell in his "*South Indian Palaeography*" writes:—"The inscriptions at Tanjore shew that the indigenous Chola kings of the 11th century took about half the produce." The native Hindu dynasties in the Northern Circars appear also to have taken half, and this rule remained in force in several estates and principalities which never, or only for a very short time, fell under actual Muhammadan domination—the Zamindāri of Rāmnād for instance. Under the Vijayanagar Hindu kings it was the same, and here we have the direct personal knowledge of the Jesuit Fathers to guide us. The Jesuit Madras Mission Reports contain the following passages:—"The King or Grand Nāyakar of Madura has but a few domains which depend immediately on him, that is to say which form his property. . . . All the other lands are the domains of a multitude of petty princes, or

tributary lords; these latter have each in his own domains the full administration of the police and of justice, if justice there is at all; *they levy contributions which comprise at least the half of the produce of the lands. . . .* The Grand Nāyakars . . . are themselves tributaries of Vijayanagar, to whom they pay, or ought to pay, each one an annual tribute of from 6 to 10 millions of francs. But they are not punctual in this payment; often they delay and sometimes refuse insolently; then Vijayanagar arrives, or sends one of his generals at the head of a hundred thousand men to enforce payment of all arrears, with interest, *and in such cases, which are frequent, it is the poor people who are to expiate the fault of their princes; the whole of the country is devastated, and the population is either pillaged or massacred.*" That was the Hindu method all over Southern India as late as the 17th century.

As to the Mahratta chiefs of Tanjore in 1683 we have a letter of another Jesuit missionary: "Ekoji appropriates four-fifths of the produce. This is not all, instead of accepting these four-fifths in kind, he insists that they should be paid in money; and as he takes care to fix the price himself much beyond that which the proprietor can realise, the result is that the sale of the entire produce does not suffice to pay the entire contribution. The cultivators then remain under the weight of a heavy debt; and often they are obliged to prove their inability to pay by submitting to the most barbarous tortures. It would be difficult for you to conceive such oppression, and yet I must add that this tyranny is more frightful and revolting in the Kingdom of Gingee. For the rest this is all I can say, for I cannot find words to express all that is horrible in it."

I continue to quote from the "*Memorandum*." After showing that the Land Revenue enacted in the south two centuries ago was almost inconceivable, the author writes:—"In other parts of the peninsula the revenue taken by other sovereigns was equally great, if not greater. In Orissa it appears that in the 12th century the Gangetic dynasty had a land-revenue of about £450,000, or a little less than three times the revenue derived by the British Government from the same province, while the purchasing power of the rupee was then 8 times of what it is now." And this is not all, for there is far more land now paying revenue than was the case in those days. Sir William Hunter's *Orissa* may be advantageously consulted on this point.

Now for the Muhammadan Emperors, and amongst others the best of them all, the wise and beneficent Akbar.

Akbar laid down a principle for regulating the land assessment thus —

"There shall be left for every man who cultivates his lands as much as he requires for his own support till the next crop be reaped, and that of his family and for seed. This much shall be left to him, *what remains is the land-tax and shall go to the public treasury.*" The farmer is entitled to nothing but to be kept alive and be enabled to put down the next crops. Which means that he is to be kept alive really in order that, like a beast of burden, he may work for the State for the whole period of his existence. Is this an exaggeration?

The *Hedaia* states that it is not lawful to exact more than half the pro-

duce for the State treasury—"but the taking of a half is no more than strict justice and is not tyrannical, because, as it is lawful to take the whole of the person and property of infidels and distribute them among the Mussulmen, it follows that taking half their incomes is lawful *a fortiori*."

Akbar abolished many vexatious taxes, and, to his honour be it said, fixed the land-tax at about one-third of the gross produce. But his successors re-imposed all the abolished taxes. And owing to their system of taking tribute from chiefs, leaving the latter to screw all they could out of the unfortunate farmer and merchant, there was never any comfort, nor justice for these. They were fleeced and fleeced and fleeced again, and when they could not pay, were subjected to barbarous tortures.

When I was treating of land mensuration just now, I alluded to the Chola calculations of the "marakkâl called Âdavallân" shewing that there were other marakkâls in existence, and I contrasted that with the English measurement, the fixed and unalterable acre. Now Akbar and his successors measured by the *biga*, and whatever Akbar's views may have been as to the area of a *biga*, his successors, and especially the local chiefs, enhanced their revenues by introducing a *biga* of smaller and still smaller size; so that it is a fact that in the provinces of Agra and Delhi the *biga* was gradually reduced till it measured only one-third of its former dimensions. This trebled the revenue, and still the ryot was bullied and tortured if he did not pay.

The revenues of the Moghul Emperors have been carefully investigated by the late Mr. Edward Thomas, a very careful and reliable authority, and Mr. Srinivâsa Râghavaiyangâr says in a note (p. 13) that "the figures seem almost fabulous" . . . "the tax would represent a much larger proportion of the produce than one-half. . . . In the beginning of the present century the tax (in Orissa) represented nearly 5-6ths of the gross produce, and the cultivators were left only the barest means of subsistence and often not even that." It was impossible to realise such a revenue, but those in power took all they could get.

The history of the few years of English administration has been a history of abolition of taxes, removal of all hindrances to the ryots' freedom, institution of means by which they can obtain justice and protection against oppressors, and steady reduction of the very heavy land-assessments. I will not weary my readers by entering into the various stages by which the present condition of things in India has been arrived at. My purpose is only to point out from historical facts what the condition of the agricultural population *was*. They themselves know what it *is*. And the learned classes, when they consider the condition of India at various periods, should not omit to notice the great mass of the population, viz. : the agriculturists.

#### CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

I have alluded to the perpetual fighting and wars that harassed the country and carried ruin and devastation into all corners of the nations, and I am anxious now to show what effect these constant disturbances had on the poor people of the towns and villages. For we need not consider the great Râjahs and their tributaries. A war may have been very glorious



and splendid in its dynastic results, but what about the farmers and cultivators and artisans—the bulk of the population? It may be thought that wars were, as at present amongst civilized nations, confined to the king and his soldiery, but in India that was by no means always the case. It is true that Megasthenes, according to Diodorus (ii. 36), stated that in his time the tillers of the soil were not interfered with by contesting armies; but such humane forbearance was not the rule in all ages, as we shall presently see. War often meant the ruthless slaughter of unoffending peasants and citizens, the destruction of their towns and villages, and wholesale devastation of all cultivable area.

Wherever we look back there is fire and sword in the country. In the earliest days the destruction of the Dravidian tribes by the conquering Aryans. After the Āryan conquest, we have, if historical at all, the terrible wars of the *Mahābhārata* and the virtual annihilation, by secret massacre as well as open war, of all the heroes of the epic. Then the *Rāmāyana*, and Rāma's conquest of the Dakhan and slaughter of the people. Coming to the domain of history proper, we read of the inroads of the Greeks, the Scythians, the Yueh-chi; in Aśoka's reign the terrible slaughter in that monarch's bloodthirsty years, when he conquered part of Kalingā and confessed that in doing so he had carried into slavery 150,000 souls, had slain 100,000, and had been the cause of the death of many times that number in addition. After this there is never a period without its wars of dynasties and nations ever harassing the peaceable inhabitants of the different tracts. Whenever a king was successful he boasts of having utterly destroyed the enemy's capital and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. We find for instance in an inscription a Pāndiyan king of Madura exulting in the fact that he had demolished the whole of the city of Tanjore and ploughed up the area covered with the dwellings of the poor. A Chola king calls himself in revenge the "death of Madura." When the Muhammadans seized Devagiri, a century or so later, they captured the gallant Hindu prince of that country and flayed him alive. Ferishta, the historian of the Dakhan, gives us an idea of what war meant in the days of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani and the Rājah of Vijayanagar. When the Sultan took Adoni he slew, after the battle, 70,000 innocent country-folk, men, women, and children. After another great battle, the Muhammadan historian himself relates that the king "gave orders to resume the massacre of the unbelievers. They were executed with such strictness that pregnant women and even children at the breast, did not escape the sword." At the pursuit of the Rājah by the Sultan up the walls of Vijayanagar, Ferishta says "that 10,000 of the enemy were slain, but this did not satisfy the rage of the Sultan, who commanded the inhabitants of every place round Beejanuggur to be massacred without mercy." The city was a very large one, and the suburbs very extensive, so that the slaughter of these helpless citizens must have been terrific. The Hindus told their king that 10,000 Brahmans alone had been killed in that awful holocaust.

At the great battle of Talikota which settled the fate of the last Hindu sovereignty in Southern India, the Muhammadan allies slaughtered 100,000 of their foes; and immediately afterwards the magnificent city of Vijay-

anagar, falling into the hands of the victors, was reduced to ashes. It had been, as I have stated, a city of vast size, the outer walls measuring 28 miles round, and beyond these were many suburban towns and villages. The whole of the citizens were slaughtered or driven out, and their houses plundered. Ferishta admits that his co-religionists on this occasion "committed all manner of excess." He adds that the "depredations of the allies destroyed all the country round," and that the city was so devastated that it became a heap of ruins totally uninhabited. It remains so to this day, save for the peaceful villages that have sprung up in the midst of the magnificent vegetation and smiling rice fields that now occupy the spot where once stood the palaces and streets of the old capital.

A little later our author describes the successful attack on a fortress, and writes: "The soldiers . . . put to death indiscriminately the noble, the rich, the master and the servant, the merchant, the pilgrim, and the travelling stranger. Their houses were set on fire. . . . Virgins whose modesty concealed their faces from the sun and moon were dragged by the hair into the assemblies of the drunken."

Such was war and such were the sufferings of innocent citizens in the days of Muhammadan supremacy, and the fighting, carnage and rapine lasted till the days of the English conquest. The people suffered endless misery, which, as well stated by Mr. Srinivasa Raghavaiyāgar "was borne with patience and resignation as they had no experience of a happier condition."

In the middle of the 16th century marauders were so numerous (*op. cit.* p. 3) that a traveller by night was almost certain to fall into their hands. Father Martin in the 18th century says that the Kallar tribes of the Madura district were "more barbarous than any savages in any part of the globe." Thugs infested the country and murdered helpless travellers wholesale. There were no roads. Tavernier, in the middle of the 17th century, found that wheeled carriages could not journey between Masulipatan, the then flourishing seaport, and Golconda, the nearest capital (*id.*, p. 16). It was with great difficulty that he managed to get a small cart to Golconda, and he was obliged to take it to pieces in several places and carry them. And from Golconda all the way south to Cape Comorin there were no wagons at all. Oxen and pack-horses were used for conveying merchandise. Burhānpur is described as a ruined town. At Sironj there existed a band of artisans who made muslins of exquisite fineness, but "the merchants were not allowed to export them, and the Governor sent them *all* for the use of the Great Mogul's seraglio and of the principal courtiers." Patna was one of the largest towns in India, but the houses were nearly all roofed with thatch or bamboo. Dacca was a town of miserable huts made of bamboo and mud. Merchants were frequently plundered by the rājās of the territories through which they had to pass. The dispensation of justice was very summary and unencumbered with forms. There were no jails, for the custom of the country was not to keep men in prison. Tavernier visited a Navāb in the Cuddapah country, and saw a trial of some criminals. One had his hands and feet cut off and was thrown into a field by the roadside to end his days. Another had his stomach slit

open and was flung into a drain. The others were decapitated. He continues: "The peasants have for their sole garment a scrap of cloth tied round their loins, and are reduced to great poverty because, if the governors become aware that they possess any property they seize it straightway. . . . You may see in India whole provinces like deserts, from whence the peasants have fled on account of the oppression of the governors." The Chingleput District was almost entirely depopulated by the wars with Haidar Ali of Mysore. So much so that "hardly any other signs were left in many parts of the country of its having been inhabited than the bones of the bodies that had been massacred, or the naked walls of the houses, choultries and temples which had been burnt (*"Fifth Report," op. cit., p. 20*). And yet Mr. Schwartz, a missionary, wrote that the people of Tanjore, then in the possession of the Navâb of Arcot would even "have preferred Hyder's invasion to the Nawab's occupation" so terrible were their sufferings. Though cultivation was so much restricted the Navâb extorted from the landholders as much as double the present land revenue of the district. In the Zamindâr and Poligâr countries the only limit to the exaction was the ryot's ability to pay. Where there were no Zamindârs renters were placed in charge of villages, and mercilessly fleeced the people. Sir Thomas Munro, writing of the condition of the Ceded Districts at the beginning of the century states that the numerous petty chiefs (they were about 80 in number) employed 30,000 armed men in gangs to force the so-called rents and taxes out of the people. And the best proof of this miserable condition of the country is that to this day the villages of that tract and the lower Dakhan are all walled fortresses with a watch-tower in the centre to which the unhappy cultivators fled for safety against their oppressors and the gangs of marauders who were wont to attack them. Buchanan describes this state of things in 1800 A.D. and writes: "The country has been in a constant state of warfare and the poor inhabitants have suffered too much from all parties to trust in any."

In Trichinopoly according to the Collector, Mr. Wallace, in 1802 the condition of the ryots had been that of abject slavery. The grain raised was an absolute State monopoly of the Navâb's, so much so that if a ryot lent another a small quantity of grain even for personal consumption he was severely fined.

Tippoo Sultan, when he paid his soldiers was wont temporarily to fix an arbitrary enhanced value on his coins so that the men obtained from the merchants a greater quantity of produce than was due, the value being again lowered after a few weeks.

The realization of revenue by means of torture was one of the recognised institutions of the country. In 1835 there was a Commission in Madras for the investigation of the system of tortures constantly resorted to in the villages for the collection of revenue, and long lists are given in their Report of cruelties habitually practised.\*

\* A recent writer to a London paper (Mr. H. P. Malet in the "*Morning Post*") states that when he was in Sholapur in 1832 he found the ryots so preyed upon by the money-lenders that they were paying, or trying to pay, interest on loans at a rate



These instances might be amplified to almost any extent, but I will abandon this branch of the subject with the remark that it concerns all classes, not merely the agriculturists. All that I desire to insist on is that the people of India ought to be taught the truth; so long as they remain in ignorance they will cherish the belief that in days before the English the people were better off and happier than they are now.

#### FAMINES.

It is an entire mistake to suppose that famines have only taken place of late years, or that in any way British administration is responsible for their recurrence. They have occurred in all ages, and in former times the people were infinitely worse off. They had no resources wherewith to meet the scarcity, and their rulers took little or no pains to save life. Even so far back as the date of the *Rāmāyana* we read of severe and prolonged drought in Upper India. According to Orissa legends there were terrible famines early in the twelfth century A.D. South India preserves a memory of a famine many years ago that lasted for twelve years, at the end of which the whole country was desolate and depopulated. It is supposed to have occurred in A.D. 1396. Ferishta mentions two disastrous famines in the 15th century, of which the latter was the worst. The whole of middle India from sea to sea became a barren waste, and very large numbers died of starvation. When the rain at last came there were hardly any farmers left to till the ground. In 1570 there was a terrible famine on the west coast. In 1648 in the Coimbatore country, a great part of the population died. In 1659 there was another, and in one small tract, amongst the Christians alone, upwards of 10,000 perished miserably. In 1677 there was a famine in Madura. In 1709 there was a very prolonged drought of several years' duration. In 1733 there was a famine in the Chingleput district. In 1780 one over the whole of the Carnatic. From 1789 to 1792 there was a terrible famine in the Northern Sarkārs, and the people died in thousands (*op. cit.*, pp. 4-8). If we knew more of the past history of India we should find that seasons of scanty rain-fall have perpetually recurred, as they are now recurring, in the natural order of things which man's will cannot alter.

But how was the distress met in pre-English days, and how is it met now? There is no need to recapitulate the provisions of the English

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settled on the system of payment in kind for advances of grain, that actually amounted, on careful examination, to 300 per cent. It was "2½ seers at harvest time to 1 seer at seed time." Interest on money loans at the same time was "100 to 150 per cent. compound." "Many ryots had bound themselves over on scraps of paper . . . for service to the creditor for a certain number of years, or for life . . . ordinary debtors were liable to various kinds of torture." He confirms my remarks about roads. There were none in the District in those days. As to interest on loans the British Government has instituted a system of small agricultural loans by the State at a payment of 6 per cent. interest for the benefit of the farmers, while the British Courts of Justice flatly refuse to countenance the enormous demands of the creditors, and on suits by creditor against debtor decree payment at a moderate and reasonable rate. Slavery and torture have, of course, been abolished utterly. To our door is sometimes laid the poverty of the Indian labourer and small farmer, but I think it must be admitted that England has tried to assist him, while the native governments uniformly neglected his interests.

Government for the purpose of saving life, and protecting and preserving those in difficulty and distress. In Sir Charles Elliot's able paper on the subject recently read before the Society of Arts in London, will be found an epitome of the whole scheme. It is not too much to say that in days of Hindu and Muhammadan administration little or *nothing* was done. The rulers apparently saw no necessity for attempting to save life, and left the people to themselves; and that this spirit even now survives may be gathered from an extract which I append from a telegram sent from Agra by a Special Famine Correspondent to the "*Morning Post*" on February 18th of this year. "Since last telegraphing, I have inspected the central Native States and the Bundalkhand District. In the native states the authorities have been extremely supine, and no relief has been provided. The people consequently are flocking into British territory. . . . The villagers, themselves practically destitute, are turning the mendicants away, and many are dying on the railway line succumbing in their efforts to walk from one station to another."

Let this be compared with English energy, sympathy, and commiseration; with the fact that several English officers have died at their post, struggling to help the people of the country; and with the magnificent contributions sent out from England in 1877, and in the present year, for the relief of the poor and suffering.

#### ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Very little time need be spent in considering the change brought about in the freedom of the Hindu villager by the immense road and railway works carried out under British administration. Railways of course there were none in old days. At present their construction is proceeding with great rapidity. As to roads, I will contrast the past and present only in my own District, Bellary, which will serve as an example of what has been done all over India. Prior to our taking over the country there was not one mile of made road in all the length and breadth of the district, and only very few tracks from place to place, half the district being composed of what we term "black-cotton soil"—an alluvial deposit impassable in wet weather. At the present day there are 1,000 miles of road maintained by the Local Board. They are, I am bound to say not all of them in very sound travelling condition during the rains, but the good work is progressing; and remember that villagers can travel at night from end to end of the District without being, as was the case in former days, in hourly danger of murder by Thugs. There has been no thuggee in the country for the last sixty years. Some few petty dacoities there are, but it may be said that travellers there by night are almost as safe as in England, and in the daytime quite as safe. The trouble from bands of thieves is confined to a very small area, and the thieves themselves as a rule do not use violence, they only seek to terrify. This entire absence of the means of travel in former days is a point I am anxious to press, because I think it is not sufficiently grasped by the modern Hindu. When I have ventured to mention the fact—an historic fact—to Hindu gentlemen in India it has been received in a spirit of entire incredulity, and this even amongst my

highly-educated, well-informed and most trusted Hindu officials, whose loyalty to the Crown is unquestionable. I could never persuade them of the truth. And my want of success in this direction forms part of the basis upon which rests my conviction that historical ignorance is far more wide-spread than we often think, and that it is becoming, if not a positive political danger, at least a matter for very deep regret.

#### SOME OTHER BRITISH IMPROVEMENTS.

Let me, before concluding, very briefly point out how the condition of the villager of to-day has been benefited by English administration.

I have already alluded to the immense reduction in the amount of taxation and the sweeping away of scores of harassing and inquisitorial imposts; to the present simple and regular mode of collection of the land revenue, with regard to which every farmer knows the exact amount due, and need never pay a farthing more; to the great reduction effected therein; to the raising of the people from a condition of slavery to one of an independence and freedom not exceeded by that of any dweller in this land of England; to the network of roads and communications now established throughout the country, and the abolition of thuggee and dacoitee, which enable a villager, formerly confined absolutely to his own village and unable to trade, to travel freely from end to end of the country, and embark in merchandise to the extent of his capabilities with every nation in the world. Let me now note some few minor points.

We have established an Imperial Postal system over all India, even in small villages. It will doubtless perfect itself by degrees, but I remember only 28 years ago when I was first sent "up-country" that there was in existence an institution called the "District Tappal," the Imperial system not being at that time so fully developed as it is now, and that the so-called "runners" would sometimes take three weeks or a month to convey letters to a distance of forty miles. Prior to the assumption of Government by the English there had been no regular postal system at all. Hospitals have been and are being constructed all over India, and dispensaries have been multiplied, so that the unfortunate victim of accident need never be left, as formerly, with his wounds or broken limbs untended, or badly treated by uneducated quacks.

Schools, too, are everywhere multiplying and primary education is being rapidly extended, with the result that the farmers are in a better position than before to protect themselves against the extortion of grasping village officers, and all classes of the community are aided in matters of daily trade.

I will only make a passing reference to the fact that England has provided India with a set of officials whose single aim from morning till night is, in spite of all opposition and in the face of all difficulties, to do the right; to protect the persons and property, and secure the welfare of every individual resident in the country.

As to the charge that we have pauperized the country I leave that to experts, merely remarking that in a few years of my experience between 1868 and 1894 I saw everywhere villages improving, brick and tiled houses being substituted for mud huts with thatched roofs, though of course it



cannot be denied that the latter are still in the majority ; I saw towns becoming enlarged, and fine houses being built ; I saw drainage and general sanitation attempted ; I found wages rising, and rise of wages is a sure sign of prosperity and wealth ; I observed a growing independence and self-reliance in classes of the community formerly oppressed and down-trodden ; I watched a constant growth of litigation, and though this is of course to be deprecated, still it implies an increase of wealth in the litigious classes. Population also has enormously increased in the last century, and this is always accepted as a test of the improving condition of the masses. I may of course be entirely wrong, but in a hundred ways I have seemed to see the country improving ; and am convinced that the last century of British administration has resulted generally in the conferring of enormous benefits on the bulk of the people of India.\*

With this view it is a source of constant pain to me to think that even the well-educated section of the Hindu community do not recognise what we have done for the people of India, and are so loud in their assertion that we have done, and are doing, harm. It seems to me that this outcry can only arise from a deep-seated ignorance of the facts of history which prevents them from forming a just comparison between the Past and the Present. I venture, therefore, to plead for an extension of sound historical education in India. History ought to be taught in all schools and colleges—not merely lists of dates and leading events, and names of kings,—but such history as will enable the Hindus to obtain a true insight into the condition of their country in past ages, and afford them a means by which they may estimate aright the change wrought during the years of British administration—whether that change be for better or worse. At present I think that they have no conception at all of what that change has been.

\* I do not deny that certain classes are not so well off as they used to be. The families of Rājās, large landowners, experienced artizans, have doubtless suffered. The Brahman element, the intellect and mind of India, though it has greater scope for general education, has less for the exercise of local influence, and here is where the pinch is most greatly felt. With every sympathy for these gentlemen, I cannot blind my eyes to what England has done for the masses.

## THE FORGOTTEN VIZIANAGRAM TREATY.

By J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

AT the commencement of the year 1758 the prospects of the British in Southern India looked very gloomy. On every side the French influence was predominant. War had again been declared between France and England and a splendidly equipped expedition, commanded by a soldier with a brilliant reputation, was on its way to India with the avowed object of driving the English from the country, and of re-establishing the Empire which the genius of Dupleix had so nearly built up. The English force in the Carnatic was but small, and Madras had been drained of a large portion of its army in order to send reinforcements to Clive in Calcutta. In Hyderabad and in the Deccan the influence of Bussy was paramount. He was in high favour with the Nizam, whose person was protected by the French Contingent, and he had obtained for the up-keep of his small, but highly disciplined, army the cession of the sovereignty over the whole of the Eastern Coast from Masulipatam to Chicacole. It is true that in Bengal Clive had just won the battle of Plassy, but there was still a danger of the French army on the Eastern coast attempting to join hands with the Nawab of Bengal and with their compatriots at Chandernagore. Indeed, such a junction had been contemplated the year before and had only been anticipated by Clive's energetic action. If the new French expedition should succeed in capturing Madras, the Carnatic must inevitably become a French Province, and it could then only be a question of time for Bengal to share the same fate.

Bussy at the commencement of 1758 was in the Northern Circars, as the Districts on the Coromandel coast were, and are still called, and had just returned from a victorious expedition against the Rajah of Bobbili. As the results of this expedition led eventually to the expulsion of the French from the Eastern Coast, it will be as well to give some further details regarding it.

At the time of which I am writing the Eastern Coast was divided amongst a number of Hindu Rajahs and Chieftains, all of whom were more or less independent. The two most important of these were the Rajahs of Vizianagram, and Bobbili. Vizianagram, a Rajput Prince of the Solar race, ruled over a country extending from Chicacole in the North, to the river Godavery, a large portion of this territory being his own ancestral domain, whilst for the remainder he paid tribute to the Nizam of Hyderabad, in whose place Bussy now stood. The next important chief was the Rajah of Bobbili who owned a large territory to the East and N. East of Chicacole, consisting for the most part of hills and forests. Between this chief and Vizianagram there existed a hereditary feud, the vestiges of which endure to the present day. Vizianagram did not find it difficult to persuade Bussy that if he ever wished to effect a junction with the French in Bengal, he must first subdue this important

chief. Indeed in the early part of 1757 a small detachment of French sepoys which was marching through Bobbili's territory was actually attacked and compelled to retire after considerable loss. This furnished the excuse, and Bussy with his French Contingent of 500 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys, together with Vizianagram at the head of some 10,000 soldiers, of a more or less irregular and undisciplined type, went to punish the refractory chief. They over-ran the whole of Bobbili's country, taking stronghold after stronghold, until at last Runga Row, as the Rajah was called, took his last stand with some three hundred of his nearest of kin, together with their women and children, in a small fort situated in an almost impenetrable jungle. It was only after great difficulty that the two allies succeeding in cutting their way through the thick forest, but this being done they proceeded to invest the fort. Runga Row and his followers fought with the utmost gallantry. Several attacks were repulsed and Orme says: "The garrison fought with the indignant ferocity of wild beasts, defending their dens and families: several of them stood, as in defiance, on the top of the battlements, and endeavoured to grapple with the first ascendants, hoping with them to twist the ladders down; and this failing, stabbed with their lances, but being wholly exposed themselves, were easily shot by aim from the rear of the escalade." The attack lasted from daybreak (24 January 57) until two o'clock in the afternoon, by which time not a single man had gained the rampart. A cessation then occurred, which Runga Row utilized to call all his men together. He told them that there was no hope of maintaining the fort and that all that remained to be done was to kill the women and children, and then to sell their lives as dearly as possible. This was done. The women and children were all confined in a house, which was set on fire, and every one who tried to escape was cut down. "The massacre being finished, those who accomplished it returned like men agitated by the furies to die themselves on the walls." It was in vain that the French offered quarter. The maddened Hindus threw themselves on the besiegers' swords and lances and were cut or shot down to a man, their Rajah being one of the first to fall. When the French entered the Fort a terrible scene presented itself. The fort was one vast charnel house filled with men, women and children killed by the sword or by fire. "All gazed on one another with silent astonishment and remorse, and the fiercest could not refuse a tear to the deplorable destruction spread before them." The only living beings were an old man leading a boy, whom he presented to M. Law, the French Officer, as the son of Runga Row whom he had preserved against his father's will. Bussy at once took this boy into his protection, and he afterwards succeeded to the Raj and is the ancestor of the present Rajah of Bobbili.

But this dreadful slaughter was not to cease here. Just before the final assault of the French, four of the Rajah's soldiers, seeing him fall and that the end was near, swore to avenge him, and letting themselves down from the ramparts, succeeded in getting away into the forest. Here they hid themselves for two days, but on the third night two of them managed to creep into the tent of Vizeram Raj, the Rajah of Vizianagram, and plunging



their daggers into his body killed him as he lay asleep. They did not attempt to escape but calling out: Look here! We are satisfied: they remained, and were at once cut down.

Bussy would seem to have been terribly disgusted at the ferocity with which this warfare was carried on, and on his return to Vizianagram he let the young Rajah see his displeasure. When he appeared before Ananda Raj for the first time he said that his father's untimely death was due to the will of God, for the atrocities committed by him, since he was a very cruel man. This strange way of consoling a son for his father's death, not unnaturally excited the young Rajah's indignation, and he at once exclaimed "How dare you address us in this barbarous style? Relying on you I allowed my father to proceed to war, why should he alone die and you come back? Hence while you are alone responsible for all this mischief, how do you talk to me in this barbarous style?" Hot words followed and though the quarrel was temporarily patched up, the haughty Rajpoot never forgave Bussy for the insult he had paid to his father's memory, and he resolved when the opportunity should occur to shake off his alliance. Nor was the opportunity long in coming. Early in 1758 Bussy was called suddenly to Aurangabad where the Nizam's two brothers Nizam Ali and Basalat Jung had broken into revolt and were threatening their brother's throne and life. Bussy at once marched for Aurangabad with the whole of his force, leaving M. Moracin and a small detachment in charge of the headquarters at Masulipatam. Bussy's presence in the Nizam's camp was at once sufficient to restore order and quiet, although not without some difficulty, and after several narrow escapes, he rescued the Nizam from his perilous position, put his brothers to flight and carried off Salabut Jung to Hyderabad. Here he found letters of recall from Lally, who had arrived in Pondicherry in April (1758), ordering him to at once march for Pondicherry with the whole of his army; to bring Moracin with him, and to leave Conflans in charge of the Circars. Bussy obeyed, though not without some anticipation of evil to come. The Nizam is described as having been heart broken at the departure of his "guardian angel": "He took leave of him with the utmost despondency and foreboded the unhappy fate to which he should be exposed by his departure" (Orme). The foreboding was a true one for Bussy never returned to Hyderabad and in little more than two years from that time the Nizam had lost his throne and was a prisoner in one of the old royal cities.

This was the opportunity which Ananda Raj of Vizianagram was not slow to seize. Already early in the year he had written to Clive offering to drive the small French garrisons left in the different factories out of the Circars, if a force of Europeans and sepoys were sent to assist him. These letters arrived in Calcutta on the 4th July, but as that was not the season when ships could descend the river nothing could for the present be done. In August further letters were received by Clive from Ananda Raj, in which the departure of M. Moracin to join Bussy was announced and the despatch of an expedition was strongly urged. The members of Clive's council were all strongly against the proposed expedition; they considered it fool-hardy to weaken the Calcutta garrison, by the despatch of a large

force; that a small force would probably fail, and that if troops were to be sent away at all, it would be wiser to send them to the defence of the old settlement of Madras rather than to attempt the conquest of a new country. Clive, however, decided to accept the Rajah's proposal, since it was certain to cause a diversion of the besieging force at Madras, and there was the danger that if Bengal troops were sent to Madras it might not be possible to recall them in case they were wanted in the North, whereas in the Circars they would be under the direct orders of the Calcutta Government. Accordingly the Rajah was informed that an expedition would be sent in September and steps were at once taken to fit it out. As soon as Ananda Raj received this information he at once attacked the French factory and fort at Vizagapatam. This was taken without difficulty, and as previous to Bussy's arrival it had belonged to the English, he hoisted the British flag and sent letters to Madras regarding what he had done. Mr. Johnstone was sent up to take possession of the factory on behalf of the company and the Rajah at once put him in possession. This showed both energy and loyalty on the part of the Rajah, and was an act of considerable importance because it provided a port at which the expedition could disembark without opposition. On the 20th October the troops, consisting of 500 Europeans; 2,000 sepoys, 100 Lascars, six field pieces and 6 24 pounders, under the command of Colonel Forde arrived in the Vizagapatam harbour, and on the 1st November the whole force marched out to join the Rajah, who with his army was encamped at Cossim Cotta a place about 20 miles inland. At the same time Mr. Andrews was despatched from Madras with instructions to conclude a treaty with the Rajah. Andrews joined the camp of the allies, who had advanced some 30 miles, on the 21st November. Already some friction had arisen between the Rajah and Colonel Forde, who though a brilliant soldier seems to have been wanting in discretion and in the knowledge of how to treat a Native Prince. The arrival of Mr. Andrews, however, soon set matters right. He was an old friend of the Rajah's over whom he had considerable influence, and he managed to adjust all differences by a treaty which stipulated: "That all plunder should be equally divided; that all countries which might be conquered should be delivered to the Rajah, who was to collect the revenues; but that the seaports and towns at the mouths of rivers should belong to the Company, with the revenues of the districts annexed to them; that no treaty for the disposal or restitution, whether of the Rajah's or the English possessions, should be made without the consent of both parties; that the Rajah should supply 50,000 rupees a month for the expenses of the army, and 6,000 to commence from their arrival in Vizagapatam for the particular expenses of the officers. *He held out likewise other proposals of future alliance which he had not yet authority to ratify.*" The foregoing is taken from Orme, who at the time was a member of the Madras Council; who was afterwards made the official historiographer of the Company and whose account of the military operations of this period is so exhaustive that it forms the mine from which all subsequent historians have extracted their matter. For the present it will be sufficient to point out the importance of the last sentence which I have italicized. This shows conclusively that

Andrews had the power to, and did in fact ratify the treaty as quoted, and that it was only questions of further alliance that had to be referred to Madras.

The allied army now set out in earnest and on the 3rd December came in sight of the French army which was encamped forty miles to the N. East of Rajamundry on the Godavery river. A battle ensued at Condore, which is rightly described by Colonel Malleon as one of the decisive battles of India. The two forces were about equal in strength and the battle was fought with considerable gallantry. The Rajah's force bore the brunt of the first attack, but on being reinforced by the English, the French were finally beaten off with great loss and had to fly to Rajahmundry leaving behind all their guns and baggage. The Rajah's horse pursued them up to the gates of the town, which next morning was entered by the allied army, who found that the French had evacuated the fort and had crossed the river on their way to Masulipatam.

Some delay occurred before Colonel Forde was able to follow them, which was again caused by friction between him and the Rajah regarding money. Indeed so acute was the difference that Forde who had crossed to the South bank of the Godavery suddenly recrossed it with his Army, at which the Rajah, thinking he was going to punish him, took fright and escaped to the hills about 20 miles to the North of the town. Mr. Andrews at Vizagapatam was at once communicated with, and having despatched Rs. 20,000 to the Colonel, he himself joined the Rajah, and after some difficulty succeeded in pacifying him. A slight modification was made in the treaty to the effect: that whatsoever sums the Rajah might furnish should be considered as a loan: and that the revenues of all the countries which might be reduced on the other (South) side of the Godavery, excepting such as belonged to the French either by establishment, or grant in propriety (*sic*) should be equally divided between him and the English." (Here again Orme is my authority.)

These differences settled, the two armies marched for Masulipatam, but much valuable time had been lost. The French had been able to send re-inforcements, and the Nizam and his brother Basalat Jung, were both on their way to the Circars in order to dispute their possession with the English. It is not my intention to go over the details of the siege of Masulipatam. Forde had to press every nerve to push on the siege, and when ultimately the town was taken by a splendid assault in which the Rajah's army fought very well and suffered considerably, the Nizam had approached to within 15 miles. The garrison was actually found to number more than the besiegers, and this fact alone is sufficient to show how gallant a feat of arms it was. (March 7, 1759.) In the meantime the French had been compelled to raise the siege of Madras after a very gallant defence, and the whole tide of fortune seemed to have changed in favour of the English. There was still a small French Force in the Circars named the "Army of observation" which was threatening Rajamundry and the Northern portion. The Rajah, alarmed for his family and treasure, which he had left behind, at once marched to take this force in the rear, which he succeeded in doing and eventually it had to leave the coast entirely.



Whilst these occurrences were taking place the Nizam had received news that his brother Nizam Ali had broken into revolt at Aurangabad and was actually marching on the Capital. Being therefore anxious to get back to his country he was open to negotiations, especially as he saw that for the present, at all events, the power of his old allies the French, was effectually broken. Accordingly Colonel Forde visited the Nizam in his camp and a treaty was drawn up of which the following is an abstract (14th May, 1759).

The whole of the circar of Masulipatam with its eight districts to be given to the English as a free gift.

The Nizam to cause the French troops to leave the Deccan within 15 days and never to allow them a settlement in his country for the future.

The Rajah of Vizianagram not to be called upon for any account of the revenues of the country for the present year and to be left unmolested, but in future the Rajah to pay the tribute to Nizam which he had paid previous to the time of the French (three lakhs).

Neither the Nizam nor the English to assist the enemies of the other.

This treaty practically took away the Northern Circars from the Nizam. The Southern portion was ceded to the British as free gift, from Masulipatam up to the Godavery, and the territory north of that was assigned to the Rajah of Vizianagram who was not to be molested as long as he paid the tribute of three lakhs of Rupees, a sum out of all proportion to the value of the country, being only about 3 per cent. of the revenue. It will, however, be remembered that under the treaty with the Rajah it was settled that all country South of the Godavery should be *divided* between him and the English. This clause seems to have been forgotten in the second treaty, though it is quite possible that the Rajah, in consideration of being left in undisturbed possession of the country to the North of the river may have waived his right to any portion of the districts lying to the South of it. Orme in commenting on this treaty says: "The territory ceded to the Company extended 80 miles along the sea and the revenues amounted to 40 lakhs of Rupees a year." This shows that the Company's sphere did not extend North of the Godavery, since 80 miles is just about the distance between Masulipatam and the mouth of the Godavery. It must, however, be noted that another clause of the Vizianagram treaty was carried out, namely, that the English should be put in possession of all the ports. We have seen how the Rajah commenced by taking Vizagapatam and handing it over to the Company; the other settlements had all been taken during the war and from this time forward from Chicacole in the North to Madras in the South the whole of the Seaboard was at the Company's command, forming a seaboard nearly 700 miles in extent.

We have nothing to do here with the events of the next few years. In 1764 Lord Clive returned from England and stopping in Madras on his way to Calcutta he had several consultations with the Governor and Council, during which he impressed upon them the importance of obtaining possession of the whole of the inland territory extending from Madras up to Bengal, so as to prevent the possibility of any enemy attacking our possessions there by way of this route. (See manual of the Vizagapatam

District, p. 189 ; also Briggs and Mill.) In consequence of what was then decided, as soon as Clive arrived in Calcutta, he sent an ambassador to the Emperor Shah Allum requesting a firman or imperial grant for the British of the whole of the Northern Circars, and another for Mahomed Ali of the Carnatic. As a matter of fact, the Rajah of Vizianagram had always been considered a vassal of the Empire and the tribute of three lakhs of Rupees which he paid to the Nizam was paid to him as Viceroy of the Deccan. The Vizianagram family is still in possession of the emblems of the fish and the globe together with the Nalkee or open litter, with fans of peacock feathers which were bestowed by the Emperor only upon Princes of the highest rank. By obtaining a firman of this kind "an appearance of legal right to territorial possession" would be gained, as admitted by the official author of the Vizagapatam manual (Carmichael) though the possession of such a firman was not of much value if the holder could not support his right by the sword. The firman was obtained in 1765 and is thus condensed by Mr. (now Sir David) Carmichael : "after reciting the cession of these territories by Salabat Jung to the French, the absence of any recognition of that cession by the Mogul, and the consequent expulsion of the French by His Majesty's faithful sepoy Sirdars, the English Company, it declares that in consideration of the fidelity and good wishes of the said Company "we have from our throne, the basis of the world, given them the aforementioned Circars, by way of Enam or free gift, without the least participation of any person whatever in the same." No mention is made of the Rajah of Vizianagram in this firman, and presumably Clive did not think it necessary to inform the Emperor that it was in consequence of the Rajah's invitation, and owing to his loyal alliance that the "faithful sepoy Sirdars" had been able to expel the French from the Circars. Whether the Nizam had heard of this firman or not cannot be said, but early in 1766 he was making warlike manifestations, and General Calliand who was then in the Circars with a British force, was despatched to endeavour to conclude a treaty with him. After some negotiation this was carried out at Hyderabad on the 12th November, 1766, and the Company agreed to pay a tribute of seven lakhs of Rupees for the Circars with the exception of Guntoor which was to remain a personal jaghir of the Nizam's brother until his death, when it should revert to the Company on payment of two lakhs more. Two things are noticeable in this treaty. No mention is made of the firman obtained from the Emperor, and no mention is made of the Rajah of Vizianagram. The amount of tribute to be paid is also very high, and would seem to be much more considerable than the Nizam had previously obtained from the Rajah under the terms of the treaty of 1759 and it would therefore have the appearance that we were attempting to outbid our old ally in order to obtain a grant of the districts in his possession, the holding of which we had guaranteed to him in our treaty of 1758.

In the following year, for what reason, it is nowhere stated, the Nizam after having invaded Mysore together with the English and the Mahrattas, suddenly made an alliance with Hyder, and with him invaded the Carnatic. After some successes the important battle of Trinomally was fought in

which the allies were badly beaten, the Nizam's force suffering considerably. An estrangement then took place between Hyder and the Nizam and the latter withdrew, ostensibly with the intention of attacking the Circars. On his way he halted in the Cuddapah District and here whilst still suffering from his recent losses he concluded a treaty with the Company (Feb. 27, 1768) by which the grant of the Circars was confirmed, but the tribute was reduced to two lakhs of Rupees with one lakh more when the district of Guntoor should be handed over to them. It was also stipulated that if the Company were left in undisturbed possession of the Circars for six years, they would after that period pay for them five lakhs of Rupees, or seven when Guntoor should be made over to them. The remarkable points about this treaty are, that it commences with a recital of the firman granted by the Emperor in 1765; that the amount of tribute is greatly reduced, and, that again there is no mention of our old ally, the Rajah of Vizianagram.

The real fact would seem to be that the first treaty of 1758 with the Rajah, though exceedingly useful at the time, was afterwards found to be a document of considerable inconvenience. In 1768 the condition of affairs in the Deccan was very different to what it had been ten years previously. In 1758 we had not yet grasped Dupleix's brilliant idea of an Indian Empire. All we then wanted were the seaports as outlets for our trade, with small surrounding districts for their up-keep. Now things were different; the French had been driven out of the country; the Carnatic was virtually governed by the Company and an Anglo-Indian Empire seemed to be a possibility. In order to carry out this idea the acquisition of the Circars had become a necessity; and so it became a matter of policy to ignore the treaty we had made with the Rajah; we assumed the place of his suzerain and even took under our actual management the Districts which he had previously rented at an almost nominal rent. All that was left to him were his ancestral estates which formed a portion of the British district of Vizagapatam. The country between Vizagapatam and the Godavery became the Collectorate of that name, and that around Chicacole was formed into the Collectorate of Ganjam. Instead of dividing with our old ally the conquests made to the South of the Godavery, we not only took them all for ourselves but also took from him the greater part of the territory in his possession to the North of that river. Even the very treaty itself has been historically ignored. It finds no place in the official record of treaties by Sir Charles Aitchison, although it was the first treaty made with any Prince in Southern India, and formed the basis of all our subsequent acquisitions. Two years ago the Maharajah of Vizianagram, himself an able English scholar, addressed to the Government of India a long historical letter or rather brochure, in which after recounting the admitted historical facts, he concluded by asking that in future editions of Aitchison's *Treaties*, the treaty of Vizianagram should be included. This was all. There were no insinuations and no reproaches; no accusations of breach of faith towards his ancestors. True to the motto of his family "ever loyal" he merely asked that this ancient loyalty should be officially recognized, and the treaty from which so much resulted should be relegated to the



place in history which it deserves. The request, however, was not granted and the ground assigned for the refusal was that there was no proof that it had ever been ratified. Whether or not this reason is justified by history and by facts the readers of this paper must decide, but there seems to be little doubt that the treatment which the Rajah received during the last century left at the time a sore feeling in the mind of his family and eventually led to the tragedy of 1794 which, if permitted I will attempt to describe in some future issue, and which forms a signal example of how a Rajput Prince whose honour has, in his opinion, been tarnished, feels that the only resource left to him is to die.

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

## IV. ON THE MANNER OF MAKING GARDENS.

THE love of nature is intense among the Japanese. For this reason it is their common aim, to surround themselves with natural objects, and the desire of every householder, is to possess a plot of ground outside his dwelling wherewith to display and cultivate his taste for nature's beauties. Few can claim sympathy in general regarding the scheme the Japanese adopt for working out their ideas of a model garden,—for to most of us, it is quite a departure, to consider a garden perfect, that does not perhaps contain a single flower. In the homelands of the Extreme East, man looks for peace and restfulness, cool, shady spots of retreat, enhanced here and there by surprises, by waterfalls and lily pools, by cool stone lanterns from whence stars of light gleam out amid the foliage, best suited to receive the faint flicker and shade of feeble oil lamps;—neutral tinted stones rounded and carved by the gentle hand of time, or washed by well turned tides into circlets, truer than the lapidary's tool could shape them. Stones over which lichen, and other insidious growths of vegetation have been permitted to adjust themselves, and their own peculiar enrichments, pleasing to the sight, and in keeping with their surroundings.

There is a law of harmony in nature, which is apparent even in the lowest orders of creation, a blending of colouring which has no doubt been purposely granted for protective purposes; even those plants which we term weeds, have nothing repulsive in form or colouring, to grant us any justification in condemning them to the rubbish heaps. Insects will even mimic the plant upon which they feed. Ivy feeders, for instance, will assume the semblance of a sprout amid the foliage, and remain immovable for hours during the daylight, wandering in search of their food when their would-be exterminators, the birds, are at rest. In passing through the chrysalid state, in some instances they can, in changing, assume the same shade of colour as the tree trunk, paling, autumn leaf, or whatever else is their habitat, during the metamorphosis. Birds likewise will change their dress to the seasons, if their haunts are in exposed positions.

Landscape gardeners in Japan are thoroughly trained. It is part of their education to travel, and note the many charming arrangements wild nature has set up in odd places,—and to copy these in preference to any stereotyped conception, or plan of their own. The artist's skill comes into play by judiciously arriving at some definite effect, for the space under his consideration. He may entirely transform the allotment, so long as he keeps in view the necessity of working out some abstract idea as a basis. His object being to create and convey

“Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife”—  
a place of peace, retirement, or meditation.

As forestry and flowers suggest many symbols, certain trees, and plants, but few flowers alone are utilized. The outside surroundings are much considered, and nothing that will clash in sentiment, or symbolism, can be accepted for its own individuality. All things admitted into a well

thought out garden are reared with the greatest care, cut and pruned and trained to fit into the puzzle of completeness. Colours and leafages must harmonise, and blend into each other without startling contrast. A screen of bamboo, called *sode-gaki*, held together with vine tendrils, whips of straw, grass or rush, nearly always intercepts the garden from the house. Walls of mud and stones conglomerated together, or of bent bamboo, charred by fire form the boundary. Trees are well selected, and placed where best to heighten the *tout ensemble*, and to give to the limited amount of ground greater space.

Stone lanterns well set up, called *ishi-dōrō*, are used in every garden, numbering from one to many; and there is usually a stone or porcelain receptacle, scooped out to contain water, round which is set stepping stones and trailing plants. This water-basin is for use to cool the hands and face at. The landscape gardener if possible introduces water falls and running streams, because the murmur of trickling moisture has a particular fascination to the Japanese: it is also an agreeable occupation to them to watch the flicker of moonlight and starlight, or the artificial gleams of the *ishi-dōrō's* floating fires reflecting in the changing currents. To effect these waterfalls, all available superfluous surface water is utilised. It is turned into channels and its course is made easy by artificial means to flow in the right directions, assisted by other ingenious contrivances of rock work, and masonry. The worn and levelled stones to which I have alluded are used as stepping ways, in order to leave undisturbed the soft grey, or pale-brown sand, which is laid thickly over the plots of land in lieu of our English lawns. Though grass is known in Japan it is chiefly used by foreign residents, and may scarcely be classed as a luxury to the natives.

There are many plants, shrubs, and trees, introduced into these Eastern gardens that convey the deepest symbolic lessons to those who can interpret their presence.\* In the province of Idzumo there is a plant which is called the *tegashirawa*, or the welcome plant. Its leaves somewhat resemble the human hand with five fingers. These leaves hang down, and seem to waive and beckon as they sway, to those who belonging to the household come and go. We know the Japanese do not do as we do, and that in many ways their manners are reversed. In this case it is surely so, for when they beckon, they do not raise the arm, or move the hand to and fro, to draw the distant person back again by gesticulation, but they move both their hands palms downward from the ground upwards towards the heart, while the head is bowed forward in respectful acknowledgment of presence they know is not too far away to feel the influence of their entreaty to return. This "welcome" tree is always planted near the door. The first greeting the traveller or stranger receives is from its restless leaves, which greeting comes as a prelude always to the honour that awaits him within the portals of his home; the greeting of reverence that bowed heads and prostrate figures express by gestures more than words of their joy at the "honourable return." So little was it the custom for long journeys to be undertaken in former times, those who have since travelled to distant empires and jeopardized their lives by sea and land, experience profound and sincere appreciation when safely restored to their family circles. It was the custom in the feudal days to serve up the last

\* "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan." Lafcadio Hearn, vol. II.



meal of *tai* fish, which was always partaken of by those setting out on a journey upon a leaf of *tegashiwa*, and afterwards to hang up the leaf as a charm over the door, in order to procure the safe return of the knight, who had been called out on a compulsory journey with his liege lord.

The *Yudsurika* shrub, whose leaves never fell, before another shoot was ready to supply the vacant place, interpreted the wish of every noble family that the father might not die until the son and heir had arrived at years of discretion, ready to take up the work, death had deprived the parents of completing.

The dream-tree or the *Nanten* is often selected on account of the virtue it possesses in driving away the spell of evil dreams if they are recounted to it in the early hours of first awakening. The *nanten* shrub was generally placed close to the verandah for convenience of those afflicted by distressing impressions during sleep. The lotus *hasa-no-hana* is of all the list the most prized of any plant, not only by the Japanese, but by all the followers of Buddha. Graceful in its development, delicate in colouring, subtle in growth, luxuriant in the dark recesses of still and shaded pools, rising above all earthly attributes, freeing itself from mud and slime and all repulsive proximities, like stars of Heaven scintillating upon the bosom of dusky waters, it affords in itself an endless theme for contemplation. To the young it is their profoundest monitor, to the aged it still suggests its lessons. Nothing in all the realm of nature is more suggestive of beautiful teaching than the pure white lotus-cups rising high above the level of earthly surroundings.

One of the favourite schemes of a Japanese gardener is that of modelling plots of ground to resemble the sea-beach. It is done in order to produce the effect of greater distance. When this plan is resorted to, the ground is artificially elevated by gentle undulating slopes that abruptly break right up to the line of horizon, leaving to the imagination the idea of a sea beyond. The flat neutral-tinted stones are taken from the river-beds, from whence the sea by continual laving has washed them into round flat lozenges of earthly substances. In consequence of stones being extensively used for the outside embellishment of the homeland, a brisk trade is carried on in this article, for the Japanese regard the beautiful and curious handiwork of Nature with a veneration that cannot be followed up in sentiment by Occidentals. They believe in some instances stones have souls, that they can feel, and listen, and hear. In the legends of the people these ideas are endorsed. In most towns, quarters are entirely given up to the setting up of stone stores, where all sizes, small and large, round and flat, as well as many marvellous shapes can be procured. Bullock carts heavily laden, may often be heard creaking under the strain of their cargo containing eccentric specimens, whose geological value ensures a ready sale. A decent livelihood can be earned by those who will seek, and prepare these particular requirements for the gardens. Suitable pieces for special nooks, or prominent places, particularly specimens that resemble some colossal originals, from whence the smaller plots of ground have taken their similitude, are never long on hand.

Bridges are often constructed, made of bent bamboo or rustic wood-work; they are used for spanning over the artificial lakes, or waterfalls, or for securing access to model mountain-passes, suggested by the presence

of large masses of stones and boulders covered with dwarfed pines and other coniferæ. These bridges also lead to the *Asumaya*, or summer-house, a building corresponding to our own garden shelter. The *Asumaya* is set away in some sombre nook, out of sight, where quiet hours can be passed, and to which members of the household may retire for uninterrupted meditation. Asking a native to interpret the correct meaning of the word *Asumaya*, he wrote the above description, and then added: "In this house take tea, or try poem." Poetry being a special accomplishment of the upper classes, many *Asumaya* are found in large and old enclosures. This shelter was often occupied; those who could write a verse of two or four lines, making their own rendering of some well known oft-repeated poetic allusion, were considered poets. The Japanese float fans and cups upon the waters; and before they reach a certain point, a verse of poetry must be composed; this is a favourite amusement at garden fêtes. Poetic pastimes are numerous, people who can easily guess given quotations, are considered highly gifted. The *Asumaya* is usually square: sometimes merely a roof is set upon four upright supports, but it is more usually built in on two sides. Circular windows are in this case cut out, from whence the wealth and symbolic lesson suggested by the surroundings, can be easily viewed and contemplated.

In olden times women were expected to limit their promenades to the boundaries of the stone or bamboo enclosures. It was their duty to tend, and cultivate any special botanical specimen, to feed the fishes, the fowl, the silk-worms, the tortoises, and any other garden pets. To listen to the sweet ringing notes of the wild doves, soaring round their homes in the tall *matsu* or pine-trees. To watch the dragon-flies and fire-flies darting from morn till eve over the artificial water world, to foster any tender plants, that required careful rearing, for the decoration of the *sambo*, or sacred table, placed in the shrine of patron saint and deified ancestor. From the verandah of the home, women witnessed sports and pastimes, wandering minstrels might come and chant, while jugglers and other performers were permitted to exhibit their sleight-of-hand, to any private family who could afford to pay for a special exhibition.

The garden was the training-ground for children brought up in the faith of Buddha; in the garden the first principles of kindness to animals, and to all grades to the lowest scale of creation, were implanted by example into youthful minds. Living pets were nurtured for a time, and then granted their freedom, as a good deed done: one that would be sure to please the gods, who could see everywhere with closed eyes. If cruelty was indulged in, in this life the souls of the tormentors would pass into a lower scale, to endure the contradictions from others, that they themselves had previously inflicted in their former state of existence.

People who have not any ground at their disposal, will arrange a Liliputian garden according to the model in the possession of another, and work out some scheme of beauty within the dimensions of a fair-sized china bowl. This they will place in some convenient nook, where they can best cheat their eyes with the belief that the object before them is a living and extensive landscape picture; for with care and cunning, trees and shrubs can be pruned down into miniature counterparts of older and well-matured forestry.

## THE FIRST DIAMOND PIONEER IN SOUTH AFRICA.\*

BY P. E. WOLTER.

As I was one of the first in the Klipdrift on the diamond fields, just as my friend, Flenny the prospector, was the first who found "paying" diamonds in South Africa, I am able to write a true account of the subject. The first indication of the existence of diamonds in South Africa was the large stone found close to Hopetown on the Orange River. "The Star of South Africa diamond" was the plaything of a farmer's children, a Mr. Ryly, five years ago when I was in the Transvaal. He was living then in the Transvaal and he repeated then the story to me, but as it is well known I shall only mention that the stone was taken from the children and given to a pedlar to take to Port Elizabeth; it was sold for £400, and eventually bought by the Governor of the Cape Colony. For a long time no more was heard about finding diamonds. Where "the Star of South Africa" was found, no more stones have been got, not even within sixty miles, so it is a puzzle how the stone got there. In 1869 there was in Natal, in Pietermaritzburg, a Major Francis of the 20th regiment; he had a slight knowledge of diamonds, and had heard that on the Vaal River diamonds had been found by the Forannes; so he resolved to send up a couple of men, one Paddy Rolsten and another to the Orange Free State, and to prospect on to the Vaal River. Paddy was shown a rough diamond, and told to look for "that sort of stone," but not how or where. Major Francis could not tell him. Paddy had been drilling volunteers in Pietermaritzburg, so his knowledge of digging for diamonds was a guess; he knew more about potato-digging. Just about that time the Australians came to Natal, and one of them a Mr. Flenny, a gold digger, who had been in America, and in the Brazils, digging for diamonds. He was thoroughly up to his work, a German brought up for the medical profession, and educated in France. Why he left his profession, he never told me. All I know is that when the Goldfield fever broke out in Australia he came out there. I got acquainted with him on the Gimpy goldfields in Queensland, and as there was a good deal of talk about gold being found in Natal, I told him that I should very likely go; he said he would go as well, but not to look for gold, but for diamonds, which he heard had been found in the Orange Free State. Flenny got to Natal before me, so when I arrived there he had started with another German prospecting for diamonds. He told me afterwards that he once came to a farm, and asked the Boer if he might look for diamonds, promising that, if he found them, he would buy the

\* We insert this quaint tale not only because it throws some light on the earliest history of Diamond finding in South Africa, but also because it tells the story of how a few simple miners founded there a little State which was lost to the Transvaal, and became a British Colony owing to the incapacity of the renowned Boer President, Pretorius.



farm from him at a high price. To his surprise, the Boer told him that if he did not leave the farm as quickly as possible, he would horsewhip him, and set the dogs at him. Indeed, he could not even buy rations from the Boers, and was in constant danger of his life. Hearing that there was another party prospecting for diamonds, he started for it, and came on to Paddy Rolsten! Said Paddy: "Sure I am glad I am alive, for I have been hunted like a wild dog." "Did you find any diamonds, Paddy?" "Devil a diamond" had Paddy found, for he had been looking on the top of the ground in the daytime, and at night he had been looking by moonlight for them, but he could not see them shine. Flenny asked Paddy on what terms he was prospecting, so Paddy told him he had everything free from Major Francis, and half the finds. Paddy, not knowing anything about digging, was thinking of going back to Natal, and giving it up as a bad job, when Flenny proposed Paddy should write to the Major, and tell him that there was a diamond digger with him who would like to work on the same terms, and, if the Major would consent, they would go on prospecting on the Vaal River; the Major consented, so off they went to the Vaal River by a place called Hebron, and there found the first diamond. Paddy was so glad that he danced an Irish jig. They then went prospecting down the river till they came to Klipdrift, or as it is called at present Barkley; they went about two hundred yards from the river to a Koppie, or little hill, and found some nice stones; they kept this secret, for there was a party of Boers also looking for diamonds, like Paddy, on the top of the ground, and particularly after rain. Flenny took about three feet of earth and carted it to the water, and washed it through a cradle. There was a third party, from Colesberg in the Cape Colony, also looking for diamonds in the manner of Paddy and of the Boers, and were just about giving it up, when, through an incident happening, they stopped. The Boers were laughing at Flenny for taking the ground out and washing it, but one day, when Flenny was washing, a Boer came down to him, and found a beautiful stone of ten carats in the heap; he wanted in vain to keep it, but now all the Boers began to dig, and kept their finds pretty secret.

Flenny sent now and then a letter to Major Francis, and told him of these finds, but one day he had to send a Kaffir with the letter to Winburg in the Free State, being the nearest post office, and, the Vaal River being up, the Kaffir had to swim the river, and the letter got wet and open; the postmaster took the letter out to dry, and read part of it, and so found out what Flenny was finding, which thus ceased to be a secret. Soon after this there was a rush to Klipdrift, and so the famous Klipdrift diggings were born. Shortly after I came down from the Matebele Goldfields to Natal, and found a letter from Flenny for me at an office; he wrote I was to see Major Francis, and ask him to send us up on the same terms as he had.

We accordingly went up to Pietermaritzburg, saw the Major, and, after arranging everything, started with four oxen and a cart, and got there after five weeks' travelling. Our friend Flenny's old land was worked out, and he was prospecting lower down the river, where he found a few stones, but,

being a nervous man, he abandoned the place ; that very same place turned out subsequently to be awfully rich, and was called Good Hope.

I believe I have fully proved that Flenny was the first man that found "paying" diamonds, and, if Major Francis is still alive, he will certainly attest the truth of my statement.

Shortly after Klipdrift broke out, Pretorius, President of the Transvaal, came down to us, for so far we were left to do our own business and settle our own disputes, and called a meeting. We certainly thought that we should get a magistrate, someone to rule over us ; but at the meeting he gave us notice that we should have to leave the place, as he had given the concessions of the fields to three persons : a Mr. Posno, Mr. Webb, two diamond buyers, and one of their own Raad. But it was easier said than done ; we did not like to leave the claims we were finding diamonds in, so we called a meeting among ourselves to discuss what we should do. The first thing to do was to propose a chairman, a Mr. Parker, and twelve diggers ; it was then moved to make Parker President, and take as our Republic from Hebron to the Hart River, about twenty miles up, on the Vaal River ; it was, finally, decided that every man should sign his name, and pay half a crown a week to pay expenses, and those that did not wish to sign and pay had to leave the place ; so we had our own government. Every Saturday we had to come up for inspection, and show a revolver and rifle. Parker was a man who had been trading about there, and could speak the Kaffir language, and had bought diamonds from the Kaffirs ; so he knew them well, in particular a chief Jantze, about ten miles from us. We were in possession of a little country, which by rights belonged to the Transvaal. We soon had to show our authority. A German at Hebron shot a Kaffir in the leg because he could not find his oxen, and some of Jantze's Kaffirs being there, took him to the Kraal. Jantze wished to punish him, but as we had included Jantze in our country, we could not allow that, particularly as a white man was implicated. We had a meeting and Parker proposed to go with about a hundred of us, well armed and on horseback, to Jantze, and demand the white man, so as to try him before our Court of Justice. Jantze said *he* was boss ; that the country we were in belonged to him, and that he would drive us over the Vaal. This was pretty tall talk ; but our President was up to it. He gave Jantze half an hour to consider, and if he did not give up the white man, we should burn the Kraals over his head. At the end of the half hour they gave him up, but still the Kaffirs said that they were the bosses, and would drive us over the river. We had after that always to be ready, but Jantze never came. We got the German up, and banished him across the river never to come back again, as we had no prison ; he was a brute of a man, that German, for I saw him at Pheniel busy with a Kaffir ; he had a knife, and the Kaffir a small axe ; the Kaffir would have settled him, but was afraid of the white men around him. Pretorius, seeing that he could not drive us away, nor Jantze either, came down to dig, with some Kaffirs, for himself, but we said : "No, you must first sign, and pay half a crown a week." And he, the President of the Transvaal, actually did so ; he was stupid enough to do it ; he was now one of ourselves, but he soon found out

what a silly thing he had done, and left again. Several places broke out, Pheniel, Delport's Hope, and Cawood's Hope; we were now in possession of a fine piece of country, but as we could not keep it much longer, for there were two thousand people, we got Parker to write to Capetown to Sir Henry Barkley for protection, and take the country over. Sir Henry promised he would do so, and afterwards came with a Chief, Waterboer, who said the country belonged to him; Waterboer showed his right to it, and so it was by arbitration given to him, and he made it over to the British Government. Had Pretorius handled the matter differently, and had he left us to dig in peace, merely sending us a magistrate, and asking us to pay a licence, we will say of half a crown a month, then it would be Transvaal territory still; it would never have become a British Colony. Now Waterboer did not alone claim land on that side of the river; he claimed on the Free State side as well. However, President Jantze Brand was another man than Pretorius, and said Waterboer had no right to it, and would not give it up. I was working at that time in Cawood's Hope—that is, on the Free State side of the Vaal River; here the diggers were also masters, but it was high time there came an alteration. One day a Kaffir belonging to some people ran away from Natal, and as the Kaffir was running up the mountain from rock to rock, he was fired at like a wild beast. Some time after this Sir Henry Barkley came to Cawood's Hope, and promised to take the country over as soon as possible. I left Cawood's Hope to go to Delport's Hope, and worked there with a son of a Member of Parliament, a Mr. Hubbard; he came out for the good of his health and he became quite strong in the Transvaal. I left then for Bulfontein, and so did Flenny. He had made some money on the river, but not much. I bought two claims for ten pounds there, but left them four days afterwards for New Rush, or what is at the present Kimberley. Flenny went there also, and got some very good ground; he worked there for some months, and sold out to go to Port Elizabeth. What became of him afterwards I never heard. I do not doubt that he is dead, as it was in 1873 when I saw him last, and he was an old man then. Perhaps, if it had not been for Flenny, the diamond fields would never have been worked; the Transvaal would not be the country it is; Mr. Rhodes would never have been Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and Matabeleland would not have given so much trouble, and there would have been no Jamieson raid. I have written this story in honour of my friend Flenny, for I have never seen his name mentioned in any story of the diamond fields.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of this Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Monday, April 5th, Lord Reay, President of the Association, being in the Chair, when the first part of a paper was read by Robert Sewell, Esq., Member of Council Royal Asiatic Society, F.R.G.S., on "India before the English," which will be found elsewhere in this Review.

The following, among others, were present :—Lord and Lady Coleridge ; Sir Lepel Griffin ; Sir Raymond West ; General Sir Harry Prendergast ; Sir A. and Lady Lyall ; Sir G. Parker ; Gen. W. Lister ; Major-Gen., Mrs., Miss, and Mr. B. Phelps ; Col. R. H. Palmer ; Col. Weldon ; Lt.-Col. A. T. Wintle ; Dr. Ince ; Major G. Baynes ; Capt. Simkins ; Dr. Leitner ; Mrs. Boddy ; Messrs. A. H. Campbell, H. C. Duff, F. H. Daubeny, T. J. Desai, M. L. Dhingra ; Miss M. K. Dowding ; Mr. C. A. Galton ; Miss Gawthrop ; Mr. A. Graftey ; the Misses Hadaways ; Miss E. S. Hardy ; Miss James ; Messrs. Kelsall, J. Lavis, B. Manlovie ; Mrs. B. M'Master ; Mr. N. Pearson ; Mr. J. P. Pennington ; Mrs. J. Prendergast ; Mrs. Perrin ; Mr. L. C. Probyn ; Mr. B. L. Rai ; Mr. John Rudd Rainey ; Mr. A. Rogers ; Mr. L. Rogers ; Miss Sadler ; Mr. H. Sewell ; Mr. P. M. Tait ; Miss Tatham ; Mr. H. B. Tyabji ; Mr. W. M. Wood ; Miss Webster. The 1ST PART of the paper having been read,

SIR ALFRED LYALL said that he was exceedingly obliged to the lecturer for his dissertation on the ancient historical condition of India, and for the manner in which he had refuted the theory of Universal Dominion in India. It should be remembered that the Hindoos were never a history-writing nation. Hindustan was really in that state of chaos of legendary material out of which all history was evolved. Except to a few chosen nations history came very late. For a long time nations subsisted on legends ; out of those legends history evolved itself ; and that, he hoped, would be so in the case of India. They should remember what would be the case with this country if it had not its history written, and if it had not fallen into the hands of a great history-writing Empire like the Roman. Addressing the Lecturer : Supposing some generations hence people were to talk of a great European Empire from the Highlands of Scotland to the Morea who would believe it? If they had not history they would be quite unaware that there *did* exist such an Empire—the Roman. If nothing had been left but poetic fragments, and legends, they probably would be inclined to deny altogether the existence of that Empire. There was therefore a certain excuse for people in that stage dreaming of Universal Empire. He quite agreed that history was a most important study for Indians. They required accurate knowledge, so far as it could be gained, of their past times. It was a very difficult and critical task to distinguish history from the legends out of which all history arose.

Mr. HARISH CHUNDER DUTT was of opinion that in India there were two parties—the Anglo-Indian party and the Congress party, each having

its own view. They had, for instance, Lord Elgin during the late famine, who, when people were dying in their cottages, and by the roadside thought that the people were hale and hearty. The Lecturer had said that the Hindoos had no love for their history, but this was a mistake. The Lecturer had sought to impress on their minds that Indians were savages, and had referred to human sacrifices, but there was a great difference of opinion about these points. Mr. Dutt also referred to Rama's coming from the North of India to the South as an instance of the Hindoo extent of Empire.

Mr. SEWELL did not for a moment wish to suggest that human sacrifice was a common thing in India—merely that the tradition existed that when Hindoo sovereigns were making a great Tank they buried women alive as a propitiation to the evil Deities.

SIR RAYMOND WEST thought that the observations which had been addressed to them by the young native gentleman, illustrated the defect in the historical sense of the Hindoo. We should study the matter, not on the basis of the epic poems, but by reference to monuments which though they contained many falsehoods, yet, necessarily, revealed many truths in characters comparatively imperishable. He (Sir R.) had occasion in the course of his Indian service to look at many monuments, including inscriptions, and he thought there was a work cut out for the Scholars of India, working on such a basis as his friend Ram Krishna Gopal, the great Sanscrit Scholar of the Deccan, had done with regard to the history of the Mahrattas, and the early period of the Northern Deccan. If gentlemen like Mr. Dutt would take up a work of that kind they might add very much to the interest of the history of their own country, and trace valuable sources of information, and comparison; for the history of the progress of mankind generally in the manifold phases which it had gone through under native Dynasties presented, if properly studied, perhaps, the most instructive of the remaining volumes of human history open to the research of Scholars. Sir R. commended very strongly to the numerous capable young Hindoo, and Mahomedan, gentlemen the acquisition of the critical faculty, and the application of it to the development and history of their own country. (*Hear, hear.*) So far as he had had an opportunity of going into the questions dealt with by the lecturer he thought the view presented by him was generally a correct one, and he had no doubt that when he (the lecturer) proceeded to the application of his general view to the details it would be still more interesting to them at the latter end of the 19th century; they would find that the historic basis was an essential one for the detailed examination of all that was most interesting and important in the social, and also in the political, condition of the Hindoos, and of the natives of India generally, at the present day. He therefore hoped to hear the further lecture to be delivered by Mr. Sewell.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN wished to express his sense of the great interest of Mr. Sewell's paper, and his appreciation of the exceedingly able and learned manner in which he had treated a very difficult subject. He hoped to hear the remaining lecture, which from some points of view, especially that to which the Association specially looked, would, perhaps, be of more

interest than the purely historical part ; although to himself, who had made Indian history a speciality, it had been of very great interest to hear what the lecturer had said, and also to hear the exceedingly suggestive remarks of Sir Alfred Lyall, who was not nearly sufficiently often a visitor at the meetings of the Association, where he would always receive a very warm welcome. He would not speak on the subject of the lecture, because it was too technical to do so without preparation ; but as one who had written several historical Indian works he desired to see the study of history encouraged in India. He would join with Sir Alfred Lyall in expressing the opinion that it was by means of such studies that they would counteract what was the weakness of the Hindoo intellect, the metaphysical desire to escape from practical things into the unknown and the infinite. He wished to bring them to more practical and every-day life, and for that he thought the study of history was almost as useful as the study of mathematics or geometry.

DR. LEITNER heartily joined in the hope expressed by Sir Raymond West, and Sir Lepel Griffin, that the interesting hour which they had spent in listening to the remarkable researches of Mr. Sewell would be only a fore-runner of the still greater pleasure of listening to their main results at his next Lecture. At the same time, he rather joined in the view expressed by Sir Alfred Lyall with regard to the importance to be attached in historical research to matters that did not immediately come within the methods of the modern school of history. Not to speak of Court and family records, even Indian treatises on medicine, certain handicrafts, music, and other subjects, away from current politics, very often contained important historical references which should not be neglected. In the *Dayanams*, or directions in the worship to the various Deities on certain occasions, instructions were laid down which were sometimes not altogether without historical value. Rama had been referred to ; well, in the case of the monkey-king Hanuman, really an aboriginal ruler, throwing the mountain into the sea in order to facilitate the crossing of the Aryan Rama to Ceylon, the *Dayanam* told them that the mountain must always be coloured green as a method of conveying the idea that it was not the mountain that was thrown into the sea, but the trees of the mountain. In other words, the date and origin of navigation was thus sought to be indicated. By many such devotional instructions had historical facts been sought to be preserved. Again in the present degradation of the *Mirásis* and even *Doms*, as hereditary chroniclers of the events in the families to which they were attached, they had to deplore the loss of much which was of historical value. When such elements of culture permeated even the lower classes of a country, that every respectable family had its bard or troubadour who recorded its deeds and his own *Kangara Chaprassi* *inter alios* had a roll, nearly 100 yards long, showing the family tree and events for two thousand years, European critics could not say that Hindoos were deprived of the historical critical interest and sense. Human nature in India was extremely good, and native intellect a heredity of the most developed character ; and they were certainly not further from love of truth than were interested European Historians. Was the *RAJA TARANGINI* by Pandit Kalhana not an invaluable



historical record? As for Muhammadan chroniclers they were generally models to us of almost painful accuracy, and we had much to learn from Ibn Khaldūn, the Muhammadan philosophical historian. Where then did they find in India this alleged claim to Universal Empire? It had never been made by Hindoos. It had indeed been said by them: "Unhappy is the ruler who governs those who are different from him in worship and caste." Before, therefore, Mr. Sewell so ably destroys a false notion, it must be asked in what thoughtful native mind, at what precise period, in what book, is it expressed, τὸς τὸν ἐμμεψε? And if such a notion were established, or existing, it would prove nothing to the wise Hindoo or European, for nothing to be proud of in real culture is implied by "Universal Empire." It was not necessarily identical with an era of the universal bliss if a whole Empire, and if the whole world, were subject to one particular Dominion. Many might reasonably think that it is a form of universal degeneracy. (Hear, hear.) It might even not be said that the British had now universal rule in India, as the Lecturer seemed proud of proving. The British had, for instance, not destroyed, and he hoped they would never destroy, the picturesqueness of the self-governing Native States. (Cheers.) Our Indian friends, who perhaps put things very strongly the other way, certainly wished, as we did, to learn the truth; and it was in such Associations as this that he imagined there was a possibility of an understanding being arrived at. Most of the members of the Association were officials, and their view too was "excelsior," or that there was still much room for improvement in our rule. Indeed, he would rather that the lecturer did not show the British side too favourably, because, in that case, the occupation of the Association as a benevolent critic of government would be gone. (Laughter.) In short, the Lecturer by his references to Asoka and others has only proved that the Hindoos did *not* claim Universal Empire, whilst the reproach on the Vikramaditya era is as little sustainable as that B.C. or A.D. would imply that Jesus claimed to be the inventor of our Calendar.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD, as a member of the Association, but not an official, would like to say a word of appreciation of the lecture of Mr. Sewell, who, he thought, had, to a large extent, been fighting a shadow with regard to the question of Universal Empire. He would like to know what would become of much modern literature if it were to be proved that there was no such thing as an Arthurian Kingdom. What an immense field of thought and literature would be blotted out if they depended on the mere facts of history! He did not quite understand how it could be said that the Hindoos were not persons excelling in the historical sense. It had frequently been said, "Happy is the nation which has no history." And although they knew the history of India chiefly from its battles and turmoils they must look on the other side, when they would see that there had been long periods of internal quiet and prosperity. He was very glad to hear the lecturer conclude with the expression of a desire for truth; but certainly there were many different ways of arriving at it; and then when they got at the truth of the question at issue what would they do with it?

The CHAIRMAN, rising for the first time as the President of the Associa-

tion, desired to tender his best thanks for the honour which that body had conferred on him in asking him to succeed men whose services to India had been conspicuous, and only in one respect would he venture to enter into competition with them, viz., his devotion to Indian interests. He hoped that while he had the honour of being their President they would always have meetings as interesting as this one, for which they were very much indebted to Mr. Sewell. He was afraid that with regard to the neglect of the study of history they in this country were almost as great culprits as their Indian subjects were reproached with being. Until very recently the study of history had been absolutely neglected in the Public Schools. His ancestors belonged to a part of the Kingdom, the Highlands of Scotland, the history of which was to a large extent legendary. Nothing struck him as more unfortunate than the fact that young Scotchmen, educated at the Public Schools, and called upon to occupy positions of great influence in Scotland, were almost absolutely ignorant of the leading features of Scotch history. He agreed with Dr. Leitner that Indian legends ought not to be neglected in the study of Indian History. He might refer to a man who certainly deserved to be called a historical critic, but who, unfortunately, had died very early: that was his friend Mr. Darmestetter, who came to India for no other purpose than to collect Poems and Legends in the North of India. Besides legends, historical chronicles were a source of knowledge they had. There were individuals who had an extraordinary talent for writing Journals. He had a friend who wrote three Journals, one intended for the public, he supposed for posthumous publication, another for his friends and family circle, and a third intended only for himself, in which he probably chronicled his inner thoughts. Other individuals had not that gift, or considered that anything they might do, or leave undone, was not worth chronicling. If that were the frame of mind of their Indian friends he could not blame them. Probably in these days they were too busy to chronicle the events of the current day, by which later generations, of course, were the losers, because a country was the richer for such journals as that of Pepys. He was surprised to hear that Mr. Dutt did not consider that it was a great compliment paid to the Indian nation by the Lecturer in that he had devoted so much time in trying to clear up the ancient Records of India. [Hear, hear.] The Lecture belonged to a different order of historical studies. It was what might be called an essay in historical criticism. The Germans and the French were going ahead in this direction. It required an absolutely objective temperament. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the conception that officials in India approached historical criticism in order to give it an official complexion to Indian history, whereas every Indian would approach the subject from an opposite standpoint. If that were true historical criticism would evidently lead to no good result. Sir Raymond West had opportunely reminded them that in India they had one or two fellow-subjects who had set them a very good example of the aims of historical criticism. Anyone who approached the subject should remember that facts are facts, and that their judgment should not be warped by an official or an unofficial colour. He was convinced that

among their official friends there was no desire to do anything but to establish the truth, for the simple reason that if they diverted from the paths of truth, their colleagues, with that critical genius which abounded among their official friends, would be the first to set them right. Although their Hindoo friends might not have written many chronicles, that did not prove that they had not got, if they wished to cultivate it, the talent of historical criticism. His own view was that if they desired to cultivate it they would succeed, just as they had succeeded in an eminent degree in the domain of Law. They all knew that there had been and there were now eminent native lawyers, and native Judges, and the same faculties which were required to make a good jurist were the faculties which were required in the domain of historical criticism. He hoped that what he had said would discourage the notion that historical criticism was to develop into an official school which would reconstruct Indian history on one basis and an Indian School of historical criticism which would give an opposite view of Indian history. He wished to appeal to Officials now in India, and those who had left India, and they must not forget that there were distinguished native Officials as well as distinguished British Officials, to look at Indian history from a broad scientific point of view. Sir Lepel Griffin had given just prominence to the need in India of the study of history. This could only lead to the pursuit of truthful, fair, and objective historical criticism. He looked forward to hear Mr. Sewell on a future occasion, and he trusted that by that time some of the Indian gentlemen who would be present would be convinced that the object of lectures of this kind was only to promote the knowledge of the annals of their country which was indissolubly linked with the annals of the British Empire. [Applause.]

[The proceedings then terminated.]

## SECOND MEETING.

A second meeting was held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Thursday May 13, 1897, to hear the conclusion of Mr. Sewell's paper on "India before the English," Lord Reay (the President of the Association) being in the chair. The following among others were present:—Professor Rhys Davids, Sir Lepel Griffin, Gen. Sir H. Prendergast, Lord Coleridge, Sir Philip Hutchins, Sir George Parker, Major Gen. W. H. Paget, Dep. Surgeon General T. C. Penny, Col. Weldon, Lt. Col. A. T. Wintle, T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Miss Barrett, Mrs. O. V. Boddy, Messrs. J. Bonn, A. H. Campbell, H. Cobb, L.C.S., W. Coldstream, H. R. Cook, T. J. Desai, Miss Gawthrop, Messrs. F. Hinde, J. Kelsall, C. M. Mullahy, Mrs. Meynell, Messrs. J. B. Pennington, P. P. Pillai, W. H. Probert, Gobind Ram, Har Bhajan Singh, P. M. Tait, Miss Webster and Mr. W. Martin Wood.

The 2nd Part of Mr. Sewell's Paper having been read:—

LIEUT.-COLONEL WINTLE said that in Mahomedan times life and property were stated to be insecure, that people were robbed and, if they defended themselves, that they were put to death; the result of British rule was practically the same, for though people were not put to death by violence



they were allowed to die by slow starvation. This was because the ryots in times of famine had to pay in gold instead of, as formerly, in a portion of their crops. The great, though perhaps unintentional, mistake, was the great attack that was made on the religion of the people of India. The Queen in her proclamation said that nothing would be done to interfere with their religion, but for the last century there had been an attack on the caste system of the Brahmins. The whole Brahminical system was based on purity of blood and the present system of vaccination was *inter alia* a direct attack on that. A dentist who had travelled all over the East and had examined the teeth of men of all conditions, came to the conclusion that where the people had not been vaccinated their teeth were sound, but wherever the practice of vaccination had been introduced the teeth of the people deteriorated. The Lecturer had doubted whether the Indians had a history, but he was inclined to think that they had. A well-known Sanscrit scholar had said that they not only had a history but also all the arts and sciences, and that the English knew nothing as compared with what the Indians knew in times past. A few days ago the *Echo* had stated that Mr. Hiram Maxim had discovered a steel which was able to penetrate the hardest substance and he had found that out by coming across an old Hindoo document. Three or four years ago it was stated that an English officer had discovered a telephone between two ancient temples. It seemed to him that all religions had been derived from that of the Hindoos. A civilian after the Mutiny had remarked that we were literally driving the Hindoos into the arms of the Russians. He had himself been told that they were looking forward to the Russians coming sooner or later. Another invention which he understood the Hindoos knew of, which they in Europe were only gradually coming to, was that of aerial navigating machines. They kept all these things to themselves, and he thought rightly so. Reverting again to the system of inoculation which was directly opposed to the Caste system of India, he and others would not submit to it in England, and why should it be imposed in India? When he read about the Mutiny it seemed to him that some people had deliberately brought it about; it seemed almost as if they were trying to do the same thing now. A Russian, of all men in the world, had been chosen to inoculate for Cholera in the very place whence they got their best soldiers, the Punjab.

Mr. DESAI desired to treat the subject from an historical standpoint. As a Hindoo, if he did not protest against the two Lectures which they had heard, he would be false to his own conscience, but it would be ungrateful if he did not recognise what the English had done for India. It was all very well to worship the rising sun and to praise the people in power, but, at the same time, they should not be false to the departed. Mahomedans had their day and no one could deny that before the English came there was rapine and plunder, but there still existed the beautiful building of the Taj Mahal and if there were nothing but lawlessness and desolation in India such things would not have come into existence. The Lecturer had spoken of the corruption in the administration of native states before the advent of the English and he drew from that the inference that because the English administration at the present day was better than the Indian

administration before the coming of the English, the English were superior to the Hindoos.

MR. SEWELL:—I did not say that. I was talking of the happiness of the bulk of the people.

MR. DESAI:—The success of an administration depends on the prosperity of the people. If they wanted to compare the Hindoo, with the English, administration they must go to the period when the Hindoos said that they had an Empire of their own. If he had time at his disposal he could show that this period was not a myth, but a fact, and at a convenient opportunity he hoped to do his best to prove it. It had been a rule from ancient times that the conquering power should retain the pre-eminence, and even at the present day Englishmen could not conscientiously say that they treated the people of India as their equals. They would find the office of Viceroy, of Governor, of the Commissioners, of the Commander-in-Chief held by the English, and in some respects perhaps it was for the good of the country. It was the same when the Mahomedans were in power. They talked of massacres, but whenever there was a great empire formed, wars must surely occur. He had read in the papers as to the Matabeles that the rivers ran red with their blood. Of course, it may be necessary for political reasons to do certain things and that did not always reflect discredit. So Mahomedans, in order to maintain their supremacy were compelled to keep down the Hindoos, and the Hindoo Emperors were compelled to keep down the races whom they had conquered. He congratulated the Lecturer on bringing forward this subject. It would be the duty of all true critics to investigate whether the Hindoo empire did exist or not and if it did exist he would be the first to acknowledge it.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN rose to express, with all admiration for the exceedingly learned and interesting paper which had been read, some degree of sympathy with the gentleman who had just spoken. Although the picture so graphically drawn by Mr. Sewell was in a very large degree correct, yet there was something no doubt in what Mr. Desai had said. He did not think they could ever be in sympathy with the natives of India unless they tried to look at things from their standpoint. That really was the object of the Association upon the Council of which they hoped they might see the Lecturer who would be a great acquisition to them. England of to-day was one thing and England of 300 years ago was a very different thing. (Hear! hear!) The India of which they had heard from Mr. Sewell was not to be compared with the England of to-day. A new standard of administration had been set up which no doubt was not known in India in the early days. Nor was it known in Europe. When they talked of India being ravaged by war from one end to another, of a thousand people being slain here, and one hundred thousand being massacred there, in what state was Europe during the last 500 years? It was war upon war; and nothing but destruction on every side. It was the same with regard to travel. Although the traveller 200 years ago might have found considerable difficulty in getting from Hyderabad to Madras, what did an Englishman do 200 years ago when he travelled from York to London? It took him about a couple of months. So also with regard to torture. Torture no doubt was rife

in India up to very recent days : but a very few years before Her Majesty ascended the throne the criminal law of England was more bloodthirsty and brutal in the punishment of what they now consider almost venial offences than ever was the case in India within historical times. There was a great deal of abuse of power in India, and so no doubt there was in England. He did not believe that in exceptional times there was any law so brutal as that which hanged men and women in England for trifling offences. His father had seen children of 15 and 16 hanged in front of Exeter Gaol for the theft of things not above the value of 5s. Bearing all those things in mind, and how exceedingly recent their own civilization was, and that it was only within the last 50 years that any very high or enlightened ideas of statesmanship had come to be accepted by the people of England at all; they must judge of other nations and especially their Indian fellow-subjects very leniently, and they must not try to set up too high a standard of public virtue, but try to govern them as well as they possibly could, not comparing their administration with those that had gone before it, but putting before themselves a standard of good administration, not by comparison, but by abstract principles of truth, justice, and sympathy. (Hear, hear.) He hoped Mr. Desai and his fellow-countrymen would look up the subject and write some critical answer to the paper because it was a paper that very well deserved an answer. If it could be shown that India at any former time was under the rule of any individual King or Emperor, it would be a most interesting fact, and Mr. Sewell would be as glad to know it as anybody, because after all the science of historical criticism was not a polemical science. They did not want to fight people about it otherwise than in the pure air of reason. They wanted to find out the truth, and if these gentlemen would help them the Association would thank them very heartily. (Applause.)

Mr. P. P. PILLAI desired to say that they were very thankful for the present state of India, and except for other reasons they were not going to exchange their loyalty to the British Government for any other Government on the face of the earth, but he hoped that certain serious defects in the administration would be duly rectified. He would confine himself to correcting certain inferences of Mr. Sewell. He belonged to the same Presidency, and had the immense advantage of being a Ryot—a small landholder of a few acres paying revenue. Mr. Sewell had enumerated somewhere about 62 taxes that were levied during the Hindoo-Mahomedan period. That was a correct statement. The East India Company in assuming the management of India had abolished or consolidated those vexatious taxes. Most of the taxes referred to industries. It was historically true that before the country actually came into the hands of the English, the industries of the country were so prosperous that they would compete successfully with the same industries in Britain. What was the state of things now? Free trade had swept away the industries that existed and flourished in a remarkable degree. It was only a question of time when those industries would become extinct. Mr. Sewell had dealt largely with the question of assessment, and said that in the earlier times 50 per cent., or even four-fifths of the produce was paid to the Government.



That system was even now recommended by able financiers. The payment in kind had been commuted to payment in coin, and the ryots were obliged to pay even in times when they had not a single grain. He himself had had to do so. It was said there was pilfering. Well, the rich Government was pilfered and the poor ryots benefited and the people were none the worse for it. The revenue system of the Madras Presidency was that the taxes were paid on the sharing system. What was the result? They found at present that in those districts where the land was mostly held by large landholders the famine was hardly perceived, whereas in other districts the famine was in a serious stage. Then as to the transfer of property. He had studied the laws as regarded that matter. With regard to large landholders a strict system of entail prevailed which was a very great blessing. With regard to small estates they had free power to alienate their property; they had a power of sale. The Famine Commission had reported particularly with regard to the Punjab that this transfer of property was a political danger because it was the result of poverty. The Government was so anxious about it that they introduced certain laws prohibiting transfer. With regard to the village system it deprived them of the free conditions of agriculture. They had no control unless the Government made some special effort to remedy this state of things, agriculture was in danger. With regard to these matters instead of having reason to be grateful to the Government, they had serious reason to find fault.

PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS thought that perhaps the last speakers had somewhat neglected one part of Mr. Sewell's paper which struck him as being particularly valuable, and that was as to the importance of a study of history for everyone who had anything to do with India. He had, perhaps unfortunately, chosen an exceedingly debatable subject as to what benefits had accrued to India from the English administration which aroused such warm feelings that what was the foundation of his paper, namely, the importance of a study of history, was apt to be lost sight of. After all, the knowledge of history in India must be compared with the knowledge of history as it existed in Europe during a similar state of civilization. Two hundred or three hundred years ago there was very little knowledge of history. So far from thinking that the natives of India were entirely devoid of the historical sense, he would like to say that they had constructed books of historical record certainly of equal value to similar records on which modern histories in Europe were based. The chronicles of the Kings of Cashmere or Ceylon or the native records in the native courts were about as full as their own records at a corresponding time. During the last century or two they in England were no doubt beginning a little to study history, but he was afraid that at present it was in a very inadequate and imperfect manner. If the civilians who rule now were examined in the history of India, most of them would not gain a maximum of marks. The English people themselves were only just beginning to study history, and he thought if the Government of India gave more attention to that and would encourage among civilians as well as natives a study of history, they would be taking a step that was almost in advance

of the times in England. Among the compulsory subjects for Indian civilians to study the Indian Government had not included the history of India, and it would be a very good thing if they would make their own servants know something about the history of the multiform continent which they had to administer. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I rise to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Sewell for his very interesting paper. Before doing so I cannot allow an observation which has been made to pass unnoticed. It was an observation made by the first speaker with regard to the presence of Professor Haffkine at this moment in India. It is quite true that he is a Russian. It is quite true that he represents that side of medical science which has in recent years, under the great influence of the Pasteur system, made such extraordinary progress. I respect the adversaries of the Pasteur system, but on the other hand I distinctly claim very decided respect for those who look upon Pasteur as one of the greatest benefactors of the age. (Hear, hear.) I believe that the discoveries which are due to Pasteur are discoveries for which we ought to be grateful, and I need only mention the number of victims to diphtheria who undoubtedly owe their entire return to health to the application of the treatment of Pasteur. I do not for a moment believe that the presence of Dr. Haffkine is due to any other cause than his desire to place his services at the disposal of the Government of India, nor do I believe that the Government of India use it for any other purpose than for the benefit of their Indian subjects. Our Indian fellow-subjects are as free as we are ourselves in using or not using this remedial process. (Hear, hear.) I have followed very closely Professor Haffkine's operations, and it certainly has not come under my notice that in any case has inoculation been in any way forced on anyone who did not want it, but on the other hand I have noticed that, at all events in Bombay, there has been a desire on the part of a great number of our native fellow-subjects voluntarily to make use of that process, and I have also noticed that the results have been satisfactory. I wish these remarks to apply also to what is being done by Dr. Verrin, and I hope that no one will believe that his efforts in the same direction, under the authority of the Pasteur Institute, are due to any other motive than that of benefiting those who are the victims of that dire calamity the plague. I myself have lately seen the way in which the serum is prepared at the Pasteur Institute. I know the great efforts they are making to render the process as effective as possible. I know they firmly believe that instead of having a mortality of 83%, they can reduce it to 4% for those who are placed under their treatment on the first day. In the face of such facts I certainly think that whatever may be the prejudices against the process, we should at all events give to those who devote themselves to it credit for the purest and best motives. Turning to the very interesting paper which has been read, the only question before us seems to be this: Are the facts which are given in this paper true? I shall be quite prepared to come here if Mr. Desai will give us a paper in which he will try to show in what respect this paper is not in accordance with the facts. Of course it only gives one side of the picture; as the time was limited, it could not be

otherwise. I have no doubt it would be quite possible to write a paper, and perhaps Professor Rhys Davids would undertake it, in which it could be shown what is due to the ancient civilization of India, and how much there is in it that we ought to appreciate. That is the other side of the picture. I understood Mr. Desai to say that if the Hindoos or the aborigines of India had been left alone, probably there would have been quite a different state of things. But then we must deal with facts. Take, for instance, the case of Scotland. If anybody were to read a paper here showing that my ancestors were guilty of some very blood-thirsty deeds in the days before the Highlands of Scotland were pacified, I certainly should not use any vigorous language to denounce historical facts, but I should probably write to a paper showing that some of my ancestors had been patriotic and just towards their own tenants and retainers. That I believe is the way to get materials for a complete historical survey. What Mr. Sewell has said about taxation is extremely interesting. There is not the slightest reason to disparage the multiplicity of taxes in those days, for the simple reason that the multiplicity of taxes in England in those days would probably be a revelation to most of us. We must not forget that it is entirely due to the financial genius of Mr. Gladstone that we have in these recent years been able to have so few taxes. An observation made by Mr. Pillai has rather surprised me. I understood him to say that the desire of the Government is to prevent Indian industries from reaching that degree of efficiency which they would probably have reached if there had been no English rule.

MR. PILLAI:—I only said that the free trade system had ruined them.

THE CHAIRMAN:—I am equally surprised to hear that observation because it is due to the free trade system that you can obtain in India that machinery which you want in order to develop your railway system and manufactures. It opens up an entirely new question which I do not think we need go into, but I am quite prepared on another occasion to maintain that nothing could have been more beneficial to India than the free trade system, because free imports are the most remunerative payment for the exports of India. With regard to the question of developing industries, I myself when I was in India gave special attention to it. I was able in Bombay to start a technical Institute with the very object of developing those industries as well as workshops in order to preserve the traditions of Native industrial art. The Indian Government has on various occasions shown its approval of technical education and its desire to develop the industries of the country. Who were the opponents of the development of technical education? Those who thought that if you develop technical education you thereby covertly attack higher education. I myself have been a victim of that suspicion, but I do not think technical education can or will be delayed by it. On the very important question touched upon by Mr. Pillai, of land tenure, I admit there is a great deal to be said. Undoubtedly the system of payment of the land-tax in money and a fixed annual payment is a system which is very satisfactory for highly developed communities and for communities in which the agriculturists dispose of capital and save money for a rainy day. Where that is not the case, there



undoubtedly is a great disadvantage in times of scarcity in being forced to pay the same amount of money as in other years. But I would point out that suspensions and remissions of the tax are calculated to remedy the defects of this system. It is only a question of degree whether the remissions are given in time and to a sufficient extent, but the fact that remissions are granted is a sufficient proof that the evil also is recognised by those who are responsible for the present land revenue system. I must admit that the question of occupancy rights and the consequent right of alienation and mortgage is one which has two sides, for this reason that the right of charging your land may be abused. English proprietors as well as Scotch and Irish proprietors know the dire results which have accrued from over-burdening estates. I once heard one of the leading statesmen and one of the leading economists of this country say that it would be a benefit to all concerned to limit, if not to prohibit, the right of a landowner to charge his own estate. I mention that to show that the difficulty is not inherent to India, but that the same question has arisen elsewhere, and that it is one which deserves to be very carefully considered. We must all be exceedingly grateful to Mr. Sewell for this paper, which has opened up a new vein of inquiry. It is a paper which has elicited much interest, and I can only hope that other gentlemen will follow the good example Mr. Sewell has set us. (Applause.)

On the motion of SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, seconded by PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS, a vote of thanks to Lord Reay for taking the chair was passed, and the proceedings then terminated.

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The annual meeting of the East India Association was held on the 31st May under the presidency of SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I. He said that he was sure the meeting would be glad that Lord Reay had accepted the vacant presidentship. Lord Reay took a warm interest in the work of the Association, and had already presided on two occasions for the Association. Sir Lepel said he was not going to make a speech, as the meeting was merely a formal one for the purpose of passing the report and accounts, which had been circulated among the members, and he proposed that they should be adopted.

This was seconded by MR. C. L. TUPPER, C.S.I., and carried.

The election of Lord Reay as president was confirmed on the proposal of SIR GEORGE PARKER, seconded by MR. TAIT.

The retiring members of Council were re-elected on the proposal of MR. ARCHIBALD ROGERS, seconded by MR. C. W. ARATHOON.

The meeting dissolved after a vote of thanks to Sir Lepel Griffin for his most valuable services to the Association on the proposal of MR. LESLEY PROBYN.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

## "THE SIXTIETH YEAR OF THE VICTORIAN ERA."

The "Commemoration Gallery" of the Oriental University Institute at Woking, a preliminary programme of which we gave in our last number was opened on Thursday the 17th June 1897, to Indian visitors of distinction, Orientalists, and other specialists. It will be "on view" during July, after which it will be attached, as a permanent Indian record of the 60th Victorian year, to the Institute. Intending visitors should apply to its "Secretary" for a card which, given up at the Waterloo Station booking-office, will enable the bearer thereof and friends to obtain a return-ticket to Woking and back to London for the single fare, by any class or train.

The opportunity is also given, if desired, to inspect the Institute, Museum, Library, Mosque, Brahminical and other quarters, etc., that have not yet been described in newspapers, as the Institute is not intended to attract ordinary sightseers, for it is a place for Oriental Scholars, including those natives of India of good family and position who desire to keep their caste and religion whilst residing in this country for official or professional purposes.

The following extracts from accounts in the local and London Press may be interesting:

"In regard to the bust of Her Majesty, there is no other sculpture in that distinctive character either in India or in England, and the eminent sculptor (Norfini) has attempted to make it the most *imperial*-looking likeness that exists. The bust is placed on a Dais at the end of the "Commemoration Gallery," and fine busts, by Mr. J. A. Acton, of the late Prince Consort and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales are at its sides, draped in costly Kashmir shawls. The busts of typical Indian Chiefs, who have promoted Oriental learning, like the veteran Raja of Nabha as one of the Sikh Phulkians of the Punjab, the Guikwar of Baroda for Bombay, the Maharaja of Vizianagram in Madras, as also those of several British and "native" Orientalists are now ready or nearing completion. Medals and other prizes are also being founded in honour of the year in various branches of Oriental learning, and the "Coronation Service," edited by Dr. Badenoch, has also been published by the Institute, as it was not easily procurable."

"As the originator of the title 'Kaisar-I-Hind' it occurred to Dr. Leitner to have it also represented in sculpture. The difficulty in translating the title "Empress of India" lay in finding a term which would commend itself to all natives, of whatever religion. It was to be not too familiar and not too distant, and yet inspire the greatest respect. The musical collection is most complete; in fact, it is the best representation of Oriental music in the world; beginning with the musical twig and the stick of the Dervish it finishes with instruments that have sub-divisions of the octave."

"The various pictures on the walls are views—either lithographs or photographs—of the principal places and buildings in India. Pictures of Fakirs of various religions are here, with Jubilee addresses or poems in Sanscrit, Persian, Arabic, Urdu, and other languages, fitly ending in the

blessings invoked on the 'seven-branched candlestick,' made up of Hebrew letters, which originally came from a Synagogue of the black Jews of Cochin—a true Jubilee prayer to 'Jehova' in the oldest sense of the term. The collection of ornaments and jewellery, some made from earth by the peasantry, are very curious and suggestive. In a book-case on the left of the gallery are 192 works compiled in the Punjab University under Dr. Leitner's supervision, in order to introduce English science in the Indian vernacular and also to enable the natives to keep their own learning. Besides these, there are the numerous publications of the Institute itself. The busts near the entrance of the gallery represent the eminent explorer, Dr. Bellew; Dr. Rost, the former librarian in the India Office; a very fine Oriental scholar, the present librarian, Prof. Tawney, and Dr. Leitner, as founder of the Punjab University, the Oriental Institute, and of other Oriental institutions. These busts have been well done by Mr. Acton and Mr. Rost, a son of the late Dr. Rost.

"Besides the many exhibits enumerated, there are models of temples (among them one of Madura), drugs which have since been ascertained to be of great value, Kashmir shawls, and, in short, all conceivable native works of art as contributory to this Commemoration."

#### SIR JOHN JARDINE AND BOMBAY RESIGNATIONS.

The many friends of Sir John Jardine, and especially those, natives and English, who continued their protest in the Press against his being passed over for the Bombay Council, will be gratified by the knighthood conferred on him in the recent List of Jubilee honours. We believe that the honour was a recognition of his services alike to scholarship and to the State. We took the opportunity of detailing them in our last issue, when it seemed that this eminent Judge, Educationist, and Political officer had, practically, been forced to retire rather than submit to a supersession that was a denial not only of his own claims but also of those of a whole service. Indeed, it is a singular coincidence, if it be one at all, that his retirement should have been followed by that of other distinguished Bombay officials. Judge Macpherson, of Madras Famine fame and thrice Judicial Secretary, has now retired. So has Mr. Tagore, the oldest District Judge and the first native "covenanted" Civilian, as have also Judge Hart Davies, well known to literature; the Hon. Mr. Vidal, Chief Secretary, and the Hon. T. D. Mackenzie, a former Chief Secretary and lately Head of all the Customs. The great Orientalist, Mr. Fleet, can hardly ever be replaced in the famine Canarese districts, the language and customs of which he knows so well. Other retirements are spoken of. Anyhow Bombay has already had to borrow some Madras Judges. Where will the flight stop that Lord Sandhurst seems to have caused in Bombay by disregarding the best judicial antecedents in Mr. Jardine for a Judicial Membership of Council? No doubt, he has since chosen an able man as Judicial Secretary, but who, we believe, has no judicial experience. How the Bombay Government means now to decide the hundreds of intricate judicial cases, civil and criminal, which come before it, is a question that may soon be asked by the Privy Council when suitors go to it in appeal.



## LORD ROBERTS' "41 YEARS IN INDIA."

Another edition has since been issued of that popular work, but little attention seems to have been given by either the Author or the Publisher to the obvious mistakes that I ventured to point out. A typographical one in my own criticism I wish also to correct, although it does not affect the apparent argument of Lord Roberts that the abolition of flogging in the native army ("whereas it was retained among British troops"), in any way, directly or indirectly, contributed to the Mutiny, for, though flogging was abolished in the native army in 1835, it was restored in 1845 (not '45 and '55 respectively, as the printer has it); so that there was ample time before 1857 to efface the alleged evil effects of that act of leniency. My reference to Lord Roberts' march to Kandahar I should like to amplify as follows (the addition is in italics): "Lord Roberts of Kandahar justly esteems that his march from Kabul to Kandahar has been over-estimated by the public in comparison with his other exploits, but he neither originated the proposal nor did he carry it out by his unaided genius, for the road had already been fought over and cleared of Gházis by Sir Donald Stewart marching, shortly before, from Kandahar to Kabul," and *Sir Lepel Griffin had persuaded the new Amir Abdur Rahman to detain the more headstrong Ghilzai and Kohistan Chiefs in his camp, while the neutrality of those between Kabul and Ghazni had been already assured, so that no opposition to the march was anticipated by the political officers.*

EX-FRONTIER OFFICIAL.

## THE SULTAN AS KHALIFA.

Professor Vambéry writes to inform us that the interview with him published by the *Événement* of the 10th March "can hardly be taken *ad litteram*, considering that the interviewer was not fully up as to the meaning of the word 'Khalifa,' i.e., representative of the Prophet. It is very natural that the Professor has alluded only to the Sunnites and not to Shiites. There is certainly no Pontificate in Islam, but the fact that the Sultan is the spiritual head of the entire Sunnite community can hardly be contested. The Professor asserts that he was present at the Friday-prayer in various mosques of Central Asia and Afghanistan and has always heard the name of the Sultan inserted in the Khutba before the name of the reigning prince of the respective countries. He saw in Khiva and in Samarkand the *Rukhsati-Namas* (Permission of Prayer) written in Osmanli Turkish hung up in public places and the rulers of the three Khanates paraded with the court-title of *Afsharji* (Jugbearer) *Emrahkur* (Equerry), etc., which they had received since the time of Sultan Selim from Constantinople. Such titles were assigned by each Sultan after his accession and as far as I know these titular vassals were always in the habit of acknowledging their distinction by small presents sent by special envoys. It is a pity that this question is often viewed from a political point of view. One has only to read the narrative of the travels of *Sidi Ali Reis* through India, Afghanistan and Central Asia in 1553-6 and after learning the view of *Humayun* and *Borak Khan* with regard to the Sultan, and one will see that the Sultans were always looked upon as the head of the Sunni world."

There is no doubt that, as the learned Professor Vambéry stated in his interview with a French Reporter, the Sultan of Turkey has always been looked upon as a Head, and a great Head too, of the Sunni world; though when we find in the "A'in-Akbari" Agra designated as the "Dār-ul-Khilāfat" and *nowhere* in India till 1878 the Sultan prayed for by name or as Khalifa in Indian Mosques, it must be assumed that the Sultan of Rūm (or Constantinople) was rather allowed the title as a well-deserved compliment than as a right by other Muhammadan sovereigns or peoples. Besides, as he is not a Koreishi by descent, he cannot be a "Khalifa kāmīl." Ever since the accession, however, of the present Sultan, thousands of pamphlets, "prayer-books" as you would call them and "Khutbas" have been circulated in India and wherever there are Muhammadans under British rule, designating the Sultan Hamid as Khalifa and giving what may be called the State-prayer in his name, whereas till then we had been praying only for the "Hākīm-i-waqt" or "ruler for the time being" and "may God render him favourably disposed to Muhammadans." Indeed, even now this is done in the vast majority of Mosques in India, where the name of Turkey or "Rūm" is either altogether unknown, or scarcely known, except for the comparatively recent agitation of the politically-minded younger Muhammadans. Our religion commands us to be loyal to our Sovereign and all loyal Indian Muhammadans have nothing to do with the Sultan. In Afghanistan, if a person had dared to read the Khutba in any other name than that of the reigning Amir, he would soon have lost his head, but I do not know what the present Amir has introduced, though he is a far better Khalifa himself, having acquired new territory for Islām and not lost it, as the Sultan of Turkey has done, except in regaining Thessaly. Had the Sultan been the acknowledged head of the Sunnis in India, how could they, or any of them, have risen in mutiny *immediately after* the Crimean War, when the English so helped the Turks? The fact, however, is that a Khalifa is merely a *secular* defender of the faith of Islam so far as he can enforce his rule, just as the Queen is that of the Protestant Christian religion if attacked, without being a Pope or even an Archbishop of Canterbury; so the Sultan must be pious, wise and just; otherwise he must be dethroned and he cannot modify a single article of Muslim ritual or religious practice, much less of doctrine, so how can he be a *spiritual* head of the Sunni world which is only ruled by the "Sunnat wa Jamāat" or "congregation of the faithful," as Prof. Vambéry asserts?

AN INDIAN MUSLIM.

We invite further discussion from experts on this important subject, which has already been treated at length in an article in this Review of January 1896, on "The Khālifa Question and the Sultan of Turkey," where his claims to that designation have been set forth so far as they are based on history, possession and the "*consensus fidelium*."—ED.

### "INDIA BEFORE THE ENGLISH."

MR. SEWELL has done a good work in exposing the fallacy of the assertion that the people of India were better off under their native rulers than under British rule. The assertion is in fact one of those reckless and thoughtless

misstatements made merely for the purpose of damaging an adversary which are so common in modern political warfare. Those who make it are incapable of proving it, and would not take the trouble of doing so even if they had the power. But it is likely to be accepted without inquiry by the educated natives for whose benefit it is promulgated, partly because of their ignorance of the history of their country, and partly because the ancient legendary poetry still so popular among them fosters the belief, common to almost all nations and times, of a Golden Age in the far distant past. One hears the natives of India talk glibly of Rama and Krishna and the glories of their day as though they were facts of actual history. To them legend takes the place of history, for there is no doubt that the Indian mind is, and has always been, utterly devoid of the historic sentiment. In all the vast stores of Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literature there are scarcely a dozen works of pure history, and even those for the most part refer to outlying countries such as Kashmir and Ceylon. History in the modern scientific sense of the term does not begin in India till the coming of the Musulmans. Before that all is vague, and the history of the country has to be painfully pieced together from inscriptions, copper-plates, coins, casual allusions in Sanskrit and Prakrit works on religion, grammar, or philosophy, and the fragments of writings by Greek and Arab travellers, and geographers. The best summary or general review of all that has been discovered up to the present time is I think to be found in Lassen's great work, the *Indische Alter Thums kunde*, and even that is now hardly up to date. But this work has not, so far as I know, been translated into English, and the native detractors of British rule do not as a rule read German.

From the coming of the Musulmans to the present day the history of India is pretty well known, though the Mahomedan idea of history is rather that of the old school which dealt exclusively with wars and intrigues, the rise and fall of dynasties, and the deeds of heroes, and considered the economic condition of the masses as beneath the notice of the historic muse. Here and there valuable pieces of information stand out, such as Todar Mal's great revenue survey, but on the whole we are very much in the dark on this subject. For purposes of argument, moreover, evidence as to the condition of the people under Mughal sway would not convince our detractors. They would reply that it was well known that the rule of the Mahomedans, foreign conquerors like ourselves, was harsh and oppressive; the halcyon days of universal prosperity to which they refer are not those of the Mughal Empire, but the earlier times of Hindu India when Hindu kings ruled over a happy, rich and contented people, in implicit reliance on the wise guidance of Brahmin priests and ministers. Inasmuch as for this early period little or no evidence exists, the assertion is a safe one to make, and a difficult one to disprove. Mr. Sewell has certainly chosen the strongest line of argument available under the circumstances. Seeing that in Southern India independent Hindu dynasties continued to rule until a comparatively late period, the evidence which fortunately does exist regarding their method of government, and the crushing taxation which they imposed upon their subjects, gives fair ground for the inference



that a similar state of things prevailed in earlier times under the sway of their predecessors, and as a consequence under Hindu rulers in all parts of India. The persistency of Hindu institutions, the unchangeableness of a system founded upon sacred writings and hardly less sacred custom, are such well known features of Indian life, that we are fully justified in arguing from one authentic specimen of a Hindu kingdom to all others. Our opponents practically admit this, for their contention is that if any of these old Hindu kingdoms were restored to its native rulers the ancient customs and methods of government (including of course the crushing taxation—though this they ignore) would as a matter of course be restored.

For Northern India I do not think any evidence such as Mr. Sewell has collected from the south would be available. There are of course in the archives of princely families records of the past, but what these records contain we have no means of knowing. They are for the most part jealously guarded, and access to them would probably be denied to all but very high officials. Tod had access to some of the Rajput archives, and has produced some information derived from them in his *Rajputana*; but he probably was only allowed to see so much as the chiefs cared to make public, and in his day inquiries into the economic condition of the peasantry had not come into fashion. The probability is that not much light on such subjects would be found even if these archives were freely thrown open. We should probably find long lists of kings, much of which would be mythical; sooner or later we should come upon the impossibly powerful king, with the impossibly big army, and the inevitable maiden beloved by some god—sun, moon, or snake as the case may be—who gave birth to the founder of the race. I fully agree with Mr. Sewell in relegating the Chakravarti or universal monarch to this mythic period. All the available evidence, indications and inferences point to the India of those days as divided into a number of petty kingdoms, one or other of which may from time to time have established a short-lived supremacy over some of its immediate neighbours. But it is hardly possible that Asoka, or the Guptas, or any of them should have possessed sufficient resources in men or money to enable them to over-run and permanently conquer the whole Indian peninsula, especially at a time when roads were non-existent, forests extensive and impassable, and the means of support for large bodies of men absolutely unprocurable. The Chakravarti seems to me quite as imaginary and impossible as the Aswamedha by which he was consecrated. The conception of a king with a numerous army following for a whole year the sacred horse and protecting him from all attacks not only defies geography and common sense, but postulates the existence of numerous independent kingdoms which is irreconcilable with the very idea of universal monarchy.

Some evidence as to the condition of the peasantry under Hindu rule, though during Mahomedan times, may be obtained from the records of comparatively modern families among the princes and Zemindars of Bengal with the internal administration of whose estates the paramount power did not as a rule interfere. The great Bengal houses of Bardwan, Nadia, Natore and the great Behar houses of Darbhanga, Bettiah, Dumraon, and

Hatwa have probably records which go back for three or even four hundred years, and an examination of these would throw some light on the subject. To all unbiased students of the question, however, the copious and valuable arguments and illustrations adduced by Mr. Sewell will seem sufficient refutation of the charges made against a Government which, whatever may be its shortcomings, is beyond doubt benevolent and beneficent.

JOHN BRAMES.

I think that Mr. Sewell's facts are indisputable. There never was a Golden Age in India, any more than there was elsewhere, and the notion that that great country, or any considerable part of it, was for centuries governed by enlightened and benevolent Hindu monarchs is more or less a myth. But I doubt the efficacy of his method for dispelling the illusion, and I also doubt if the removal is altogether to be desired. We get more tender to illusions as we grow older, and, whatever I may have thought when younger, it now appears to me a pity to disturb any illusion that is not actively noxious. Why should we seek to rob Indians of their idea of an old time when India was glorious any more than we would rob Irishmen or Welshmen of their beliefs in their old chieftains, or Englishmen of their beliefs in a Merry England? Suppose for instance that the Egyptian fellah believes that his country was better off under the Pharaohs than it is under the English occupation, would it be worth while to seek to undeceive him? Notions such as these, even if they are wholly wrong, do no great harm, and may be left to die down in the natural course.

I cannot see that we can do much in the way of teaching Hindu or Præ-Muhammadan history, for the truth is that we have hardly any materials for it. We cannot expect men to derive mental nutriment from the exceedingly bare bones that we have to offer them—inscriptions, coins, stray allusions by travellers, and the like. I quite approve of our teaching Indian history, but I think this should be history of which we have something to tell, such as the Muhammadan period, or the rise of the British power. The teacher must follow the Horatian maxim, "*Et quæ desperat tractata nitescere posse relinquit*." Nor do I think that we should teach Indian history in order to show Indians that they were worse off in old times. In the first place, I doubt if anything we could say would convince them of this. Their idea on the subject is an impalpable sentiment on which arguments and facts have no effect. And more than this, I am by no means sure that they are altogether wrong. Their ideas about kings who were as just as Nushirwan and as world-swaying as Sikandar may be, and probably are, entirely mistaken, but they are right in thinking that India was greater and more respected in old times than it is at the present day. Macaulay may be correct in thinking that Spain is richer and more civilized at the present day than she was under Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, but for all that we would not blame a Spanish patriot if in sighing over Cuban difficulties, he were to wish for the old days when Spain dominated Europe. There can be no question that India and the Indians were thought more of and occupied a higher position in the world in the days of Pythagoras and of Pliny, or even in the Middle Ages than they do now.

India was occupied, as Burke told the House of Commons, by "a people for ages civilized and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life, whilst we were yet in the woods." Other nations have now outrun India, but are we to blame her children for wishing the old days of her grandeur back again, or for exaggerating the state in which she was "ere her faithless sons betrayed her"?

The truth is that the tendency to glorify the past is the natural result of present discontents, and can only be combated by removing or mitigating existing evils. We shall never persuade active-minded and aspiring men that they are or ought to be happy when they have not the control of their own affairs, and see strangers sipping the cream of everything. The mark of the chain and collar spoils the enjoyment of material comforts. And the proof of this lies in the fact that the more India is developed and civilized, the more prominent does the race-question become, and the greater the antagonism between the European and the Native. India has improved wonderfully within the last sixty years, but I suppose no one will gainsay the statement that the Natives like us and we them less than was the case sixty or even ten years ago! I remember Sir Ashley Eden making a speech in which he dwelt on the happy change in the relations between official and non-official Anglo-Indians. When he came to the country, he said, there was bitter hostility between the two classes, but now they were on terms of mutual cordiality. Yes, but he forgot or chose to ignore the fact that the change was the result of a common danger and a common antipathy. Not long afterwards the Ilbert Bill united Englishmen still more, but it widened the breach between the races. The European garrison joined hands to keep out "the blacks," who were swarming over their walls and seeking a share in their good things.

How this antagonism will end, no one can tell, but it seems to me that it is bound to increase, and that certainly it will not be removed or lessened by showing that India had no railways or telegraphs in the old days, or that cruelty and injustice were rife. We do not find that Caliban was grateful to Prospero for what he had done for him, or that he valued the gift of his language further than it enabled him to utter curses. But we can well believe that when Prospero left the island, and Caliban was left to his own devices, he often had cause to lament the days when he was a well-fed and well-housed bondsman.

I am unwilling to conclude without saying something cheerful or at least remedial. Race-antagonism must, I fear, increase, but something, I think, might be done to redress existing evils. Of all these it seems to me that the inefficient administration of justice is the most pressing. At least it is the only one of which I have much knowledge. It is the fact too that in the East the attribute of sovereignty which is most regarded is the will and power to do justice. John Stuart Mill, speaking of popular sentiment in his own country, said that justice was certainly not the favourite virtue of the present age. But I think it is otherwise in India, or at least in Bengal. Muhammad, we know, thanked God that he was born in the reign of Nushirwan, though neither he nor his people ever benefited by that king's rule, and in India we find the historian Badaoni, after witness-



ing the brilliant rule of Akbar, turning away from it and thanking God that he was born in the reign of the usurper Sher Shah who did justice between man and man and made no distinction in this respect between his son and a stranger. It will be asked "Is not justice purely administered in Bengal?" The reply is "The law is, but hardly justice." The stamp-duties, the process-fees, the endless delays and crushing expenses take the heart out of suitors and create many Miss Flytes and Peter Peebleses. If we could give the people bread instead of stones, speedy justice, and an honest police instead of splendid Simlas and scientific frontiers, we should get the good name which is better than glory.

H. BEVERIDGE.

I was prevented by an accident from hearing the second part of Mr. Sewell's very interesting paper; but I am glad to have the opportunity of making a few remarks upon both parts of it.

Mr. Sewell says that the condition of Southern India 150 years ago might not be regarded as a fair example of the state of India before British rule because the country was then almost in anarchy; and for this and other reasons he bases his conclusions rather on a general survey of the past than upon the facts of any one or two periods. But he says—"wherever we look back there is fire and sword in the country;" and his illustrations amply justify this observation. I do not myself think that a judgment founded on the condition of Southern India a century and a half ago would be at all unfair. It is true that the disruption of the Delhi Empire appeals to the imagination; and we are apt to suppose that India just before the rise of the British Dominion was exceptionally smitten by such calamities as rapine and bloodshed. There is, I admit, some ground for that view; but we must not forget that the Delhi Empire was rarely strong, that it was often torn by fierce dynastic struggles, that rapine and bloodshed, if worse than usual in the middle of the last century, were not novelties; and—the most important point—that the relaxation of such authority as the Delhi Emperors were able to wield set free the normal tendencies of the subject populations. If we want to know what India would be like without British rule, it would be distinctly unfair to take the best provinces or the best days of the Delhi Empire. We should look not to parts of India under foreign dynasties maintained by armies freely recruited from Afghanistan and other countries beyond the North West Frontier, but to India left by the downfall of a foreign empire to that wholesale, continuous private war which is incident to præfeudal societies.

For I agree in substance with Mr. Desai and Sir Lepel Griffin that unceasing warfare over enormous areas is no abnormal state of things in certain stages of human progress. I have elsewhere quoted something said by Sir Henry Maine which is so much to the purpose that I will venture to quote it again. Referring to the pacifications effected by the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Median, the Persian and the Roman Empires, he writes (*International Law*, p. 20)—"When one of these empires breaks up, the old suffering revives. 'Give peace in our time, O Lord' is a versicle in the Anglican Liturgy which is said to date from the rupture of the Empire, that is from the time when the Empire was breaking up into

kingdoms occupied by barbarian races. It is obviously a prayer for an unusual and un hoped-for blessing. In the East the amount of bloodshed prevented by the Chinese Empire is incalculable. Independently of any other benefits which the Indian Empire may confer on the collection of countries which it includes, there is no question that were it to be dissolved, or to fall into the hands of masters unable to govern it, the territories which make it up would be deluged with blood from end to end."

One form of anarchy exists when the groups of which primitive, barbarous or prefeudal societies are composed vie with each other in a ruthless struggle for existence; and a long way on, as at the end of the road of a defeated army—a road strewn with the remains of innumerable victims—stands civilization at once marshalling and striving to restrain the menacing array of new forms of competition. In all this slaughter there are occasional pauses when men or empires arise endowed with such strength, skill and courage as enable them to seize upon the destructive forces of human nature, and, wresting them from their natural bent, to apply them to the enforcement of peace and security. Our Indian fellow-subjects are to be congratulated that one of these pauses has occurred in India at the present time.

In *Our Indian Protectorate* I have devoted some chapters to Native Rule; and I took what seemed to me the best evidence available, that, namely, relating to the condition of a number of British Provinces in the times immediately preceding annexation. My method, therefore, differed materially from that adopted by Mr. Sewell; but I am glad to observe that as regards the condition of the country our conclusions are much the same.

One of the marks of advance which distinguish civilization from barbarism is the detestation of torture. Sir Lepel Griffin has touched on this point and has reminded us that not very long ago the English criminal law was a disgrace to the English name. I have mentioned in the treatise just cited that torture was practised in England for the purpose of obtaining evidence under Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I.; and that the cruelties of our criminal law were mitigated by evasions on the part of those who held the trials (pp. 282, 325). If the Indian record is darkened by revolting cruelties, so also is our own. The disuse of deliberate cruelty is merely a part of that social progress which we have realized only of late and which it is our constant endeavour to communicate to our fellow-subjects in India.

In Mr. Sewell's plea for the extension of sound historical education in India I heartily concur. I have not at hand the means of examining the syllabus of any Indian University; but I think no B.A. degree should be given anywhere in India to students who have not passed an adequate examination in Indian History. They should be examined in Elphinstone, Wilks, Grant Duff, and Sir Alfred Lyall's *Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India*; also in some general text-book such as Marshman.

As to roads and railways and material advance generally, I wish someone would write a treatise comparing, with reference to means of communication, irrigation works, agricultural efficiency, taxation and trade, the economic

condition of India in 1750, 1837 and 1897. Such an essay would have a great educational value and I should like to see it written in such a form that it might be used as a text-book in schools and universities.

C. L. TUPPER.

Dr. G. W. Leitner had also sent the following remarks to Mr. Sewell and to the Chairman of the meeting at which the second part of the paper on "India before the English" was to be read :

"I dare say Mr. Sewell is right about the *ordinary* Hindu in the South of India thinking and saying that there had once been a single and happy Indian Empire, and no doubt anything may be used to show the failure of British rule. I have, however, never met a Maulvi, or Pandit, who thought so. On the contrary, it was an idea alien to both and very repugnant to the latter. In the Lahore Oriental College alone, there were a few hundred Maulvis, Pandits, Bhais, Vēds, Hakims, and Munshis, with all of whom I was on terms of either friendship, or literary acquaintance, but I never heard anything of the kind, but the contrary, for we had native 'Mushā'ras' or 'gatherings of poets' and others discussing literary questions, and the realities of Indian History were never confounded, though, no doubt, several Hindu and Muslim rulers received due, or undue praise. I also brought to light several thousand indigenous schools, and speaking for the whole of the North of India, and a large part of the North-West Provinces, I consider that the notion of a single Empire is nowhere there held. My stays in the Bombay, lower Bengal and Madras Presidencies were too short to enable me to speak with the same certainty as I do with regard to the parts I have mentioned and in which a few Europeans only studied native views from indigenous standpoints."

#### A BRAHMIN AT THE "DIAMOND JUBILEE."

I arrived for the "Diamond Jubilee" from a remote corner in India the day before the celebration, but nowhere did I find any accommodation for Indian or other visitors except at five or ten guineas; it seemed to me an extraordinary thing to make money out of an occasion when the stands ought to have been erected at the public expense, free for all. However, the stands had the advantage of reducing the crowd, and a more orderly one I have seen nowhere out of India. What astonished me was that so many Royal Horse Artillery waggons should have been paraded to break such a great pageant, instead of its being presented in one grand effect, as at the Jubilee in 1887, where the fine forms of the German Crown Prince and other royal leaders surrounded and brought up the carriage of our Gracious Empress—a never-to-be-forgotten scene, which I also witnessed, though in a more hospitable manner, from a seat at a window in Whitehall. Nor did the Haussas carry trophies typical of Bida and Benin, but the whole procession was a splendid Review rather than a historic Act or Epic. I was in the Strand, and I saw an Artilleryman smoking a pipe when the waggons stopped for some minutes. This may be pardoned, but, what my own eyes would not believe, the crowd threw pennies to some of the Artillerymen which they very pleasantly picked up. This may be an



excess of good humour or an advance of the age, but I wondered whether any of our Indian warriors would ever literally stoop to do so when following any of their own Chiefs, not to speak of when following the greatest Queen of the Universe and "their own Empress." A BRAHMIN.

#### THE LATE MR. NEY ELIAS AND "THE MYSTERIOUS CITY OF KARAKORUM."

I have been acquainted with Mr. Ney Elias during the whole of his service under the Government of India, and I fail to recognize him in the description given by Mr. E. H. Parker in the "Times" of the 12th June. He was, no doubt, a man of modest manner, but he was neither wanting in ambition, nor neglectful of opportunities to satisfy it, or of obtaining the recognition due to his services. That they were not adequately rewarded is certain. I never heard him express himself in the slipshod manner which Mr. Parker is pleased to report, nor can I believe that he ever sought for the "*mysterious city of Karakorum*," as he must have known full well that Karakorum was the name of a pass, and of a mountain range which he had often crossed, and not that of a city at all, as stated by Mr. Parker.

F. O.

#### PROGRESS OF SANSKRIT LEARNING IN BENGAL.

The Sanskrit title examinations in the Lower Provinces, which owe so much to the enlightened liberality of Sir Charles Elliott and the fostering care of Sir Alfred Croft, are beginning to take a real hold on the people. Rules have been laid down by Government for holding them simultaneously, with the same set of examiners, at various centres in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. We believe that this improvement has been introduced at the instance of Principal Nilmani Mukerji, the present head of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. There is every prospect now of the establishment of a Sanskrit University in Bengal, in friendly rivalry with the Calcutta University. Recently 2,000 candidates have presented themselves to stand the test of an examination in various branches of Sanskrit learning such as grammar, poetry, rhetoric, law, philosophy, Upanishads, and Purāṇas. We hear that the results of this examination are very satisfactory.

The Vedic class in the Sanskrit College instituted by the Mahauts of Tārakesvāra, is also of happy augury for the future of Sanskrit learning.

A yearly festival has been instituted at the Sanskrit College, at which the old pupils of that institution and the *élite* of Hindu Society in Calcutta assemble.

We reserve for our next number an account of this "Commemoration," together with some Sanskrit verses written by an old student of the College in honour of the auspicious occasion.

#### THE CHINESE-BELGIAN CONTRACT.

The statement telegraphed to the *Times* that a contract had been signed at Peking with a Belgian syndicate involving a sum of £1,000,000, and that Shēng taotai was confident of being able to raise another £2,000,000

in China for the laying down of the Hankow railway, is justly viewed with misgiving by a large portion of the London press, but it will probably turn out that there is more smoke than fire. That Shêng should ruin himself and his friends is no great matter, but that the fatuity or corruption of some of the petticoated statesmen of Peking should allow China to lapse into the financial "imperium in imperio" of Turkey is much to be regretted; indeed, a catastrophe is certain if a clever upstart like Shêng Hsüan-hwai is allowed to have the pulling of all the financial strings. However, as we have implied, we do not believe the Manchu Government to be so foolish as to part with its independence. The danger lies in the fact that Shêng is simply "a smart man" without any real stake in the country; a "promoter," who seems to belong to the class, too common in China, who are totally indifferent to the honour and interests of the Manchu dynasty, and only too ready to give themselves to any influential backers who will keep them in pocket and power: thus, in order to gain an immediate triumph for himself and his schemes, it is not unlikely that some bait has been offered through Belgium by the Franco-Russian wire-pullers which will have the effect when Shêng lands his country in a mess, as he is certain to do, if he gets rope enough, of giving those protectionist powers claims on the revenue sufficient to justify various forms of unwholesome political interference. It can only be for England's interest that China should be developed, and there is no reason to be jealous of Belgian, French, Russian, or any other success, so long as no discriminating or unfair advantages are given, injurious to British interests; and so long as corrupt Chinese intriguers are not suffered, by weaving a net of favouritism and bribery around themselves, to compromise the existence of the Manchu dynasty which it has always been our policy to support.

The first decrees authorising in more or less general terms the construction of the Peking-Hankow railway *by merchants*, were issued a little more than a year ago. In October last, the native papers announced that "a certain *taotai* was taking it in hand, and raising 40,000,000 taels." Then it was announced that a Cantonese gentleman named Hsü Ying-ch'iang, holding *taotai's* rank, was actually raising and offering to the Emperor 10,000,000 taels, but that the Viceroy Wang of Tientsin wished to consult the Viceroy Chang of Hankow before memorialising the throne. At the same time a rival in the shape of a military graduate named Li Fu-ming petitioned the Foreign Board, and undertook to raise the necessary capital. His offer was roughly declined. The Emperor seems to have replied for the benefit of every one that "any Chinese syndicate actually raising 10,000,000 taels might undertake the work." On the 20th October the following decree appeared: "Wang Wên-shao and Chang Chih-tung memorialise upon the course to be followed in the matter of railways: they advise that a head Railway Bureau be established, and recommend Shêng Hsüan-hwai as Superintendent Manager. Let the Tientsin Customs *taotai* Shêng Hsüan-hwai vacate his post, and hold fourth rank as a metropolitan expectant, taking charge of the General Railway Bureau business." Meanwhile Shêng was ordered to Peking for audience, and it was reported that his plan was "merchants' initiative, under official supervision: time

10 years: cost 50,000,000 taels: time for survey, 2 years." It was also given out (probably to secure British support) that he proposed to purchase his iron from England. For some little time after this he seems to have been running about interviewing every one at all likely to lend him money. As most of the news of his movements comes from the native Catholic press, it is probable that he is "in with the French," through the powerful Catholic bodies, which he in turn can oblige in various ways. It is also likely, contrary to what is commonly supposed, that he is backed by Li Hung-chang, who may be said to represent the back-stairs party—i.e., that of the Empress—at Peking. Meanwhile the Board of Revenue officially advised that a loan of 20,000,000 taels should be raised abroad, and 10,000,000 more advanced by the Board, the balance of 1,000,000 (perhaps a misprint for 10,000,000) being offered to the public in shares. Another proposal, apparently coming from Shêng, was that the public should be offered 400,000 shares at 100 taels, and the Board advance 10,000,000. The shares were to be paid up in 10 annual instalments. On the 30th of December, it was stated in the native papers that Shêng was employing Mr. Kinder, who, starting from Pao-ting Fu in the north, had already commenced his survey, but that he had resolved now only to use Hankow-made rails. (He had just taken over the Iron Works from Chang Chih-tung.) On the 6th of March Shêng's foreign surveyors were reported at work, under official escort, at the Hankow end too. Meanwhile the disappointed Li Fu-ming attempted to do business on his own account at Peking. The following decree appeared on the 21st of April: "The Gendarmery Office report the arrest of a criminal engaged in the raising of alleged railway shares, and his consignment for examination and punishment to the Criminal Board. The cashiered military graduate Li Fu-ming is a criminal who on other charges ought to have been transported, and who was sent to his native place there to remain under surveillance. Having now secretly returned to Peking, and printed rules and notices for circulation, attracting undesirable attention under these pretexts, he has committed a serious offence against the law. Let him be rigorously examined by the Board of Punishments, and punished according to the Code."

X.

## CHINESE NOTES.

## THE WORD "MESSIAH" IN A BUDDHIST WORK.\*

The passage mentioning the translation of a Buddhist book by Adam, the Nestorian missionary, is found in the Index of New Buddhist works of Yuenchao, a Buddhist priest of Sianfu, capital of China.

Prajna, a native of India, came to China by sea from Ceylon and Java. He reached Canton A.D. 782 and went on to the capital where Adam the Persian priest assisted him in translating the Sutra Shat paramitra in seven volumes. This work they presented to the Emperor who replied that "Buddhism as taught by Shakya differs from Christianity as taught in the Tatsin monastery. Their religious practices are opposed to each other.

\* We should like to obtain the Chinese original in order to give Sincologists the opportunity of examining the subject.—Ed.



Adam ought to hand down the teaching of "MESSIAH" and the Buddhists should propagate the Sutras of the "BUDDHA."

The Sutra in the Buddhist canonical books which Adam assisted in translating is there ascribed entirely to Prajna. See No. 1004 Nanjio's catalogue.

#### CHINESE CURRENCY.

The exchange at Shanghai May 1, 1897, is for gold bars that they are  $35\frac{1}{2}$  the price of silver. In Feb. the price was  $33\frac{1}{2}$ . Silver is now  $2/8\frac{1}{2}$ . In February it was  $2/10\frac{1}{2}$ . Silver is still falling but not fast. According to present appearances it will remain at  $2/9d$ . and gold will not reach 36 times the price of silver. I am told that the silver ornaments of every bride cost ordinarily  $5/3d$ . or as much as  $8/4d$ . All official salaries are paid in silver in China. The public accounts are kept in silver. On account of this and the fact that many shops and wholesale merchants keep their accounts in silver it is difficult to believe that the price of silver can fall much lower. China will gladly part with her gold at a good price to Japan and keep silver which she can now purchase at a low price.

J. EDKINS.

#### MANCHURIA.

The Russian Ministry of Finance have published a work on Manchuria with a Map showing the Russian Railways constructed (Primorsk) and in hand (Tritsihar, Kisin, Moukden and Port Arthur). The work is, in every sense—geographical, administrative, ethnical, linguistic, etc.—the standard work on the *Tung San Sheng*, as the Manchurian Province is called. Its plan and completeness should be followed by our own Government Departments in the compilation of works within their speciality and it is only to be regretted that their officials do not know Russian and that there is little probability of the publishers, J. H. Erlich of St. Petersburg, reproducing it in a more accessible language. As an aid, however, we may tell them briefly that the Chapters, in order, are: History, Geography, Physical Features, Climate, Flora, Fauna, Populations, Administration, Towns and Centres, Roads and Inns, Productions, Trade.

These are followed by a volume of Appendices containing 2,500 names in Chinese characters; Tables showing climatic conditions, giving commercial and administrative details and Lists of all authors on the subject consulted who, *mirabile dictu*, even if not Russians, are allowed the full share of credit that is due to them, another lesson to those Departments that are so jealous of, and want to monopolize, the work and creations of outsiders.

#### RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN KOREA.

The following has reached us from a trustworthy source: "The Russian influence in Seoul is growing very fast. One battalion, 1,000 men strong, is drilled by four Russian army officers, helped by 10 petty officers, in an entirely Russian fashion. I was myself on the training ground, and was quite surprised by the intelligent and soldierly look of the men. They seemed to be very pleased and executed all commands (in the Russian language) with great precision. Only the officers, Koreans, were rather

poor, but, of course, you cannot get good officers among a people of coolies at once. The rest of the army is drilled by Koreans, who have been some time in this *corps d'élite*, but they do not compare favourably with "the thousand." The army seems to be very popular. The King is living in his new palace near the Russian legation, and he is constantly guarded by two companies of the guards. Besides the instructors live with him; so he ought to be safe, having 80 Russian bluejackets near by in the Legation."

### THE FRENCH ON THE NIGER.

In yielding to the French in the matter of certain claims which are in conflict with those of the Royal Niger Company, our Government seems to have confirmed Commandant Toutée's affirmation that the pretended English occupation of the region between Badjibo-Arenberg and Igga is a myth merely intended to intimidate the French. He states that the most northerly British commerce is only represented by a negro, the agent of a factory, at Geba. "No Englishman," Commandant Toutée asserts, is found except at Igga, "200 kilometres below Badjibo-Arenberg, down the river from Badjibo" ("en aval de Badjibo").

### THE TRANSLITERATION REPORT OF "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY."

A notion was formerly prevalent that the adoption of a uniform system of transliteration would serve to popularize the Oriental classics among Western readers, by enabling them to dispense with the acquisition of the uncouth and puzzling characters of the native alphabets. This utopian notion has long been relegated to the limbo of amiable delusions, experience having demonstrated that in learning, as in travelling, the shortest cut is often the longest way round. Transliteration, however, may sometimes be useful, in dictionaries and grammars, to indicate the pronunciation. But a uniform system of transliteration has nothing to recommend it, because, in whatever language a dictionary or grammar may be written, that system of transliteration will be found most convenient for it which best agrees with the orthography and pronunciation of that language. For instance, in transliterating the Arabic word *جريد*, the *ج* will be best represented in French by *dj* (*djérid*), and in English by *j* (*jerid*). The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society speak of "the very great benefit of a uniform system"; but omit to explain in what this benefit consists. An English student of Arabic, if he knows French, will readily understand the proper pronunciation of "*djérid*"; and, if he knows no French, is not likely to derive much benefit from consulting a French authority. In practice, therefore, a uniform system of transliteration seems to have as little utility as Volapuk.

As for the particular system adopted by the Geneva Congress, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society point out, with much force, that, "in applying the Congress scheme to the transliteration of Hindi (which is written both with Sanskrit and Arabic letters), the same word would have

to be transliterated differently according to the alphabet before the transliterator." In this case what becomes of the uniformity, from which the Council anticipate such "very great benefit"? And, if a reader familiar only with the Arabic alphabet meets with a Hindi word transliterated according to the Sanskrit alphabet, what idea will he form of the proper spelling in the Arabic characters?

A few observations on particular letters may be added. The forms "Iyāka" and "bi-lbayīnāti" fail to reproduce the doubling of the ي in *إِيَّكَ* and *بِالْبَيِّنَاتِي*, and should be written "Iyyāka" and "bi-lbayyīnāti." If any sign be required for the *waṣla*, a hyphen would be better than a comma, which, being already familiar to readers of Greek as the sign of the soft breathing, is more appropriate to the Hamza. The "silent *z*," being the *z* converted into *s* in pause, may well be rendered by *h* without the addition of two dots (*ḥ*). The *j* of the article *الْ*, when incorporated into the following letter, should be rendered by that letter, not by *j*; otherwise the actual pronunciation will not be indicated.

M. S. HOWELL.

#### THE PARIS ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

I trust that the supporters of the "Statutory Congress," in spite of some of its opponents being in the direction, will have no hesitation in joining the Paris Meeting, as it was convened by its predecessor at Geneva for the city of its birth, after acknowledgment of the Foundation Statutes of 1873. Any modifications of them can only be made in accordance with the rules laid down in the Statutes themselves. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that unless the Paris Congress imitates, in its combination of practical with theoretical Orientalism, the London Congress of 1891, it will not have the desired effect in promoting Oriental studies either in their native countries or in showing their utility in general education, science, commerce and even industry, besides the special advancement of its own researches. I, therefore, regret to find that the 36 sections of the London Oriental Congress of 1891 are reduced to a handful, though a good and wise one, at the Paris Meeting, but I hope that they will be restored at that and subsequent Congresses, when papers in them should be asked for.

A FOUNDER OF THE CONGRESS.

#### INDIA AS IT IS IN 1897.

We do not share the optimism of Sir R. Lethbridge's admirable paper. We hold that, without the charity of the castes and of the religiously disposed "natives," no official measures could cope with Indian Famines. Indeed, in proportion as there is any successful interference with Caste-organization in India, Government will be driven into taxation for the relief of the poor that will then be thrown on it, and will also have immensely to increase its judicial appliances, whereas, practically, the castes, guilds, and other native bodies, without any cost to, or discontent in, the State, *now* decide, intramurally, by far the vast majority of disputes, and worse, among



the inhabitants of India. If the present Famine Relief has, in any way, shaken the social and religious foundations, or the independence of Caste charity, instead of tactfully using it—an almost impossible undertaking for outsiders—another provocation to disaffection will have been given, and another element of the stability of the British Government in India will have been sacrificed. As for the relations between various classes of Indians, and between Indians and Europeans having lately improved, the contrary would appear to be the fact from the information that we are receiving, as would also seem to be regretfully admitted in the Viceroy's last speech. The holding of Jubilee rejoicings in the midst of public calamities, has, we fear, produced a further unfavourable impression among the masses in India. In the matter of the plague, official ignorance of the intricate subject of Caste, an institution above all others that, if well understood and sympathetically used, best lends itself to sanitary measures of isolation and segregation, has been the unfortunate cause of a general irritation in Bombay, which has already borne evil fruit and may bear more. It is, however, a little far-fetched to suppose that the violence of vernacular, or anglicized native, newspapers has anything to do with any outbreak on European officers by men who, probably, can neither read nor write or understand these papers if read to them, but who, perhaps, merely obeyed a murderous impulse, or a vow to avenge an outrage, possibly committed on someone dear to them by a subordinate official whilst on plague duty. We have ourselves known of cases of great oppression, where a too energetic European officer ordered an enquiry or a reform, and unscrupulous underlings, "armed with a little brief authority," carried it out in a manner also to gratify purposes of their own.

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As we are going to Press a most valuable article on "Buddhist Law" reaches us from a *facile princeps* of the subject, Sir John Jardine, whom we take this opportunity of congratulating on the knighthood that his services to Science and the State have so abundantly deserved. We have also received from "a Bengal Civilian," too late for publication in this issue, a very suggestive paper, at this moment, on the causes of the now growing discontent in India, of which one of the earlier symptoms was the tree-daubing in Behar and elsewhere in 1893. Other articles of interest and permanent value have also to be postponed to our October issue.

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#### THE LATE MAHARAJA OF VIZIANAGRAM.

We wish to supplement the account of this truly noble and scholarly Chief which is given in the "Obituary" in this issue, by expressing our own sorrow at the untimely death of one who, more successfully perhaps than any native of India, combined European attainments with great Sanscrit learning, and was as perfect an English gentleman as he was a thorough Hindu. Mr. John Adams Acton, the eminent sculptor, had just finished the clay model of the handsome face and figure of the Maharaja for the "Victorian Commemoration Gallery" at the Oriental University Institute, where he represents Madras as a promoter of Oriental Studies, when the sad news arrived by telegram. The death of the Maharaja is also a great

blow to European Oriental scholarship. His liberality to Professor Max Müller's recent edition of the Vedas is proverbial, as are his generosity to all learning and his lavishness to charitable undertakings. We can only hope that his wishes regarding his adopted son may be considered by the Government, and that the future line of Vizianagram princes will be as able and enlightened as the distinguished Maharaja, whose loss we deplore. Certainly, the family has great claims on the Government, for Vizianagram's ancestors helped the British in times of difficulty, and the late Chief was ever to the fore when aid or advice was desired by the authorities, whilst he was ever a grateful link between the rulers and the ruled. We see in the Indian papers that the "Maharani, his mother and the Bewa Maharani, his sister, are prostrate with grief, and that the whole town is profoundly affected." Let us wish that the noble lady-relicts may derive some slight consolation from the respectful homage of sympathy in their sorrow, which is offered not only by India, but also by a world of scholars. We hope to give full particulars of the late Chief in an early issue. In the present number, by a singular coincidence we publish a paper on "the forgotten Vizianagram Treaty."

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#### THE LATE JAVERI LAL UMAISHANKAR VAJNIK.

Mr. W. Martin Wood has favoured us with an able account of the life and labours of the lamented scholar and patriot, Javeri Lal Umaishankar Vajnik, which want of space compels us to omit in this issue. He had left Bombay because he was ill and had to attend the deathbed of a daughter, but he returned to that city in order to give its corporation his services during the plague and there died, a martyr to duty, in May last, a little over 60 years of age, regretted by a vast circle of native and European friends and admirers.

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We have received, too late for review in this issue, a most remarkable work, advertised elsewhere in this number, on the science of Comparative Religions, especially those of Asia, by the indefatigable scholar, General J. G. R. Forlong, whose contributions on Zoroastrian and Buddhistic subjects in our Review will be deservedly remembered by scholars. Suffice it to say for the present that General Forlong represents an independent research into subjects which are apt to be either fossilized by their Professors, or to be treated as popular Literature by "Masters" like Professor Max Müller or clever adapters of "Gazetteers."

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#### THE LAST WAZIRI IMBROGLIO AND THE AMIR.

The expedition that the Government of India proposes to send into the Tochi Valley to punish the Waziris who treacherously attacked a military party of inspection at Maizar, has drawn public attention to the subject, almost alien to it, of the relations of "England and Afghanistan" and that too not in the sense of non-interference and the deprecation of "the Forward Policy" that have been the keynote of the communications of the illustrious experts who have contributed to this Review, like Lord Chelmsford, Sir Neville Chamberlain, Col. Hanna and others.

The abandonment of Kafiristan under the Durand Treaty to the Amir has, as predicted, roused Pathan feeling against "the brethren of the Kafirs of the Hindukush" or the British, a feeling with which the Amir may find it difficult to contend. His own authorized publications on "the conquest of Kafiristan," "the strengthening of the Faith" and "the encouragement of Jihád" or the holy war, have given him a legitimate hold on the Muhammadan world and have certainly strengthened his position as *primus inter pares* among the independent tribes of his own faith that we seek to bring under British influence as another sequence of the Durand Agreement. The recent disaster to our troops is, however, not due to this feeling, but rather to the ever-recurring problem of dealing with "the united Waziris" whom the Panjab Government alone was able to manage, owing to the ability and knowledge of its veteran local Frontier officials, and, above all, owing to its genuine desire for peace. It is this desire that ever enabled that Government, with few interruptions which generally resulted in friendly arrangements or pressure at Bannu and elsewhere, to preserve the tranquillity of *that* border since 1861. Another, Chilas, had entirely given up raids since 1852, when an "Imperial" policy rediscovered them in 1893. Waziristan has already had one costly expedition, now to be followed by another, since the brief period that the Supreme Government has taken charge of the Panjab frontier and has substituted great Imperial campaigns for the petty punitive expeditions of the Panjab Government in order to cement *inter alia* "the friendly feelings of the tribes!" It now only remains for the Boeotian Bunayris to be "inspected" to have another frontier in a blaze. As for the Waziris, it was only when the change of policy in the Imperial Government of India and the natural substitution of its active and ambitious, for the cautious Panjab, officers, brought a sense of danger to the Waziris, that their resistance became, as it were, national, for, whatever their faults, they are a united race under a common code of laws. Composed of predatory tribes, no doubt, of Ahmadzais and Utmankeyls, but patriotic to a degree, with few settled habitations, nomads whom it is absurd to follow to their scattered mountain huts, the Waziris, to a man, think that they also have acts of treachery to avenge. It has, for instance, not been forgotten that some of their prisoners in Roberts' Kabul campaign, for whom the ransom had not come in time, were shot *by accident*, when trying to escape, as if we too waged war for ransom! We hope to give shortly a full account of a, possibly, doomed race. In the meanwhile, there is no reason whatever, as one or two of our Indian contemporaries have attempted to do, to blame the Amir for an event, to which he is quite foreign. What annoys the Amir is our suspected encroachment beyond Chaman, on which he keeps a jealous eye, and on our military surveys along his own admitted borders. To interfere still further would precipitate collisions, which our Treaty with, and subsidy to, the Amir are especially meant to avoid. The very cordial congratulations of the Amir to the Victorian Commemoration and Her Majesty's gracious reply should go far to remove any misconceptions as to our ally's friendly attitude towards this country.



## FAMINES AND REJOICINGS IN INDIA.

That public rejoicings should accompany famines in India is no new thing. In 1797, exactly 100 years ago, a famine took place in the territory of Sindia (see "Annual Register" for that year), and as that Chief refused to allow the public granaries kept in reserve for such occasions, to be opened in time to supply the public need, his subjects organized funeral processions throughout his territory, accompanying them, as is customary in the case of certain obsequies, with rejoicings. The simple truth is, that the unsophisticated native is puzzled to understand why he should rejoice when he is starving or is mourning a relative who has died *before* his time. Indeed, he wants his ruler to mourn with him, and to relieve his distress. When, therefore, at the heels of the year 1897 "plague, famine and earthquake crouch for employment," there is great general grief, but there also are endless opportunities for our excellent Indian fellow-subjects to gain merit by good deeds, and this accordingly they do with a fervour and zeal that is not equalled elsewhere. The daily distribution of food at the doors of wealthy Baniyas is sometimes almost a race among the attendants, who think it an honour to serve the poor, and who bow profoundly to the lowest Chandála, for does he not give them the opportunity of exercising an act of charity? They who die are, generally, examples of heroism and sanctity and repinings against the decrees of Fate are unheard of. Under such circumstances, the contribution of half a million pounds from England does not exceed, if it indeed reaches, the claim which India has on the warmest sympathy and the greatest liberality of the British public. Her Majesty, by her own gift, has shown how deeply she has the welfare of that country at heart, and the Indian Government has, very wisely, not encouraged the Chiefs and others who have famine-stricken districts to look after, and are wanted "at home," to go "home" in order to take part in a Jubilee, which their loyalty to the Queen-Empress best celebrates by bestowing "panem" and even "circenses," if there *must* be shows, on their subjects or fellow-subjects, provided always that "panis" comes first. It cannot, however, be denied that the Indian Jubilee rejoicings, except in the case of officials, who naturally are glad to express their loyalty, and of those natives who are anxious to gain, or to keep, their favour, have rather grated on the ordinary Indian mind. The orthodox natives of the old school consider that almsgiving *on the very largest scale* ought to have accompanied the Commemoration of their Empress by the Indian Government, as a thanksgiving for her long and beneficent reign, whilst the more anglicized natives ask whether if England had been devastated by famine, plague and earthquake, a Day of Humiliation and Prayer to the Almighty would not have been considered a more appropriate ceremony than fireworks, and other similar demonstrations? Be that as it may, we all look forward to a return to a more normal state of things, when non-intervention in things native, whether on the plea of famine relief, plague-inspection, or Jubilee rejoicings, restores the confidence that some official busybodies, and their mischievous native hangers-on have been

destroying in attempts, which the masses consider to be really directed against their caste or religion or that hurt their feelings of propriety.

CALCUTTA.

### A SANSKRIT SLOKA IN HONOUR OF THE SIXTIETH YEAR OF THE VICTORIAN ERA :

The following has been sent to us by the learned Pandit Joala Sahai, whose paper in our Review on "the Vikramaditya Era," read before the Oriental Congress of 1891, attracted the deserved attention of scholars :

"Allow me to contribute to your valuable Journal the following sloka composed by me in Sanskrit, in the well-known *Handâ-Kranta* metre of Kalidasa's meghaduta. This sloka indicates the feeling of the people of India on this auspicious occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee :

Agnyaptejo vividha karanair jâta harsapra karsâ  
Vidyâvridhî pracummayatâ dâna santustacittâh  
Sri VICTORIA pra kriti parusâ sampadadhikya hetun  
Râjesvaryyâ atutanikaṭât pratyaham pârsthayante.

(Translation) "The subjects of Empress Victoria, greatly cheered by the benefits they have derived through the (English) contrivances working by means of fire, water, and lightning, and also gratified by the educational progress, the great justice, and the liberality (which have marked Her Majesty's Government) daily pray to God to create causes that may add to the lustre of her prosperity."

I beg that this sloka may be considered as a humble sign of my loyalty to our mighty sovereign who, according to Hindu Shastras, is also a 'mortal god' on earth !

SARDAR JOALA SAHAI, B.A.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ARMAND, COLIN AND CIE: PARIS.

1. *Dahomé, Niger, Touareg*, by COMMANDANT TOUTÉE. The mission of the author was to explore Dahomey and the middle Niger country. For that purpose he left Kotonou in December, 1894, with a large convoy, of which 53 were armed men. He describes his experiences of a year among four tribes, on his way to the Niger, which he reached early in February, 1895. On an eminence on the banks of that river, and opposite the King of Badjibo's country, he built a post which he named Arenburg. The King of Badjibo, who paid him a visit, seems to have been constantly at war, either with the King of Bida or with other neighbours. It was formerly understood that the Niger was not navigable beyond 700 kilometres from the sea. Sir E. Malet, in his memorandum at the Berlin Conference, stated that there existed from the rapids of Boussa as far as Borroum 1,850 kilometres of unnavigable river. Mr. Toutée is therefore the first European to disprove this by ascending the river to Boussa, thence to Yaouri, a town of over 40,000 inhabitants, where Mungo Park died. From this place to Saye the ascent was very much easier. He reached Farca, where he encountered the Touareg or Tawarek tribe. The country beyond Saye is described as a "Big Egypt," owing to the analogy of the productions of its soil with those of Egypt. The Sonnerayes, who include the working or lower classes, he likens to the Fellah. The Foulbés occupy the administrative places, and the Touareg, or Mamelukes of the South, exercise a dreaded and personal authority, exclusively founded on their prestige as whites. He was attacked twice by the latter. Descending from Tibi Farca he arrived eventually in Lagos, where he made the acquaintance of Sir Claude MacDonald who was then Governor of the Oil Rivers. In declaiming against the spirit traffic carried on by the traders, he repeats the words of Sir Gilbert Carter on the subject, "Je ne vois qu'un seul moyen de sauver ces pauvre noirs de l'ivrognerie; c'est de les convertir à la foi musulmane." The book contains a route map of the Toutée mission, which has added much to our knowledge of a region that recent events are investing with considerable importance. A suggestive reflection in the volume is where the slave of a black master dreads nothing so much as being the captive or the servant of the white European.

CASSELL AND COMPANY: LONDON.

2. *A Concise Cyclopædia*, edited by W. HEATON, assisted by C. H. BOTHAMLEY, W. E. CLARKE, A. DENNY and A. J. READ. This is an extraordinarily good compilation for its size (1340 pages) and contents, nearly 12,000 articles, formerly comprised in many volumes of a Cyclopædia and now, for the first time, in *one* only. It would be like painting the lily to praise such a laudable and successful attempt resulting in a book that is so useful to the general reader and to the family circle. Of course, it cannot have everything; for instance, Hunza, Dardistan and Chitral are not even indicated, but Kafiristan, very properly, is, and their traditional resistance



to the Moslem faith recorded in spite of quite recent misrepresentations to the contrary by the political *agents provocateurs* who wish to palliate our surrender of them to Afghanistan. Abdul Hamid, the Sultan, is not given at all under either of his names, nor does the word "Sultan" occur, nor is he even under "Turkey," but neither, in true fairness, is King George of Greece. These are blemishes, but such omissions are rare, and among plants we find Azaleas and even Kalmias. Altogether we recommend this very handy, cheap and profusely illustrated "Concise Cyclopædia."

MESSRS. CHATTO AND WINDUS.

3. *A Levantine Family*, by BAYLE ST. JOHN. The author ably describes his impressions of Eastern manners derived entirely from personal experience during his sojourn in Egypt. By Levantines he means the Arab Christians, whether of Syrian origin or not and whose manners and customs bear a great resemblance to those of the Muslims. He says: "The Oriental construction of mind is wonderfully uniform, manners created by climate do not differ much under the same sky." Be that as it may, his interesting narrative, transcribed from his journals and notes, lays open the interior of most middle-class houses both in Egypt and Syria and the mode of life adopted by the so-called Levantines. The book deserves to find many readers.

#### INDIAN FOLK-LORE.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO.

4. *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, by W. CROOKE. This is a book of great merit without which it is absolutely impossible to have a real knowledge of a most interesting and important subject. Yet, even a sympathetic writer, as Mr. Crooke must be to have acquired the mass of information which he gives us, cannot entirely shake off the European superciliousness which disfigures the observations of the wisest Western scholars. Even Prof. Max Müller talks of the childishness of the sublime Vedas, which he has edited, but which he has never heard chanted in their purity, and in an identical manner, from the roofs of houses, sacred to their recitation, from Peshawar to Cape Comorin. These Vedas have no typographical errors such as swarm in printed editions, for the latter are merely "*memoriæ technicæ*" for the *headings* of the oral instruction which tradition has supplied throughout ages, thus filling up the otherwise empty chapters. Mr. Crooke talks of "*Deotas*" as "*Godlings*," and of *Devas* as "*Gods*," in order to discriminate between popular "*Deities*," though it is the very same word as "*Deotas*" and the great "*Dei*" or "*Gods*" of the official Hindu religion. They are just as much "*Gods*" as were Mars and Neptune and Jove who also were "*Deities*," by partaking of God-like attributes. The truth is, that all the treasures of the Hindu religion and mythology, that have accepted or adapted a multitude of indigenous aboriginal cults, rites, folk-lore and gods, are far from being yet fully explored. The whole series of the tribal, professional and family gods yet await the research of the scholars who shall approach the subject in a reverential, rather than a "higher critical" or sneering spirit. Perhaps, the

progress of English education in India will soon wipe out the remaining traditions that, although only orally preserved, are more accurate than records written to please a purchasing public. The "God-architect" who sprang out of the head of Shiva and taught the faith, and songs, and legends of the Carpenters' Caste of Bhavnagar, so prolific in sculptors and anything that the deftest hand of the artist creates, has now only 64 houses of worshippers. The Rajput mother who adores her son's chivalry on the family altar on the toy horse or the peasant woman who similarly prays to industry in the miniature emblem of a spindle, the true "deities" or "Deotas" that guided the family's life and history, will all vanish as much before the alien sword as the alien pen of the scholar anxious for his reputation in Europe, but not for the survival of the gods that have done so much for Indian culture. Every day there is a desert made in an Indian home.

*"Und der Götter bunt Gewimmel  
Hat sogleich das stille Haus geleert."*

Yet we welcome Mr. Crooke for his wealthy mines of information which he lays bare, too bare sometimes, though he also sacrifices to the *mots d'ordre* of scientific societies of "Totemism, Fetishism," etc., which have little *raison d'être*, in order to show that he is in touch with the last words of science. Such a course is more worthy of writers like Mr. Ibbetson. An inquirer, like Mr. Crooke, should have no scientific preconceptions, enter into no war of schools, but simply give us the facts of Indian folk-lore and popular religion before it becomes still more degraded, or perishes, under the Jaggarnaths of European influences. Indeed, the genius of India is dying, if not already dead, for all works, written since our occupation, are more or less of an imitative character, if they emerge into publicity. All honour, therefore, to him who has saved us something regarding "the worship of the sainted and malevolent dead" respectively, who tells us so much about the evil eye, and the scaring of ghosts, animal worship, and rural festivals, though his "Tree and Serpent Worship," and his "Black Art" seem to be old friends with new *dhotis*.

#### PICTURESQUE BURMA.

MESSRS J. M. DENT AND CO.

5. *Picturesque Burma, Past and Present*, by MRS. HART. *Pereat Ava* that once picturesque town! It was the cock-and-bull-claim of some of our merchants and an exaggerated story of atrocities *not* committed by order of Theebaw and above all "the shoe question," that led to the annexation of this country. It was the conclusion of a treaty, real or suspected, by the French with the Burmese King, and, at any rate, of a policy advocated by the previous, and repudiated by the then, French Ministry, that led to the *fiasco* of giving the King 4 days' notice to put his foreign relations in the hands of the British Government, whilst already our troops were advancing. Mrs. Hart describes the unwarranted capture of a too confiding King, army and people, followed by a night in which Mandalay was subjected to the lawlessness of our troops, of escaped prisoners, and of marauding Dakoits, the latter, as General Prendergast,

the conqueror of Burma, himself admits, being often patriots fighting for their country. Be that as it may, it is a lamentable story how these simple and good children of nature, the Upper Burmese, so lovable in spite of their little faults of indolence and vanity, became our subjects, but it has been left to Mrs. Hart to describe what is still one of the most picturesque countries, whether the scenery, its intersection by rivers and boats, its customs, its pagodas, or its once so well-mannered and graceful people are concerned. All honour to Sir C. Bernard for opposing the annexation, if French relations were given up, but Theebaw and Co. were babies in diplomacy and would have signed with anybody treaties about anything. The illustrations are exceedingly well, and we may add, sympathetically, drawn; or photographed, that is to say, the impression given by most of them is a natural and pleasing one, not the caricatures that we have sometimes seen in other books on Burma. The little maids on page 358 are specially charming, and so is even a Kachin girl on page 249. A short extract from this book may serve as a specimen of the pleasant style of the authoress:

"Besides the great feasts, celebrated with so much extravagance of mirth and money, there are minor religious festivals which take place all the year round and are very popular. The pilgrimages to the pagodas and shrines in the country give the opportunity for an outing and picnic, for the meeting of friends and lovers, the retailing of news and, not least, the storing up of 'merit' for the great account. Every shrine has its special holy day, when the people come from all the country round in their bullock-carts and dressed in their best, the girls with their dark tresses crowned with flowers, the young men in pink silk pasohs and turbans, the fathers and mothers happy and free from care; all crowd to the shrine to repeat the great commandments of Lord Buddha and to make their offerings, after which they gather to hear a birth-story given by the play-actors or represented by marionettes, or they stroll through the woods, or gossip about friends and acquaintances, and thus the pagoda feast is celebrated happily and innocently."

The book is well got up and full of information.

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WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

6. *The Outgoing Turk*, by H. C. THOMSON. This important and interesting book, written before the "In-coming Turk into Thessaly," opens with a vivid description of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and shows us how those beautiful lands have progressed under the benign sway of the Austrians, since the cessation of Turkish rule. The author describes Serajevo as very picturesque with its proud-looking Muhammadans, caftaned Jews, veiled Turkish women, and Christian maidens in flowing robes. The country, once the scene of constant rapine and bloodshed under the Turks, has now become a paradise under Austrian rule. The Vakuf (moneys, or other properties, held in trust for keeping up mosques, colleges, hospitals, etc.) show a vastly increased income. Practically, also, Vakufs act as a poor-law system. The Muhammadans, like the Jews, give alms as a religious obligation. Among the evils of Osmanli rule was the



use of Turkish in the Law Courts, a language unintelligible, not only to the Christians, but also to nearly all Muhammadans; nine out of ten cases being settled by bribery alone. The author says: "It is not because of the Muhammadan religion, but in spite of it, that corruption reigns all over Turkey; it is contrary to the tenets of Islam." Another reform effected was the substitution of a national Episcopate, in place of the corrupt Phanariote Hierarchy, in whose hands the Turks left the control of the Orthodox Church, and who were as great oppressors as the Turks themselves. The author then deals with the History of Bosnia and Herzegovina, reviews British policy in the Balkans, explains the Muhammadan feeling in India in regard to it, and surveys the situation in Macedonia and Cyprus. He is one of the few English writers, who are aware of what is going on in India among Muhammadans, but he shows that, practically, our support of, or opposition to, the Sultan is quite a new factor in that community. The observant author also tries to prove that the canker at the root of everything, especially the excellent Turkish laws, is the absolute power enjoyed by the Sultan, who can appoint the most unworthy favourite to the highest post. Mr. Thomson advocates the immediate expulsion of the governing Turk from Europe as the sole remedy for the condition of the populations still under Turkish yoke. Full of good illustrations, the work has also facsimiles of two old maps showing the former extent of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Mr. Heinemann is emphatically the publisher of good books, and this is one of them.

A. D. INNES AND CO.; LONDON.

7. *The Sepoy Revolt*, by LIEUT.-GENERAL MCLEOD INNES, V.C. This is a volume by the well-known author of "Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny," and deals with the causes which led up to the mutiny. How it commenced with the "cartridge incident" and how we fought both the enemy and the cholera. He gives an account of the famous relief of Lucknow in the first stage of the campaign by Havelock and Outram, which turned the tide of the revolt ere any material assistance had arrived from home. Then comes the decisive contest and second relief of Lucknow by Sir C. Campbell, the veteran warrior of many wars, followed by that noble soldier Sir H. Havelock's death, and finally the suppression of the revolt, which was retarded by Lord Canning's Confiscation Proclamation, when chiefs rose in active rebellion who had hitherto been passive. The book has several good maps, notably one of Lucknow, illustrating the siege.

8. *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, by GENL. SIR C. GOUGH, V.C., G.C.B., and ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A. The Book commences with the Mussulman invasion of India, and shows the struggles of the French and English for supremacy, and the establishment by Warren Hastings of a strong system of administration. Our readers do not require to be told that Nanak, born in 1469, was the founder of the Sikh sect, which was originally entirely religious, and without political aim or organization, based on two fundamental principles, the unity of God, and the brotherhood of man, without distinction of race, caste or creed, as embodied in their Scripture, the "Granth." The successors of Nanak had the title of Guru (teacher

and prophet), but they gradually developed a strong military system against numerous vicissitudes, until Ranjit Singh established himself at Lahore and, by 1808, brought nearly the whole Sikh body under his sway, when he obtained the title of Maharajah from the Afghán King.

The defection of Shere Singh, our Sikh ally, from Edwardes at the first siege of Multan, and the consequent abandonment of the same, caused the first Sikh war, when the Sikhs proved themselves to be the most stubborn enemy that we had ever fought in India, and to be hardly inferior to European troops. The brilliant, but bloody victories of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Ahliwal, and Sobraon are all given in detail, and show against what great odds of men and guns, our small army had to fight. The work is full of explanatory maps and plans, but it is, for all that, Hamlet with the principal personage left out. That is to say, that the effort to rehabilitate the brilliant Lord Gough as a good general, especially as regards Chillianwala, when he was only the bravest of soldiers, fails, and with it, we take it, the *raison d'être* of the book. The authors also state that they have endeavoured to neglect no source of information. When they omit Sir Lepel Griffin, the Historian of the Panjab, without whose *magna opera*, "The Panjab Chiefs" and "The Rajas of the Panjab," no work on the Sikhs, or Sikh history should be written, we can only wonder how they could have rushed into print on a subject, which not only requires hereditary courage, but also exact and full knowledge.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO MYTHOLOGY.

MESSRS. LONGMAN, LONDON, 1897.

9. *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, by the RIGHT HON. PROFESSOR F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M.

The controversies, some courteous, some bitter, that have been excited by this knotty subject are well known. Everyone has had his fling at "myths of the dawn," and the supposed identification of all the leading characters in history from Achilles to William Tell with the sun in his various phases. The memories of these bygone disputes might perhaps have been buried in oblivion, and these volumes would have been far more enjoyable, if the frequent allusions to them had been omitted, and the eminent author had shown himself less sensitive to assailants.

It is of course impossible in the limits of a review to give more than the most summary account of the contents of a work so rich in facts and arguments; and where everything, except the controversial matter, is so essential, it is difficult to condense without injury to the subject. Fortunately however the polemics are to a great extent confined to the introductory chapter, and a detailed list of contents will guide the reader through the intricate chain of reasoning. Perhaps the best starting-point will be found in the words on p. 153. "We hold therefore, though, as yet, on *à priori* grounds only, that the earliest objects of mythological thought and language were the most prominent phenomena of nature, the sky, the sun, morning and evening, day and night, the wind, thunder and lightning, the moon, the dawn, some of the stars, the rivers, the mountains, the clouds, the rain, the earth, the fire, the water, and in some cases the

sea, and all of them conceived not as inanimate objects, but as animate, and doing something, as agents, in their thoughts and passions like human agents, but in other respects as superhuman, immortal, and lastly as divine."

One of the objects of the scientific study of mythology is to ascertain how far this *a priori* view can be verified by *a posteriori* facts taken from Greek and Vedic literature. For although a numerous and somewhat noisy school of investigators insists with vehemence upon the necessity of looking to the legends and customs of savage races as the guide to the causes of all mythology, such a course is eminently unsafe and liable to mislead. And that for many reasons; the Greeks and Indians have a very ancient literature and their languages have been well studied, and are well known. Their legends often give a clue to their own origin. In dealing with them we are on known and certain ground, whereas with savages our only sources of information are the reports of casual travellers who may not have correctly recorded or even understood what they heard, or of the more permanent missionary who in his turn may have been misinformed or have misinterpreted the information he received. Moreover as Professor M. Müller remarks "What there is now left of savages consists to a great extent of decadent races defeated in the universal struggle for life. . . . They have become stunted intellectually and often physically also." They can never tell us "what were the aspirations of the giant ancestors of our own race." This must, of course, be accepted with considerable limitations.

Starting from these premisses the question to be solved is "granting the physical origin of the gods or goddesses of Aryan mythology, how can we discover the original character of each"—how seize the *hyponoia* "the underlying thought" in each conception? The effort to interpret myths has been made in three ways, in other words there are three schools of mythological science.

(1) The Etymological or Genealogical which "tries to show that there are among cognate races . . . certain myths which had a common origin and existed before the separation of the various branches" of the race; and that this common origin can be proved by the names of gods and heroes which if etymologically treated yield meanings which explain their original purport.

(2) The Analogical which compares similarities in the incidents of various legends without regard to similarities in the names of the beings concerned, and from them deduces the original purport of the myth.

(3) The Ethno-psychological (*völker-psychologisch*) which, putting side by side myths of races in no way connected, and for the most part savage, accounts for coincidences by the general tendencies of human nature.

In these volumes the method followed is the first, though there is no objection to making use of materials afforded by the other two schools provided they are trustworthy. Wherever information has been collected on scientific principles, by persons possessing a competent knowledge of the language of the races dealt with, such information may be safely made use of. Accordingly in Chapter III. the mythology of the Mordvinians, an Ugro-Finnish race, is explained in detail from materials supplied by the



Finno-Ugrian Society, the members of which are scholars having a knowledge of the language and possessing a certain amount of native literature. So also that of the Finns is reviewed on the basis of the works of Castrén a famous Swedish scholar, who has brought immense learning and intelligence to bear on the investigation of the mythology of this race.

Having thus shown how far the other schools of mythology can be trusted, and what is the kind and value of the information obtainable from them the author returns to his own, the etymological, method. In a chapter on Phonetics (Chapter V.) he sketches rapidly and firmly, with clearness of insight and grasp of the subject in all its bearings, the laws of sound in languages of the Aryan family. This is in some respects the most interesting chapter in the book. To recapitulate its contents would be almost equivalent to writing a history of philological research from its beginnings to the present time. The application however of this learned résumé is somewhat startling. It almost seems at first as if the Professor had carefully collected a great mass of evidence, merely to throw it aside as useless. And yet as one looks more closely into the matter, the correctness, nay, the inevitability of the argument and its conclusions seems undeniable.

The fact is that in some cases the names of Greek gods and heroes though almost certainly the same as corresponding names in Vedic hymns, cannot be derived from them without a violation of well-established phonetic laws. Several instances are given and analogies are supplied from modern languages. It is pointed out that personal and local names in all countries undergo numerous and often highly irregular changes owing to their frequent use. If even in common words such equations as *theos* = *deva*, and *hippos* = *asva* are not in accordance with phonetic laws, it is not surprising that names of gods and heroes, descended as they are from the hoariest antiquity, should have been corrupted, contracted, misunderstood, and remodelled to bring them into accord with the mistaken popular etymology. The Professor claims therefore for ancient mythological names a certain amount of freedom from the strict laws of phonetic equivalence. As he remarks (p. 408) "I have tried to explain again and again why the etymology of mythological names has to go back very far for its evidence and has to pierce into a stratum of what may be called pre-historic Aryan speech. Our phonetic and grammatical laws are derived from observing each of the Aryan languages as we know it historically and at a much later time. But these historical layers of speech presuppose layers below layers and we cannot maintain *a priori* that the same laws prevailed in them which prevailed in later times. This is fully admitted with regard to the formation of declension and conjugation. Compositions such as are at the bottom of nominal and verbal inflections could not possibly have been elaborated during the Homeric or Vedic period, and all I plead for is that the same fact should be admitted with regard to the names of Homeric and Vedic gods and heroes."

Many phonetic laws moreover rest on only a few examples, and it is conceivable that further research might upset them, as indeed has more than once happened during the short life of philological science. If then

the character, actions and attributes of any individual mythical being in the Vedas correspond strikingly to those of one in Greek legend, while the Indian name cannot be identified with the Greek one without doing violence to phonetic laws as we at present understand them, this fact ought not of itself to deter us from admitting the identity of the two personages.

Mythology in fact avails itself of the help of philology as far as it will serve; but when it fails to help does without it, and rests its justification on other considerations. And this is only reasonable; if mythology claims to be a science it must base its conclusions on its own inductions, philology may contribute, and often does materially contribute, thereto, but after all it is here only a handmaid and must not arrogate to itself the authority of a mistress.

The second volume is devoted to illustrations of the above principles based upon the Vedas. The old original equation of Dyaushpitar = Zeus pater = Ju-piter establishes the fact that all the Aryan mythologies spring from a common source. But it establishes no more than this; it merely shows that "the starting point of two or more streams of mythological fancy" is the same; and the aim of Comparative Mythology is merely to trace out these original starting points and thus discover the underlying intention of the concept.

The scope of the enquiry being thus limited it is perhaps not surprising that the impression made upon the reader by the illustrations given in the second volume is at first sight somewhat disappointing. The coincidences are neither so numerous nor so clear as the introductory matter led us to expect. This is perhaps due to their not having been worked out fully. The author's intention has apparently been to show what general grounds there are for his thesis, leaving the full exposition of each legend or myth for further development.

The four hundred and odd pages of the second volume are devoted to an analysis of the ancient Indian mythology and its relations to that of ancient Greece, and, in a lesser degree, Rome. Dyaus, the earliest conception of the supreme god of the sky is found also in Greek, Roman, and Teutonic mythology, but his consort Hérê, who should be called in Sanskrit Svârâ, "the bright air between sky and earth" does not exist in the Veda. The numerous infidelities and immoralities of the Greek Zeus are explainable by regarding them as metaphorical expressions of the relations between the sky and the dawn, the night, the sun and the day. All this however is very vague and in many cases the legends are purely Greek and have nothing corresponding to them in Indian ideas.

Indra again though in his attributes he corresponds to Thunar or Thor the old Norse god is not traceable by any phonetically similar name in any but Vedic mythology.

In some cases a phonetic and historical similarity can be established between Indian and Greek gods, in others the attributes are similar, though the names are different. But on the whole the full and indisputable identifications seem few and far between. The utmost that one feels inclined to concede is that the Aryan nations of Europe took away with them on their separation from the Indian branch of their race some

general notions of nature worship, and in a few cases the actual names of mythical personages representing the forces of nature. These notions they afterwards developed each in its own way. The grace and elegance and subtilty of imagination which was the special gift of the Greeks led them to people the air, earth, and water with numerous imaginary beings whose persons were as beautiful as their adventures were attractive. These the hard unimaginative Romans borrowed, identified with their own rustic gods of the sheepfold and the battlefield and vulgarized in the process. The dull prosaic Indian substituting size for grace, and exaggeration for imaginative power, developed his nature-gods into far different and less fascinating creations.

But every reader will form his own conclusions for himself. An immense mass of material has been provided in these volumes; and whatever may be the verdict arrived at, everyone must admire the wealth of learning, clearness of exposition and force of argument exhibited in them.

JOHN BEAMES.

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LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON.

10. *A Glossary of Indian Terms*, by G. TEMPLE. This is not the Major Temple of anthropological repute, but a linguist as mighty as he. He has given us terms and words in common use in District Courts, in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh and also those applied to labourers. As regards the terms relating to Religion, Customs, Government and Society, they will mostly be found to be applicable in the Panjab and, to a great extent also, to other parts of India. The book is followed by an Appendix giving a computation of time and money, weights and measures in British India and concluding with the ticklish subject of "Forms of Address" without knowing which so many Europeans give offence and, sometimes, come to grief in official life. The Hindustani and Hindi Alphabets in the Roman characters as also the numerals are given, though we confess to a partiality for *giara* = 11 instead of "*igāra*." There are explanations to many terms in the glossary and it is difficult to see how an official, merchant, scholar or traveller can get on with ease without the help of so practical, intelligent and intelligible a "Glossary" on almost every subject that may arise and affording, in many instances, the latest up-to-date information about India accessible to Europeans. The book is handy, well-printed and well got-up and no student of Indian subjects should be without it. We find, however, that "Abjad" or the arrangement of the Arabic Alphabet according to its numerical value does not figure under "A," but, for one such term omitted, there are hundreds found in Mr. G. Temple's Glossary only.

11. *With the Dutch in the East*, by CAPT. W. COOL (Dutch Engineers). We are given an account, in this book, of the military operations in Lombock in 1894, with descriptions of native architecture, methods of irrigation, agricultural pursuits, folklore, religious customs, and, most interesting, a history of the introduction, respectively, of Islam and Hinduism, into the island. The misrule of the Sassaks, the governing class in the Island of Lombock, compelled the Dutch East India authorities



to relieve the suffering people, who had repeatedly petitioned them to interfere on their behalf. This repeats our own Indian experiences. The author, after detailing the composition of the expedition, describes its defeat and decimation in the dense forests. Reinforcements having been sent from Sourabaya, several fortified places were assaulted and captured, and eventually the fate of the Lombock dynasty was sealed, the rich and fertile island becoming a dependency of the Dutch Indies. The work is well translated into English by E. J. Taylor. The illustrations, which are very good, and numerous, accompanied by a map, are by G. B. Hooyer, late a Lieut-Colonel in the Dutch Indian Army. The print is very clear, and altogether we strongly recommend the book to those of our readers whom our own articles have sought to interest in "The Dutch in the East."

MACMILLAN AND CO., LONDON.

12. *The Sacred Tree or the Tree in Religion and Myth*, by Mrs. J. H. PHILPOT. This is a charming book on a difficult subject. The qualifications of the gifted authoress appeal to a cultured public, but will find less welcome in the dulness of the learned. Translations render the task of writing on subjects, requiring a linguistic knowledge of original texts, so comparatively easy now-a-days that a writer often loses sight of the fact that the most successful compilation must, at last, bow to the verdict of the trained scholar. We believe that, as regards Mrs. Philpot's work, it would be that she has prepared and rendered attractive the way to a deeper study of the subject. Tree and serpent worship may not overshadow all other pagan cults; it is certainly very general, and always interesting and suggestive. From the two trees in the Biblical Paradise to Buddha's tree of knowledge, the Tubá that shades the whole Muhammadan Paradise, the two connected Paradises of the Talmud, our Christmas tree, even the sacred cedar or chili of Gilgit of which a scarcely correct account is taken from Frazer instead of the full facts from Dr. Leitner's text-book on Dardistan. In every book of the sort there is the usual oblation to a supposed master of the subject in referring to animism, totemism and other "isms" discovered in Museums rather than in the countries of their supposed birth or present existence. At any rate, those who wish to see "the Sacred Tree" from St. Mark's, Venice, to an Assyrian cylinder, through Latin, Greek, Egyptian and even Mexican forms, delighted occasionally with Apollo's laurel, the sycamore, the *pipal* tree, the Scandinavian world-tree, cannot do better than turn to Mrs. Philpot's admirable descriptions and the happy and profuse illustrations that adorn her book.

13. *Travels in West Africa; Congo Français, Corisco and Cameroons*, by MARY H. KINGSLEY. This book comprises descriptions of the Gold Coast, Fernando Po and the Bubis, Libreville and Glass, the Bonny and Ogowé rivers, the Congo Français, the Cameroons with its great peak, and concludes with the Islands in the Bay of Amboises. The talented authoress, in this voluminous book, describes in an exhaustive manner, her personal experiences and observations of native life in the immense forests which cover that part of the "Dark Continent"; the types, fetishes,

languages, gods, and moral characteristics of the different races. Nor are missionaries and traders omitted from her instructive surveys. Indeed, she acknowledges having received much assistance and guidance from them, that rendered her travels more safe and pleasant. Her main object was getting a collection of the fishes of the rivers north of the Congo, and studying the whole subject of "fetish" as the African form of thought, of other features of which she gives a mass of fresh information. The book also has several appendices treating of trade and labour, disease, and a description of reptiles and fishes, by Dr. A. Günther, F.R.S. Its illustrations are good, and the only fault we can find, is, that there is no map to illustrate the route taken by the gifted writer, and the many countries she so well describes.

### THE N.W. PROVINCES OF INDIA.

METHUEN AND CO.

14. *The North-Western Provinces of India—their History, Ethnology and Administration*, by W. CROOKE. This is one of those books which are a credit to the Civil Service of India and a justification of our rule of that continent. Not that Mr. Crooke's work is an apology much less a glorification of that rule; it is the mere fact that officials can express their opinions so plainly and so boldly in favour of the ancient systems of India that is a credit, as well as a lesson, to our Government and that indicates the possession of a sympathy, which were it more general, would attach the natives of India to that country far more so, than the misleading comparisons between the English and the native systems of administration, in which other officials indulge. If there is one thing more than another, Mr. Crooke's book shows, it is that nothing can be more injurious to a country than an alien rule conducted by alien methods. He shows, in contradiction to what we have been told at some recent public meetings, that there were periods, both under Hindu and Mussulman rule, when the people were more contented than they are now, whilst had we maintained some of the ancient methods of agriculture we should be less exposed to ever-recurring famines. Dr. Voelcker has shown that we have less to teach than to learn from the Indian peasant; that he is right to prefer the water from the well,—the centre of a village life,—to our less effective canal water; that even his method of ploughing is more suited to the country, than what we only too often seek to impose upon him in the way of reform. Mr. Crooke, after considering the land in its physical aspects, with a vividness and thoroughness all his own, goes into the past and present history of India, showing *inter alia* how the half-education of both governors and governed, is a source of constant mistakes. He then describes the ethnology and social condition of the people with a minuteness extending to the *dom*, or gipsies, of the North-West Provinces. Antiquities, including the birth-place of Buddha now identified by Dr. Führer, in the Nepal Terai and the religions of this Province then occupy the author's attention, as also comparisons with systems of land and of administration in other parts of the world. Whoever wants to know the real state of the North West and the tribes and castes therein, should turn to this *magnum opus* of Mr. W. Crooke, which has also a map and is well illustrated.

MESSRS. OSGOOD, McILVAINE AND CO.; LONDON.

15. *With the Jungle Folk*, by E. D. CUMING. The amiable author of "In the Shadow of the Pagoda" has now brought out an interesting Sketch of Burmese Village Life. In it figure the happy native Burmans in the Jungle; the Englishman who marries a graceful Burmese maid, whose jealousy is well described at seeing her husband play lawn-tennis with girls of his race; the way in which a Burmese, beaten by a European, turns Dakoit, although at heart a coward; his adventures under an equally cowardly, but more unscrupulous, Boh or leader; how timid villagers are assaulted by equally timid robbers; the ex-Dakoit dressed in a little brief authority as a policeman; the Burmese love-making; bargaining; the superstitions that blind a shrewd race—all are well described, but seem to show some falling off of the Burmese in these days. The book is well illustrated by a Burmese artist.

### THE HARṢA-CARITA OF BĀNA.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND, NEW SERIES.

16. *The Harṣa-Carita of Bāna*, translated by E. B. COWELL, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and F. W. THOMAS, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Orientalists are indebted to the spirited supporter of the Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, for the translation of another Sanskrit Romance by Bāna. This time the work chosen is the well-known historical novel first introduced, as we are told in the Preface, to European Orientalists by the veteran Sanskrit scholar, Dr. Fitzedward Hall. The learned translators inform us that this romance deals with a period "which happens to be almost as familiar to the student of Indian history, as the reign of any of the Muhammadan monarchs of Northern India.

"Çri-harṣa, who gives his name to the story, was the ruler at whose court the Chinese Buddhist traveller Hiuen Tshang for a time resided, who has left us such a precious description of India, as he actually saw it in the early part of the seventh century (A.D. 630-644); and fortunately for us, Çri-harṣa was a king who well deserved to have this strong light thrown upon his reign. He was the Akbar of the 'Hindu period' of Indian history, and under his wise toleration the adherents of the contending religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism, seemed to forget their rivalries in a common feeling of loyalty, just as Rajputs and Muhammadans served Akbar with equal devotion." The truth is, we imagine, that sovereigns of this character have been more common in India, than is usually supposed. Some of the sovereigns of Gujarat seem to have wavered between Çaivism and Jainism, and to have promoted with laudable impartiality the adherents of both religions. Of this there is ample evidence in the *Rās Malā*, the fascinating work of the late Mr. Forbes. Hofrath Bühler, in his "Life of the Jaina monk Hemachandra," tells an amusing story which illustrates the spirit in which Indian sovereigns approach the subject of religion, and the skill with which their advisers deal with their perplexities. Once on a time Siddharāja, the well-known king of Gujarat,



who wished to find the right way to salvation, instituted enquiries on the subject in all countries, applying to the leaders of all sects. The result was not consoling to him. Every teacher praised his own system, and denounced those of his rivals. The king in his perplexity applied to Hemachandra. He gave his opinion in the form of an apologue from the Purāṇas. Long ago there lived a merchant, with whom his wife had good reason to be dissatisfied. She exerted herself to the utmost to regain his affection, and sought everywhere for charms in order to attain this end. At last a man of Gauda promised "to fasten her husband to her with a firm cord," and gave her a drug which she was to mix with his food. She took his advice, and her husband was turned into a bull. Then she was generally blamed, and fell into a state of profound despondency. Once she led her husband, attached, we suppose, by the promised "firm cord" into a neighbouring meadow, and reposed, while he grazed, in the shade of a tree. There she overheard a conversation between Īva and his wife Pārvaṭi, who were hovering overhead in a *vimāna*. Pārvaṭi asked her husband the cause of the woman's grief. He told her, and added that in the shadow of the tree there grew a plant, which would restore to the merchant his human shape.\* As the nature of the plant was not accurately defined, the woman collected all the plants in the locality designated, and threw them in front of the bull. He ate them and recovered his human form. "In the same way," said Hemachandra, "as this plant produced its effect, though its name and nature were never known, will a faithful devotion to all sects lead to salvation, though it may never be known which sect is really most deserving of respect."

We make no apology for borrowing this anecdote from Hofrath Bühler's work, as we believe that it throws considerable light on Indian principles of government, as practised by the most successful rulers.

We now return to the history of Śrīharṣa. The style of Bāṇa, both in the *Kādambarī* and the work now before us, is most troublesome to the translator. Even Professor Cowell and his accomplished pupils groan under their burden. "Bāṇa's style resembles the *estilo culto* of Spanish literature; it abounds with double meanings in the words and veiled allusions in the sentences, so that the reader is apt to be bewildered by the dazzling coruscations which keep flashing across his path." But it has been shown by Hofrath Bühler that many of these puns refer to the events of Bāṇa's time. The translators have themselves unriddled many, and it is quite possible that some problems may be left to exercise the sagacity of future students. We take one specimen of the allusions in question. We read on page 168 that "the rising clear-flecked moon (*çaṣāṅka*) shone like the pointed hump of Īva's tame bull, when blotted by mud scattered by his broad horns." Here the translators tell us, "the commentator himself explains the allusion, as he tells us in his note on the opening verses of Chapter VI., that *Çaṣāṅka* was the name of the

\* Conversations and plants of this character are, of course, common enough in the folklore of Asia and Europe.

† This novel has been translated by Miss Ridding, and forms part of the same series. The translation was reviewed in our April number.

dishonoured Gauda king against whom Harṣa was marching. Hiuen Tshang states that Rājyavardhana was treacherously killed by Časānka, the ruler of Karnasūvarna in Eastern India." The ruins of Karnasūvarna have, we believe, been recently discovered by the well-known Bengal antiquary, Dr. Waddell.

The difficulties of Bāna's style are so great as to discourage all but students. But we imagine that many students who, without being professed Sankritists, take interest in Indian history, and Indian customs, will read this translation with pleasure and profit. The fifth chapter is, perhaps, the most interesting. The story of the suicide of the queen, who entered the fire, on hearing that the king could not recover, is most pathetic. It sheds a clear light upon the feelings which led so many Indian women of high birth to embrace gladly such a horrible death. The same remark would apply to the story of the young physician (pp. 144, 145). After the king's death we read that many of his followers imitated the devotion of the servants of Otho. 'Others adopted a life of religion. There can be no doubt that the translators are right in supposing the book to be of real historical value. To Sanskrit students this translation will be most serviceable. The notes contain "Sanskrit lore of every kind," if we may apply to the work of the translators what they themselves say of the work of Bāna.

It remains only to call attention to the fact that they express themselves indebted to the help of the valuable MS. which Hofrath Bühler presented to the India Office Library, and also mention that the same accomplished Sanskritist "lent them a collection of the various readings of another MS., and a native scholar's notes on the first book."

#### TRUSTEES OF THE INDIAN MUSEUM; CALCUTTA.

17. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, Parts III. and IV., by CHARLES J. RODGERS, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India. Some time ago we noticed the appearance of the first and second instalments of this valuable work. Mr. Rodgers has at last brought his laborious task to a successful termination. The two parts now issued deal with the more miscellaneous section of the collection, and thus cover a much wider field than the first half of the work. For this reason, they will probably be of interest to a wider circle of students. They include the ancient and mediæval coins of India, miscellaneous coins from North and from South India, coins of the Græco-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Greek, Seleukid, Parthian, Roman and Sassanian empires. There are also some miscellaneous Muhammadan coins, and others belonging to the kingdom of Ghazni and to the Durāni line of Kandahār and Kābul. Finally we have the modern Asiatic coins, with a certain number issued by various countries in Europe and America. The plates are an important and welcome addition. Two are devoted to the mint-marks or monograms on the coins, and there are six photo-etched plates giving a reproduction of the most salient types. We fear that Mr. Rodgers has been very inadequately rewarded for the long time and close application he has devoted to this work. We trust that the Indian Government will be able, before it

becomes too late, to devise some means of retaining the services of such an enthusiastic, and in his own line such an exceptional, savant.

FISHER UNWIN : LONDON.

18. *South Africa as it is*, by F. REGINALD STATHAM. This work opens with the story of the annexation of the Transvaal by the Cape Government in April 1877, and describes the mission to England of Mr. Krüger, as the bearer of a memorial from the Boers to the Beaconsfield Government for the reversal of the decision of annexation. The mission failed in its object, but the Boers had resolved, if negotiations failed, that they would take up arms for their independence. The discovery of the diamond fields not only brought a new force into the country, but saved South Africa from bankruptcy, and infused new life and vigour into a non-progressive population; it also gave an impulse to commerce and travelling, and improved means of communication. The disagreements and changes in the cabinets of the Cape Ministry were followed by the Zulu war, with its disgraceful disaster, and the disturbances in Griqualand and Basutoland. An attempt was made to disarm the Basutos, who were perfectly loyal subjects, but the object failed and cost the colony four millions of money. Their war broke out with the Boers and resulted in a series of disasters to the British forces. Owing to the effective mediation of Mr. Brand, terms of settlement were arranged, and embodied in a convention assuring the rights of the Boers to complete autonomy and the right of the Crown to supervise foreign relations.

The author shows us that the collapse of the policy of Imperialism and the failure of the scheme of Confederation to South Africa, as applied through the medium of Lord Carnarvon, resulted in the creation and consolidation of the Dutch party.

Treating of the story of the Kimberley diamond mines, he says, that their amalgamation placed in the hands of a small group of persons a wealth far out of proportion to the average individual wealth of the country, thus giving those persons a most dangerous power of political ascendancy.

The book finishes with an account of the unhappy Matabele war, and the "Jameson raid" incident, and we can thoroughly recommend it to our readers as an illustration of the facts which have led up to the present situation in South Africa.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We acknowledge with thanks the republication of "The Pamirs and the Oxus" from the Journals of the Royal Geographical Society by the Right Hon. George N. Curzon, M.P., the versatile traveller and politician who may be truly described as "not one but all mankind's epitome" and whose present volume abounds in the most valuable facts, and bold conjectures.

We have also received the following books, which we are compelled to reserve for future notice:—*Commerce and Industries of Japan*, by Robert P. Porter, printed under the direction of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PHILADELPHIA, 1896. This circular, starting with a clear map of Japan, shows the location



of the principal industries and pursuits, and treats with the animal and vegetable products generally, giving much useful information and statistics which show that Great Britain possesses the lion's share in Japanese trade. Another circular issued from the above-named association and entitled *Foreign Trade of Argentine, Uruguay and Brasil* is an exhaustive analysis of the trade of these three countries, where, owing to the millions of British money invested, the banking and foreign shipping is also in the hands of Great Britain. The reason given for the limited sale of United States goods is the lack of practical efforts to develop the trade.

*The Mulum in Parvo Atlas of the World* (fourth edition), by W. and A. K. JOHNSTON, Edinburgh and London, 1897. This is a very portable book and contains 96 coloured maps on good paper, printed in good type, giving the area, population, religion, government, army and navy, finances, etc., of every country besides the configuration, orography, hydrography and climate of the different continents. It possesses an index, and all at an extremely low price.

*The Trial of Shama Charan Pal* (LAWRENCE AND BULLEN, LIMITED, LONDON, 1897). This is an illustration of village life in Bengal, with an introduction by Miss Orme, LL.B., and is the report of the trial of a village headman accused of murdering his neighbour and intimate friend. The book gives an insight into native life in Bengal, and the administration of law under the eyes of the central British authorities.

*In the Bight of Benin*, by A. J. LAWSON (LAWRENCE AND BULLEN, LIMITED, LONDON, 1897). A book containing several stories of adventures in the Bight of Benin which illustrate the customs and dealings of the natives and Europeans living there.

*A Ride through Western Asia*, by CLIVE BIGHAM (MACMILLAN AND CO., LONDON, 1897). The adventurous author relates in a pleasant style the story of his long ride through Turkey in Asia, Persia from West to East, and North to South, Turkestan, and on to Kāshgar; thence back to Europe through Western Siberia. Although all these countries have been before described, and have become comparatively well known, yet, there is a lot of fresh information to be gleaned from this book; it is full of good illustrations and maps.

*Digestion and Diet*, by SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D., F.R.S. (SMITH, ELDER AND CO., LONDON, 1897). This is a reprint of two publications by the author on "The Digestive Ferments and Artificially Digested Food" and Lectures on "Dietetics and Dyspepsia," added to other contributions of a kindred character. It is divided into four sections under the respective headings of "Digestion and the Digestive Ferments"; "Dietetics"; "Preparation of Food for Invalids"; and "Dyspepsia," terminating with an Appendix treating of the general features and the medical aspects of the opium habit in India.

*Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, Vol. IV., part I., being a "History of South and East Africa," and Vol. IV., part II. the "Geography of South and East Africa," by C. P. LUCAS, B.A., OXFORD CLARENDON PRESS, 1897.

*A History of Ancient Geography*, by H. F. TOZER, M.A., F.R.G.S. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1897.

*Twenty-six Years of Missionary Work in China*, by GRACE STOTT. (HODDER AND STOUGHTON, LONDON, 1897.)

This is an interesting account of a long residence spent by Mr. and Mrs. Stott in missionary work in China, and shows us the ups and downs, griefs and joys, and dangers attending the life of missionaries.

*Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society* (LONDON). Vol. III. Part IV. containing "The Evolution of a Netsuke," by M. B. HUTSH, and "On Inrō," by MICHAEL TOMKINSON.

*The Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, with its admirable store of useful information.

*Dr. Nansen, the Man and his Work*, by F. DOLMAN (SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE). Short, but interesting, and accompanied by a map.

*A Map of Greece, Crete, etc.*, by W. AND A. K. JOHNSTON.

We have also received the following Jubilee publications: *Life of Her Majesty the Queen*, with Sketches of the Royal Family, and copiously illustrated (SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, LONDON). A very well written and thoroughly interesting Diamond Jubilee memoir.

By the same publishers: *The Queen, her Empire, and the English-speaking World*, by MRS. J. SITWELL. It contains a portrait of Her Majesty and four pages of biographical summary. The rest is made up of splendid photographic views.

*Sixty Years of the Queen's Reign*, by SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS). The chapter on the progress of India is, as would be expected, very interesting; the period is described as "An epoch of Empire making."

We reserve for review in our next issue: "*A Survey of Greek Civilization*," by G. P. MAHAFFY, D.D. (Macmillan and Co.);—"*A History of Ancient Greek Literature*," by GILBERT MURRAY HILL (W. Heinemann);—"*History in Fact and Fiction*," by the HON. A. L. G. CANNING (Smith, Elder and Co.);—MACLEAN'S "*Guide to Bombay*" (Bombay Gazette Steam Press);—"*Text-Book of Official Procedure*," by C. P. HOGAN (Catholic Orphan Press, Calcutta);—"*The Evolution of the Aryan*," by THERING DRUCKER (Sonnenschein);—"*Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain*," by W. CHAFFERS (Reeves and Turner);—"*The Mohammadan Controversy*," by SIR WILLIAM MUIR (T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh);—"*The Assumption of Moses*," by R. H. CHARLES, M.A. (London: Adam and Charles Black);—*The Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I; Part 1, "*History of Gujarat*"; Part 2, "*History of Konkan Dakhan and Southern Maratha Country*" (Bombay Government Press, 1896);—*The Remains near Kasia in the Gōrakhpur District*, the reputed site of Kuṣanagara or Kucināra, the scene of Buddha's Death, by VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S. (North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, Allahabad);—*A Princess of Islam*, by I. W. SHERER, C.S.I. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London);—*An Introductory Course in Japanese*, by C. MACCAULEY, A.M. (Sampson Low and Co., London);—*The Nation's Awakening, Essays towards a British Policy*, by SPENSER WILKINSON (Archibald Constable and Co., London);—*Egyptian (Arabic) Self-Taught*,

by C. A. THIMM, F.R.G.S. (E. Marlborough and Co., London);—*Manual of Hebrew Syntax*, by REV. J. D. WIJNKOOP (Luzac and Co., London);—*The Dream of Pilate's Wife*, by MRS. H. DAY (The Roxburghe Press, London);—*St. John in the Desert*, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D. (Henry Frowde, London).

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rae St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—The American weekly, called *Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Public Opinion*, (London);—*Journal of the Society of Arts*, (London);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, (Paris);—*The Canadian Gazette*, (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review*, (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde*, (London and Paris: Hachette);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: The National Press);—From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*;—the three last numbers of *The Strand Musical Magazine*, and *The Navy and Army and Country Life* both illustrated. The last Quarter's "SANSKRIT JOURNAL" of the Oriental University Institute, Woking.



## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The 60th anniversary of the Queen's reign was celebrated in a befitting manner, and the 21st and 22nd of June were kept as public holidays throughout India. By Her Majesty's desire all communities and public bodies presented their addresses through the Viceroy instead of directly to her, and the same principle was applied to Delegations originally intending to proceed to this country.

The following chiefs and representatives of the Indian native army and Imperial Service troops, were present in London on the occasion of the Queen's commemoration: H.H. the Rajah of Kapurthala; their Highnesses the Thakur Sahibs of Morvi and of Gondal; the Thakur Hari Singh; the Kunwar Thokal Singh; the Rajah Rajit Singh of Khetri; the Maharaj Dhiraj Sir Pertab Singh; Umaid Singh, Raj Kumar of Shahpura; Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Bart.; Captain Mir Hashim Ali Khan of Hyderabad; the Resaldar Majors Didar Singh of Sind; Sungyat Singh of Kashmir; Mihrab Haidar Shah, 3rd Lancers Hyderabad contingent; and Ali Muhammad Khan 2nd Bengal Lancers. The Resaldars, Abdul Majid Khan of Bahawalpur; Kishan Singh of Nabha; Hara Singh of Karpurthala; Dan Singh of Bhavnagar; Behā-ud-din Khan (Afghan) 1st Central India Horse; and Bijelj Singh. The Commandants Abdul Ganny of Gwalior; Govind Rao Matkar of Indore; Mirza Kerim Beg of Bhopal; Nand Singh of Patiala; Rao Bahadur Thakur Dip Singh of Bikanir; Chatru Singh; Daud Khan of Ulwar; and Nasir Khan of Rampur. Jemadar Abdul Kerim Khan, A.D.C. to the Viceroy; and Superintendent Rai Bahadur Dhanpat Rai of Jeypore.

The plague is rapidly decreasing in Bombay, Poona, Karachi, and Gwalior, but it is still severe in Kolaba and Cutch.

The area affected by the famine is gradually decreasing, but the number of persons on Famine Relief works is still great, viz., 4,245,000 which includes native States. In the Madras Presidency it is feared a scarcity of water will add to the existing distress, which is expected to last till November. It is estimated that 85 lakhs will have to be spent for the famine during the current year.

The monsoon has set in and there is every appearance of a good season.

The total area irrigated by canals, will, this year, exceed 3,000,000 acres, and the receipts will exceed a crore of rupees whilst the value of the crops on canal irrigated lands will be more than twelve times that sum.

During the twelve months ending 31 March 1897, the total imports into British India from abroad were nearly 72 crores, and the exports amounted to nearly 100 crores.

A loan of Rs. 30,000 has been granted to the 2nd Bombay Lancers to meet the expenses attendant on its reorganisation.

The trade returns on the Dir-Swat and Chitral roads for the year ending 1st March last, have reached the large total of nearly 64½ lakhs.

The Mari-Attock railway will be completed shortly. This is an im-

portant link on the strategic line of the Indus valley, it gives lateral communication between Peshawar and Multān viâ Attock, places Rawalpindi more in touch with the Derajāt, and when the Indus is bridged at Kotri, direct communication between Karachi and Peshawar will be established.

The impression is gaining ground among the military people in India that the measures proposed by Lord George Hamilton for checking contagious disease among the British troops are inadequate. It is urged that full discretionary powers should be given to the Indian Government, but this is limited by an array of public opinion to the recommendations of the Army Medical Commission.

A congress of Telugu poets and pandits met in April at Bellary under the auspices of the Bellary Sarasa Vinodhimi Sabha, and was largely attended.

Malik Ahmad Khān, an Assistant Commissioner of the Panjāb, has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for taking bribes, and several other native officials have also been punished for breach of trust.

A detachment of a British force whilst halting in the Tochi valley was attacked by Waziris. Col. Bunny of the 1st Sikhs, Capt. Browne, R.A., and Lieut. Cruickshank, R.A., were killed, and Lieut. Seton Browne, Surg.-Capt. Cassidy and Lieut. Higginson wounded. A punitive expedition, consisting of 6,000 men under the command of Major-General Corrie Bird has started for Tochi viâ Bannu.

A severe shock of earthquake was experienced in India on the 12th June. Great damage was done at Calcutta, Dacca, Jamalpur, and the Mofussil generally. The tea gardens in Assam and elsewhere have suffered, factories and machinery having been destroyed. Railways, roads and bridges have been greatly damaged and telegraphic communication interrupted. The loss of many lives, including Europeans, is reported. Much misery has resulted to the homeless on account of being exposed to the monsoon rains which had set in. Public opinion declared in favour of devoting the funds reserved for the Jubilee celebration to the relief of the sufferers by this appalling calamity.

On the 23 ult. at Bombay Mr. J. A. Rand of the Civil Service and Lieut. Ayerst were deliberately shot by some persons unknown, the latter dying immediately, and the former being in a dangerous state. Mr. Rand was a member of the Plague Commission, and, in connection with the discharge of his duties as such, he had been subjected to violent attacks by the vernacular Press. A reward of 20,000 rupees has been offered for the arrest of the murderers.

The Viceroy will visit BURMA next cold weather, arriving at Rangoon about the middle of November and thence proceed to Mandalay. It is proposed to spend about 100 lakhs of rupees on railways during this financial year.

**NATIVE STATES.**—The Maharajah of Kashmir commemorated the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty by founding two female hospitals, one at Srinagar, and the other at Jammu, which will be worked by lady doctors. On the Jubilee day a grand Durbar was held at Srinagar attended by representatives from Jammu, Kashmir, Gilgit, Skardo, and Ladakh.

The young Maharajah of Tipperah has been formally installed on the gadi of his father.

The fifth of the chiefs of Central India who have been invested with ruling powers during the last two years is H.H. Mulhar Rao Powar, the Rajah of Dewas.

A marriage has taken place between the Princess Keshaba of Cutch and the Maharao of Kotah, the festivities lasted a week, and nearly 150,000 Bhyads of the Rao "brethren of the tribe" assembled at Bhuj for the occasion.

The deposition of the Maharaj Rana, Zalim Singh, of the Jhalawar State, who was removed last year, has been confirmed; half of Jhalawar now reverts to the parent State, Kotah, from which it was originally severed in 1838, whilst the other half, including Shahabad, will be created into a small new State, the chief of which has still to be nominated.

AFGHANISTAN.—According to the last reports the Government of India and the Amir are in agreement as to the tribal divisions of the Mohmands, thus making a demarcation at present unnecessary. The Amir has withdrawn the officials and troops, who have been in occupation of the Mittai valley in Bajaur for a year, thus showing that he means to respect his treaty engagements.

At Lutdeh in Kāfiristan, the Kāfirs rose against the Afghan garrison, and drove them into a tower, which they set on fire, several Afghans perishing—some Mullās were also killed; the outbreak is attributed to a demand of the Afghans for further hostages as surety for the good behaviour of the tribesmen.

The Amir has requested that the ex-Chief of Kunar may be allowed to leave India for Kabul, where he is promised good treatment.

Nasrullah Khan has never been permitted to take up the duties of the Governorship of Candahar province, to which post he was said to have been nominated on his return from England; he is living quietly in Kabul.

The Khan of Lalpura has been restored to favour. He is the principal Mohmand chief, and rules the Mohmands whether in English, or in Afghan, territory.

The Bolan railway in BELUCHISTAN between Quetta and Sibi is now open for general traffic.

CENTRAL AND RUSSIAN ASIA.—The Russians are said to have a small force encamped north of the Alai range ready to move into the Pamir region when the passes are open. The object is said to be to complete the plague cordon in the upper Oxus valley. Col. Grombchevsky is still engaged in the delimitation of the Russo-Chinese frontier in the Amu territory. An exclusively scientific expedition is to be sent by the Russian Geographical Society and Academy of Sciences to study the geography and natural history of the Khanates of Roshan, Shignan, and Darwaz.

In May last was inaugurated the construction of the Merv-Kushk railway, to run to the Afghan frontier opposite Merv; it is expected to be completed in the autumn.

CEYLON has joined the International Telegraphic Convention, and henceforth will be quite independent of India in the administration of its Telegraph Department.



We notice that latterly, in spite of the spread of education and the increase of property amongst the natives of the southern part of the island, lawlessness is worse to-day than it was 20 years ago.

The STRAITS SETTLEMENTS have remitted nearly \$40,000 to the Indian Famine Relief Fund. Twenty-five of the Malay State Guides and twenty-five Malay police from Singapore attended the Jubilee in London.

The King of SIAM travelled to Europe in his yacht accompanied by his son, and has visited most of the capitals. His Crown-prince was present at the Jubilee celebrations in London, where the father is also shortly expected.

11,000 insurgents in the PHILIPPINES have made their submission to the authorities at various points, and Naic has been captured, with great loss to the rebels.

CHINA.—The Chinese Government has negotiated with German financiers for a loan of 50,000,000 taels.

A preliminary contract for a loan of £16,000,000 has also been signed at Peking on behalf of a British syndicate, whilst Sheng Ta-jen has obtained a loan of 4,000,000 taels at 4 % from a Belgian syndicate on the security of railways already built, plus the sole right to build a railway between Peking and Han-Kau. It is stipulated that the entire staff and materials for the line shall be imported from Belgium, and the railway is to be completed in 1903. The British, German and American ministers at Peking have strongly protested against this monopoly.

The special Russian Embassy under Prince Oukhtomsky was received by the Emperor of China with great cordiality. Prince Oukhtomsky will remain in China for a time as Special Commissioner in connection with the final arrangements pending between the two Governments with regard to the new Russo-Chinese Railway, which will not be begun before August 16 next.

The Government have decided to establish and fortify a naval station at Kiaschau, immediately to the north of the Shang-tung Promontory.

According to the customs' statistics the value of the foreign trade last year was the largest on record, amounting to Hk. 'Tls. 333,600,000 against 315,000,000 in 1895, notwithstanding the war with Japan and the loss of Formosa; the outlook is good and very noticeable improvement is seen in the brick and tablet tea trade for the Russian market.

The ratifications of the revised Burma-Chinese Convention were exchanged at Peking on the 5th June, when the Tsung-li-Yamen gave a banquet in celebration of the event. The long protracted negotiations by the British Government for the opening of the West River, the great waterway of the two Kwang provinces, have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Under the new agreement, the West River is to be thrown open to foreign trade up to Wuchau-Fu, which, together with Samshui and Hong-Kun, is to be added to the list of "open" ports.

His Excellency, Chang Yeng Huan, chief of the Foreign Office at Peking, represented the Emperor as special envoy at the Queen's Jubilee celebrations in London.

Russia has given the Government of JAPAN satisfactory assurances

regarding the engagement of Russian soldiers for service in Korea. The Hawaiian Government has refused to accede to the claim made by Japan in connexion with the refusal of the former to permit the landing of Japanese immigrants; it is reported that the Japanese Diplomatic Agent at Honolulu will retire, thereby severing diplomatic relations between the two countries.

PERSIA.—The Amin-ed-dowleh has been appointed President of the Council, and Minister of the Interior with extensive powers. The Shah was present at the races held at Teheran in April, and was loudly cheered. Prince Abbas Mirza, Mülk Ärâ, the minister of Justice, had an apoplectic fit on the course, to which he succumbed. A Persian legation has been formed at Stockholm, Mirza Rıza Khan, Arfa'-ed-dowleh, the minister at the Russian court having been appointed there in addition to his present post. H.M. the Shah sent a special mission in May to England to announce his accession. It was composed of Mirza Abul Qāssim Khān, Nāser-el-Mülk, envoy, Bahā-ed-dowleh, councillor, Mirza Hassan Khān, secretary, and Ardeshir Khān, attaché.

Persia was also represented at the Jubilee fêtes in England by a special envoy, Prince Amir Khan, Sirdar-i-Muazzam. The Russian Government intend to appoint a commercial agency in Teheran to assist Russian business with Persia.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—With regard to the Armenian massacres at Tokat, though the Porte had informed the Embassies of the dismissal of the chief officials of that place, Sir Philip Currie had to call attention to the inaction of the tribunal at Tokat, and even to the acquittal of the officials implicated.

There are prospects of the French scheme for the reorganization of Turkish finance, meeting with the approval of Russia. The object in view is to provide for the requirements of the Ottoman Budget, and to supply the Porte with the funds necessary for the execution of the proposed reforms. The Sultan has invited the council of the Anglo-Armenian Association to send a deputation to Constantinople for the purpose of conferring in connection with the proposed reformed administration in Anatolia. Munir Pasha, grand master of ceremonies, represented the Sultan at the Diamond Jubilee, attended by Brig. Genl. Nassir Pasha and Capt. Enver Pasha.

EGYPT.—The Ministerial Council has approved the report of Mr. Dawkins, lately sent to Dongola, in order to advise about the administration of that province. Taxation has been settled, all minor taxes existing before 1885 have been abolished, retaining light land taxes and the date tree tax. The Sirdar has returned to Cairo from a visit of inspection to the recovered Egyptian territory and considers everything ready for an advance upon Abu Hamed, which is probable in August, when the Nile rises sufficiently to allow steamers to pass through the 4th cataract. The Khalifa has withdrawn troops from the provinces and has collected a large force at Omdurman. A skirmish occurred north of Dongola between the Egyptian cavalry and the mounted Dervishes, when 15 Dervishes and eight Egyptian soldiers were killed, and Capt. Peyton of the 15th Hussars was wounded.

Sir J. Scott presented a Bill to the Council of Ministers for the reform of the organization of the Mehkemehs which the Khedive and Council finally passed, after consultation with all the heads of the Muhammadan religion. The judicial system is thus brought into harmony with modern ideas, and all Muhammadan religious feelings are respected and the new law will have the adhesion of all classes. The Legislative Council has unanimously voted in favour of the establishment of one land registry office, under the direction of the Minister of Justice in place of the two existing systems under the Mixed Courts and the Mehkeme. A third Coptic member has been nominated to the native Legislative Council.

The Khedive, in consequence of a report that troubles were impending in the island of Thasos, one of his appanages, decided to send privately a detachment of troops to the island. The transport "George" carrying them was captured off Tenedos by a Greek man-of-war, and considered as a lawful prize. The Turkish victories in Greece have produced some excitement in native circles, and an anti-European feeling exists which is also shared by the Palace party.

A census taken on the 1st June shows the total population to be 9,700,000. Mr. Perry, C.E., succeeds Grand Pasha as Director General of the Tanzim and of the Town Works Department.

Egypt was represented at the Queen's Jubilee by the Khedive's brother, Prince Muhammad Ali Pasha.

ABYSSINIA.—The reported massacre of the Bottego exploring expedition has been confirmed.

The British mission to Abyssinia was accorded a friendly reception by the Emperor, and, after transacting its business, started on its return to the coast on May 15th.

It is stated that a Russian permanent diplomatic mission has been accredited to the Negus which will leave in the autumn.

The Paris mint has coined 5 franc pieces for the Negus.

EAST AFRICA.—The Sultan of ZANZIBAR has published a decree abolishing the legal status of slavery; it comprises a scheme of compensation for slaves legally held; the Arabs seem pleased with the compensation and there are no signs of trouble.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The relations between England and the Transvaal Government, which were far from satisfactory, have now improved. More moderate counsels prevail in the Transvaal and the Free State, and the firm but conciliatory attitude adopted by the Imperial Government, together with the requisite show of force, but without the slightest aggressive action, is approved by all moderate men. The British squadron amounting to eight vessels under the command of Admiral Rawson, which had assembled in April at Delagoa Bay dispersed on May 17th. Sir Alfred Milner, who met with a cordial reception on his arrival at the Cape in May, has taken up his duties as High Commissioner and Governor of Cape Colony. The political outlook is more reassuring after the reverse suffered by the extremists, and the Cape ministry is daily strengthening its position. Both Houses of Parliament have adopted an address of congratulation to the Queen on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of her accession, and £25,000 was voted



as a Jubilee memorial, to be expended on hospitals and other kindred institutions. Rinderpest has broken out in two districts of the Cape Colony. Sunday the 13th June was kept as a solemn fast day throughout South Africa, owing to the continued spread of rinderpest, which threatens to overwhelm the agricultural and pastoral industries. The Hon. Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, K.C.M.G., the Premier of Cape Colony and the Hon. Harry Escombe, Premier of Natal, together with detachments of the Cape Mounted Rifles and other Colonial troops attended the Jubilee commemoration in London.

**TRANSVAAL.**—The grave depression of trade is caused by the needless burdens laid on the mining industry, and investors' want of confidence in the Government. The closing of the mines has augmented the number of unemployed. The claim made by the Transvaal Government for damages on account of Dr. Jameson's raid amounts to £1,677,938 3s. 3d. In this claim are not included the lawful claims which might be made by private persons by reason of the action of Dr. Jameson and his troops. Work on the Pretoria forts continues, and a battery of heavy guns with 1,650 cases of war material for Pretoria, have been delivered at Lorenzo Marquez from Germany. Lieut. Eloff has been reinstated in the police and appointed Chief Lieutenant of the Pretoria Force. The repeal of the Aliens' Law has much improved the position; the Government appear to have been influenced in their action by a warning that they must not expect Free-State help, in the event of a rupture with Great Britain over the terms of the London Convention. Much satisfaction has been expressed at the favourable results of the interviews between Mr. Chamberlain and Dr. Leyds, and at the expectation of a good understanding with the British Government.

**BECHUANALAND.**—The rebels in the Lange Beron attacked the British force at Gamasiap on June 3rd, but were repulsed with heavy loss. The British are awaiting reinforcements before making a fresh attack; later advices state that the rebellion is drawing to an end, and it is believed that the chiefs will surrender unconditionally.

The exports and imports of the CONGO STATE for the year 1896 amounted to 15 million and 16 million francs respectively. Belgian imports were largely in excess of other countries. The Congo State Government has received news of the massacre of twenty white non-commissioned officers belonging to Baron Dhani's expedition.

A British mission, which was in the Hinterland of the GOLD COAST, and was headed by Lieut. Henderson, R.N., was attacked by the Chief, Samory, at Wa. Governor Maxwell left for Accra after obtaining a reinforcement of Haussa troops from Lagos. Lieut. Henderson, after his capture, was released by the Sofas, and returned to Kumasi, escorted by a force of Samory's soldiers. Mr. Ferguson is reported to have died through wounds, all the other members of the mission are safe.

**NIGER.**—Lieut. Bretonne, with an escort has received orders from the French Colonial Minister to proceed to the occupation, in the valley of the middle Niger, of the points not occupied by the English regular authorities. He reached the Niger at Ilo, and thence went on to the

south east along the river. (According to the Anglo-French agreement, the northern limit of the territories of the Royal Niger Company was fixed at a line to be drawn from Barrera on the western shore of Lake Chad, to Say, a town on the Upper Niger; it was understood that everything to the north of that line was to be French, to the South, British, but the western boundaries of the Company's territories from Say to the Atlantic were still left open.)

CANADA.—A speech made by Mr. Tate in the Dominion House of Commons vigorously denounced the Quebec bishops for their interference in Federal politics; the speech was loudly cheered by the Liberals and made a great sensation. There is a growing feeling in favour of a tariff, which shall retaliate against the United States the changes in the Dingley tariff which are directed against Canadian trade.

It was announced in the Dominion parliament that the Home Government has agreed to the contract between the Canadian Government and Messrs. Petersen, Tate and Co. for a 20-knot steamship service between England and the colony. The Canadian subsidy is to be \$500,000 per annum to which the British Government will add \$250,000. The Revenue of the Dominion for March last, showed an increase of \$1,500,000. Gold discoveries of almost incredible richness have been made near the Yukon.

The subscriptions raised in Canada for the Indian Famine Fund, which is now closed, amounted to about £50,000. The British Empire League in Canada held its annual meeting in Ottawa, and a resolution was adopted on the motion of Sir C. Tupper urging the Government to consider with Mr. Chamberlain the best method of establishing a system of preferential trade within the empire.

The Hon. Wilfred Laurier, Premier of Canada, and the Archbishop of Ontario represented the colony at the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in London, where also were assembled detachments of various Canadian corps with 39 officers.

The NEW SOUTH WALES finances are in an admirable state; the revenue for the first quarter of the current year was £2,103,000; the land and income tax originally estimated at £508,000 will this year produce £542,000 and trade is improving; drought exists however at present. Sir J. Abbott succeeds Sir Saul Samuel as Agent-General in London. The pastoralists in N. S. Wales, Victoria and Queensland contributed a large quantity of beef and mutton in answer to the Princess of Wales' appeal for feasting the poor of Great Britain in connection with Her Majesty's Jubilee celebration.

The colony of VICTORIA has subscribed £4,000 to the Indian Famine Fund, WESTERN AUSTRALIA has given £1,144 and the FIJI ISLANDS £1,273 for the same object. In a powerful and conciliatory speech at the Federal Convention, Mr. Reid said, that it was impossible to take America as a model, they must follow the British system of Government. Resolutions embodying the principles of the new Constitution submitted by Mr. Barton were unanimously carried.

The QUEENSLAND Revenue for the first quarter of 1897 was £727,000.

It is estimated that the NEW ZEALAND railway revenue will exceed last

year's by £110,000. The net earnings are the highest since 1883 and the passenger traffic was the highest on record. The late governor, Lord Glasgow, has arrived in England and intends to retire. The following Premiers were present at the Jubilee Commemoration in London. The Honble. G. H. Reid (New South Wales); The Hon. Sir George Turner, K.C.M.G. (Victoria); The Hon. Sir Hugh Muir Nelson, K.C.M.G. (Queensland); The Hon. C. C. Kingston (S. Australia); The Hon. Sir John Forrest (W. Australia); The Hon. Richard John Seddon (New Zealand). Detachments of the New South Wales Lancers, Victoria Rifles and New Zealand native and white troops also attended.

OBITUARY.—The deaths have been recorded, during this quarter, of:—Dr. Adam Keir (late Bengal army);—Mr. F. Tucker, Bengal C.S.;—Nawab Sirdar Muhammad Aizal Khan;—Genl. Sir W. Parke, K.C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny);—Col. J. T. Chandler (Sutlej, Panjab campaigns);—Major G. N. Stevenson (Zulu war);—Major-Genl. R. H. Crofton, R.A.;—Rev. W. Ashton, the well-known missionary;—Mr. J. C. C. Beddoe, the architect;—Rev. J. E. W. Rotton, D.D., LL.D., Bengal retired list;—Genl. E. Roche (Afghan wars of 1838 and 1842 and Sutlej);—Major G. W. Bartram, R.E. (Afghanistan 1878-9);—Mr. S. Clark (Postmaster-Genl. N. W. Prov.);—Genl. Sir W. T. Hughes, K.C.B. (Sutlej, Mutiny, etc.);—Rear-Admiral F. S. R. D. Tremlett (Borneo, China);—Genl. Sir G. Malcolm, G.C.B., B.S.C. (Afghanistan, Punjab, Persia and Abyssinia);—Capt. C. S. Warwick (late Indian navy);—Mr. C. E. Bandeson, Receiver-General for Canada;—Col. J. G. Watts, I.S.C.;—Rajah Harattan Singh Bahadur, an old Oude taluqdār (Mutiny);—Col. W. G. Morris, I.S.C.;—Col. G. Denham-Cookes (Sutlej);—Col. F. Atherley (Mutiny);—Col. C. W. Paulet (Mutiny);—Capt. Warren Hastings;—Major-Genl. J. Williamson (Crimea, Mutiny);—Commy-Genl. R. Routh, C.B. (Canadian insurrection and Kafir war);—Mr. H. A. O'Brien (chief magistrate of Singapore);—Col. H. P. Pearson, C.B. (Mutiny and Afghanistan);—Dorekoomboore Dissawe, a Ceylon chief;—Major F. Powell (Crimea);—Lt.-Col. A. C. Andrews, M.I.;—Lt.-Col. A. H. Macintire, I.S.C.;—Wiropo Hotereni Taipari, a well-known Maori chief;—Admiral Sir G. Willes Watson, K.C.B. (China, Crimea);—Mr. Hugh Nevill, F.Z.S., Ceylon C.S.;—Surgn-Genl. J. T. C. Ross, C.I.E. (Sutlej, Panjab, Zulu);—Depty. Surgeon-Genl. C. T. Eves (Mutiny);—Sir William Robinson, late Governor of Western Australia;—Lt.-Col. W. G. Craigie-Halkett (Afghan War);—Sir R. K. A. Dick-Cunyngham (Mutiny);—Mr. John Tweedie, I.C.S.;—Col. C. J. Ryan (Egypt);—Mr. Theodore Bent, the well-known traveller and archæologist;—The Venble. H. H. Dobinson, Archdeacon of the Niger;—Major-General P. Gordon (Sutlej, Mutiny);—Lieut. Alston (late of British Central Africa);—Dr. H. V. Carter, Indian Medical Service;—Rev. R. J. L. M'Ghee (China war);—Mr. W. W. Hume, Ceylon C.S.;—Mr. F. T. Thornton, Asst. Commissioner, Benin;—Mr. G. Langhorne, an old N.S.W. colonist;—Major-General R. G. H. Grant, late R.M.A.;—Professor Sundaram Pillai, the accomplished Indian Tamil scholar;—Major-General G. G. Alexander, R.M.A., C.B. (Borneo, Baltic, Crimea);—Capt. L. A. Morant;—Capt. A. B. Hawes, late Bengal Army;—Col. Sir W. Green, K.C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny, Ashanti, Egypt);—Capt.



H. G. C. Potts;—Capt. B. Burgess, late Indian Army;—Sirdar Partap Singh, Prime Minister to the Nabha State;—Major C. T. Breton (Boer and Zulu wars);—Major-General R. M. Parsons, F.R.S., R.E.;—The Hon. Mr. Javerilal Umaishunker Yajnik, Bombay Legislative Council, and a leading member of the native community;—Dewan Sahib Laximan Jaganath, late of Baroda State;—Mr. Jehangir Hormuzji Mody;—The Maharajah of Vizianagram, G.C.I.E., who died on May 23, aged 48. He was the chief of the Rajahs of the Madras Presidency, and though not possessed of independent authority, his high lineage, large possessions, philanthropic generosity, and the close connection of his house with the earlier days of the British rule in Southern India, placed him in the first rank of the great landowners of the Presidency. He sat for many years in the Government Council of Madras, and successive Governors have acknowledged the value of his friendly interposition when friction occurred between the rulers of the country and certain sections of the people;—General A. T. Heyland, C.B. (Crimea);—Bai Motilbai Wadia, a philanthropic Parsi lady;—Messrs. J. S. Campbell and W. A. Forbes, both of Bengal C.S. and old Haileybury civil servants;—Mr. Ney Elias, C.I.E., an authority on Central Asia;—Lt-Col. J. E. Sharp (Canadian rebellion and Crimea);—Capt. G. T. J. Carey (Egypt 1882);—Major-Genl. C. H. Smith, C.B., late R.A. (Crimea and Mutiny);—Capt. C. W. Earle (Kafir war and Mutiny);—Dr. E. H. Blake, late A.M.D. (China and Crimea);—Genl. A. H. Ferryman, C.B. (Crimea);—Genl. R. W. M'Leod, Fraser (Canadian rebellion and Kafir war);—Major-General H. Beville, C.B. (India, Abyssinia);—Mr. H. H. Priest, Indian C.S.;—Mr. Barnato, the well-known millionaire;—Genl. Sir F. F. Maude, V.C., (Gwalior 1843-4, Crimea);—Col. A. Impey-Lovibond, late R.E., Bengal (Mutiny);—Mr. E. M. G. Eddy, Chief Railway Commissioner N.S.W.;—Genl. A. Turner, late Bengal Staff (Panjab 1848-9);—Surgn-Major W. F. Blyth Dalzel, late Bengal Army (Mutiny);—Surgeon-Capt. Cassidy, from wounds received at Tochi.

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OCTOBER, 1897.

A REFORM IN THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

BY THE RT. HON. LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

As the person who has most to say to the decision of the question as to the need of Hindu and Mussulman Assessors in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee, and the one whom it is most necessary to convince, is the Lord Chancellor, it may be permitted to take the objections raised by him in the House of Lords on the 9th of July last, and to examine how they can be met :

One of these was that the judges on the Judicial Committee "were competent, he presumed, to construe the English language; and the documents from which its decisions were obtained, and upon the authority of which they rested, were English translations, and he need not say that it was the duty of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a duty which he was quite certain they discharged, to acquaint themselves with what was the Mahomedan Law, just as they acquainted themselves with decisions of other systems of law which it was their duty to administer."

It may be observed that the translations just referred to are sometimes incomplete and at others inaccurate. In his book on Hindu Law Mr. Golapchandra Sarkar, Vakil of the High Court of Calcutta 1897, says, page 244 : "The wife's subordinate proprietary right to the husband's property is not at all noticed by the judges in these cases. It is unfortunate that that part of the *Mitaksbará* in which this right is recognised *was not translated* by Colebrooke,

and the consequence is that *it is ignored both by lawyers and judges*. The restrictions on the proprietary member's power of disposing ancestral immoveable property is also overlooked in this connection."

At one time the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council entertained and expressed doubts as to the value of translations; for they observed in the case of *Runguma v. Atchama* 4 M. IA, 1(97): "At the same time it is quite impossible for us to feel any confidence in our opinion upon a subject like this, when that opinion is founded upon authorities to which we have access only through translations, and when the doctrines themselves, and the reasons by which they are supported or impugned, are drawn from the religious traditions, ancient usages, and more modern habits of the Hindus, with which we cannot be familiar."

It is evident that in order to interpret a foreign law correctly the judge to whom it is foreign ought to be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of that law and with the usages which have grown up under it; and Mr. Golapchandra observes in one place that it is necessary for English judges to guard against forgetting that they are not administering law for Englishmen, but for Hindus, who would probably feel and act differently from Englishmen even in the same circumstances.\*

The following paragraph from Mr. Golapchandra's book p. 141 deserves attention in connection with the comments of Mr. George Adams in "The Nineteenth Century" of September last; it is headed "Indian Legislature and Judicial Committee." "A student of jurisprudence would be at a loss to understand the principle on which the highest tribunals are changing the Mitákshará Law which they are called to administer. Hindu Law, as it is, seems to be suited to the exigencies, and is conducive to the welfare and well-being of Hindu society; and the introduction of an innovation, like the legal liability of the son to pay off the father's debt, has been attended with mischievous consequences

\* Hindu Law, page 155.



entailing great hardship. The Indian money-lenders are shrewd and astute enough to be able to protect their own interests, while men of property are often surrounded by unprincipled servants and hangers-on who feel no compunction in robbing their masters and benefactors in collusion with money-lenders. By the operation of the doctrine introduced by the Privy Council in *Girdharee Lall's* case many ancient families are becoming ruined and reduced to poverty. But while the Judicial Committee is changing the law for the benefit of the creditors, the Indian Legislature is passing an Enactment for the protection of the people against money-lenders."

The Government persist in thinking that there is no dissatisfaction in India with the Privy Council decisions, but as careful enquiry would convince them that, although the decisions of that august body are few, their effect is great. Any encroachment on, or misinterpretation of, the applications of Hindu and Muhammadan Law that we have promised to uphold, is widely discussed in India. A writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (July 10) maintains that there is much dissatisfaction both in England and India with the decisions of the Privy Council. Be that as it may, it is only right in itself that a body that should enjoy the highest prestige among our Hindu and Muhammadan fellow-subjects should not be ignorant of Hindu and Muhammadan Law under which it has to decide cases. Indeed, my own wish would be that the Privy Council be the greatest authority on these Laws, which require, for their proper understanding, a thorough knowledge of Sanscrit and Arabic respectively. Our ignorance of the vernaculars of India, though much to be regretted, is less dangerous to our rule than the disregard of the best native culture and institutions, based, directly or indirectly, on the above sacred languages. This is what so sets the people against us as such utter aliens.

Mr. Golapchandra Sarkar's book frequently mentions cases in which he thinks that the High Courts or the

Judicial Committee have deviated from a correct interpretation of Hindu Law; I have not ventured to give more prominence to one case rather than to another, since the expressions used by the author in differing from English judges are all so moderate and temperate that they do not furnish grounds sufficient for selection. The table of cases referred to in the course of the work amount to 418 cases, and the book is calculated to lead even a legal reader to feel that a guide is required to unravel the intricacies and complications of Hindu Law, and that the suggestion of Indian assessors is by no means derogatory to the learning and other qualifications possessed by members of the Judicial Committee.

Whilst on this subject I may incidentally refer in this place to the subsidiary question of the status of Indian High Court Judges, which was also put on the same occasion in the House of Lords.

As vacancies in the Judicial Committee must be filled up, with regard to Indian cases, from the Indian High Court Judges, anything which discourages men of the highest ability from seeking those appointments, must be detrimental to the Judicial Committee. Indian judges have to complain of several innovations and alterations of their status: it was not possible to include all these in a Notice of a question, so that no reply was given by the Government. The reply of the Prime Minister to the question about knighting High Court Judges as was the practice in the case of Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, would have been most appropriate and apposite, if any request or suggestion had been made with regard to conferring honour on any individual. In this case there were no individuals in question, but a class similar to that of their learned brothers, those selected for English Judgeships; there is another class, namely Presidents of the Royal Academy, who are always, nay, who must be, knighted; and cases have arisen where both new Judges and new Presidents of the Royal Academy, would have declined this honour had it been possible for them to do so.

## THE AMIR, THE FRONTIER TRIBES AND THE SULTAN.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

WE are confronted by the inevitable consequences of the Durand Treaty, to whatever portion of the Amir's frontier it has been applied, wisely or the reverse. It is not a document complete in itself or self-explanatory, except in so far as it refers to an attached detailed Map, the original of which has not been produced and mistakes in which had to be corrected in the subsequent Udny arrangement. It is not based on any natural topographical, ethnographical or political principle of delimitation and leaves much to future boundary Commissioners, but it indicates what tribes or portions of tribes (like the Mohmands and Waziris) were to be considered as under the influence of Kabul and India respectively. As Sir Mortimer, however, himself in a very clear and straightforward manner pointed out in an "interview" the other day, the tribes on the Indian side are not to be considered as *within* British territory. They are simply under our influence in the technical sense of the term, that is to say, so far as the Amir is concerned and so far as they submit to our influence or we exert it. This disposes of the charge of certain recalcitrant tribes being "rebels" to our rule and so far deserving of condign punishment. Still, the Durand Treaty was a hasty document, arrived at by a "coup de main" rather than "de maître," but it was considered to be a triumph of Imperial policy. Experienced Panjab Officers, who alone were really competent to foresee its results, were filled with alarm. Indeed, all those whose interests are rather in the peace of the border than in personal glory have all along condemned any, and every, extension of "the Forward Policy." In its random indications to the Mohmand, Kafir and other countries, the Durand Treaty showed local misconceptions,



but, in a glimmer of political foresight, it reserved the Bashgal Valley to British influence. The fears of the Chitral campaign, if not the attitude of the Amir, induced us to surrender this Valley also to Afghanistan by the subsequent equally hasty Udney arrangement, which similarly shows a want of local knowledge. Wherever the Durand Treaty has been applied, twice in Kafiristan, twice in Swat, now in the demarcation of the Mohmand country, (though both its Afghan and British portions still acknowledge the Khan of Lalpura), it is leading to complications. Wherever even its indirect influence is exerted, as on the Afghan-Baluchistan border, it naturally rouses the suspicion of the Amir. Wherever the "Forward Policy" constructs or contemplates a military road, which is a breaking down of physical and tribal bulwarks for the sole possible benefit of a conjectural invader of India, there are risings and rumours of risings. This is why the hitherto friendly Afridis have turned against us, for, seeing that we stayed in Swat after our solemn pledge to evacuate it, in order to construct and maintain a military road to Chitral, their confidence in our good faith is destroyed and they feel that their turn will come next. Indeed, rumours had already reached them of our intention to construct a military road through the Khyber, in which they were to work rather as labourers, than as its trusted guardians in alliance with the powerful English. Hence the *émeute* of a tribe, whose effective utilization in the Khyber Rifles was suggested by the Panjab Government, adopted, with some modifications, by that of Lord Ripon, and carried out by the local influence of Colonel Warburton. How could the would-be spokesman of Pathans, the Afridi, lag behind, when even the Swati, "the woman of the Pathan," the parasite on the immemorial Yaghistan trade through his country, the chronicles, of which can be traced for many hundred years, had turned against us?\*

\* The native manuscript material in my possession since 1867 regarding the Pathan countries will, I hope, also throw light on this subject.

popularity-hunting writers to describe the Swatis as heroes, whom only Alexander the Great had conquered, in order to show, by implication, how much finer the British soldier (generally a native of India) must be. In 1870 I dug up and first named "græco-buddhistic" sculptures on the Swat border, aided by 4 Guides and surrounded by Swatis, where 4000 soldiers now cannot keep the peace. Yet as late as September 1897 the existence of these sculptures is telegraphed from Swat as a testimony, it would appear, to *our* bravery and enlightenment!

The Orakzais wish to avenge themselves for the occupation of Samana and certain commanding positions just inside their territory,\* whilst the Waziris perennially expect a "punitive expedition." It is not two years ago that Imperial conquerors, in "the glorious campaign" that gave us Waziristan in name, were decorated, whereas in former years it was left to the subordinates of a Deputy Commissioner to keep the Waziris in order. No more can be done with them than with the Hindu-Kush vulture whom they resemble in their distant and separate hursts. The Maizar trouble, it has been said, was "got up" in order to strengthen our occupation of independent territory, but this seems unlikely as the troops never expected to fight, had no service ammunition, and simply took with them what they carried in cantonment. Inquiry should rather be made into the report that the trouble was due to our fining Maizar for a transgression of other villages, one of whose Maliks, our ally, and not the Maizaris, fed us when the alleged treacherous firing of the Maizaris on our troops took place. Any story will do against an Afghan or Pathan

\* The posts were fixed by the *preux chevalier* General Lockhart, a fact which is sufficient to dispose of the charge brought in some papers that they were retained by an act of bad faith. Still, as the very competent civilian, Mr. C. T. Thornburn, says on page 210 of his invaluable "*Asiatic Neighbours*": "We have permanently locked up in unimportant positions regular troops, who in war time could be better employed elsewhere. A large and unnecessary charge is added to the already heavy military expenditure of the Government of India, and a perpetual grievance is created which will embitter the Orakzais against us for all time."

tribe, although it may be as honest, truthful and peace-loving as is that of Buneyr. We are now also nibbling at *their* country, as if it were actually *intended* to have the whole frontier in a blaze from Quetta to Kohat and along the once "scientific frontier." The Buneysi is not, naturally, a foe of the British. He gave us no trouble after the Ambeyla campaign in 1863, but, like the Afridi, this Pathan Bæotian is astonished at our breach of faith with Swat, and is now alarmed at his own probable fate.

Our retirement all along the invaded parts to our former Panjab frontier of safety and dominance, only injured by a forward policy, would not affect our prestige with the tribes. They are accustomed alike to punitive expeditions and to our retirements, once the punishment is inflicted. They know that better articles of food and dress can be obtained in our territory, where winter is propitious and in many parts of which they possess cattle and fields. They know we are immensely stronger than themselves and they have no ambition to demonstrate the contrary. They have no cohesion among themselves and no desire of annexation, but they believe in the strength of their mountains as ever protecting their independence. Long may this belief last! It is alone compatible with their value as soldiers in our army and as our allies against foreign invasion. Just as the waves of the sea occasionally dash against a shore, without injuring it, so may a tribe, or rather a few young bloods in it, commit an ill deed on our plains, without entailing the necessity of a more than localized or personal punishment. Even when we were unsuccessful in the objects of expeditions against tribes, they have never presumed on such failures, for all they really want, as separate communities, is to be let alone. A Pathan has quite enough to do to guard himself against his own neighbour or the hostility of an adjacent tribe, to think of national "prestige," a "Forward Policy," a "scientific frontier," "a civilizing mission" or even "the subjugation of the Kafirs generally" at the dictation of either the Sultan of Turkey or of the Kabul Amir.



Now come the tribal Mullahs, who are supposed to have preached a "Jihād" or "holy war" against the invading British Kafir or "infidel." That any war may be "holy" in defence of a nation's independence and religion against an invader is admitted also in other, than Afghan, countries, but, beyond that general impression, the tribal risings have only occurred when *we* have encroached on a tribe, though, as it happens that we are not Muhammadans, this further stimulus of Jihād offers a rallying cry or consolation for meeting death to the attacked. So far the local Mullah, like some Christian priest, may even lead in the defence, but he is not pleased, as a rule, at this addition to his already too heavy duties—which we may not only call spiritual, parochial and educational, but also judicial. Wars increase, for instance, the cases of inheritance that have to be settled and sorely tax his time and secular attainments, as the Muhammadan Law on the division of property pays attention to arithmetical, if not mathematical, rules. Anyhow, the local Mullah's interest is to preserve the peace among his turbulent fellow-tribesmen and this he can only do by his better and wiser conduct. In some centres, such as Gabrial, which supply Mullahs to less regenerate parts, the carrying of arms or the erection of a fort is strictly prohibited, for piety and learning are, or should be, sufficient safeguards. Indeed, I have known many pious tribal Mullahs, whose lives and labours would be an example to believing Christians. They are not greedy and their services as judges or priests are, in general, unpaid, except by occasional presents, perhaps, of a bit of cloth and some food. As exponents, however, of popular feeling, the Mullahs find its expression opposed in localities where State servility or obedience to Chiefs is beginning to take the place of the Muhammadan "equality," which is only controlled by religion and the traditions of tribal honor. Thus in Dir, and to a certain extent in Nawagai, and now throughout Kabul, cautious attempts are made to identify the religious, with the secular, power with the view of gradually making the

Mullahs servants of the ruler rather than independent exponents of religion and spokesmen of the wants of the people. This state of things is made use of by *itinerant* preachers who travel through Kabul, Yaghistan, and often visit India. They have, as a rule, fewer responsibilities or scruples, but more knowledge of the world and eloquence than the local Mullah, though the apostle of Hadda has given the Amir quite as much trouble as to us, not excepting that wanderer, the "mad" or rather "perfidious" "Fakir." The Amir's pamphlet on the conquest of Kafiristan hints at what may be hoped for in the subjugation of Kafirs generally by subordination to a Muhammadan ruler of Abdurrahman's orthodoxy. A defective translation of it, which was somewhat corrected in this Review, appeared in an Anglo-Indian newspaper, but I have since received the Persian original, the perusal of which leaves no doubt on my mind that, if it be possible that a common feeling could ever move Pathan tribes against infidels generally, it would be the conquest by the Amir of the Káfirs of the Hindukush "the brethren of the English." But from this favorable impression as regards the Amir the step to a "Jihád" is still very far. I have shown in a pamphlet written more than ten years ago how "the doctrinal" *greater* JIHÁD, or "strenuous effort" is the worship of God, self-control, obedience to parents and moral precepts and only the *lesser* JIHÁD, is a war against infidels *if* they turn out Muhammadans from their homes *because* they are Muhammadans. Other conditions such as a common leadership of "the faithful" and a strong probability of success are also required which, in the Mullah's opinion, in the most unlikely case of the tribe considering such an abstract question, would be wanting in a war against the English by Pathans who acknowledge *no* superior and have *no* common leader. I hope that the pamphlet to which I refer will soon be circulated in Turkish, Arabic, Persian and Hindustani editions, for a disquisition of the intricate question of Jihád from a strictly orthodox standpoint tends to remove religious

fanaticism in its consideration. The Amir's "strengthening of religion" = the *Taqwim-ud-din*\*, includes a chapter on *Jihād* in the more restricted sense of a "holy war," with the object of promoting a more accurate knowledge of the subject by, and among, the Mullahs, whom he had invited to meet him from all parts of Afghanistan, but it is no special, or immediate, appeal to a united movement in favor of the faith. The Government should long have obtained a copy of it for its own satisfaction, if not to allay the suspicions of half-educated writers, who in this literary performance of the Amir saw an attack on the British power. Yet there can be no doubt that the position of the Amir, as a theologically-minded Chief and one who had added long-coveted Kafiristan to the domain of Islām, is naturally

\* Really "a CATECHISM" or "ALMANACH OF RELIGION." This title almost suffices to indicate its character. It is a popular treatise and only so far controversial as it, not quite fairly, attacks the Wahhābis. It confirms my view of the tendency in Afghanistan towards a monarchical, rather than the existing democratic, Muhammadan Theocracy of which it is implied that the secular ruler, rather than Mullahs, is the best responsible representative. It is, however, a great mistake to suppose that the Amir encourages the notion of the ruler being a non-Muhammadan, such as would appear to be the case from the slovenly or misleading translations of some extracts from the work that have been recently quoted in the English Press from a Panjab paper. For instance, the alleged passage from the Koran on the subject is: "Obey God, his apostle and the rulers amongst them whatever religion they profess" whereas the real passage runs as follows: "O ye who *believe*! Obey God and obey the apostle, and those in authority amongst *you*," the believers obviously, so that the whole addition alleged to be in the book "whatever religion they profess" is an after-thought. It is true that a Muhammadan under a ruler of a different religion is bound by his faith to obey that ruler, but the object of the Amir's work is obviously not to teach our Muhammadans to obey us, but the Afghans to obey *him*, as a pious and powerful secular Head of the Muhammadan religion in an Afghanistan united against all invaders, especially infidels, who invokes the divine favour more particularly for the worldly and spiritual benefit of his own Afghan subjects. The work is able and wise, but it does not pretend to be, and is not, an exhaustive work on the Muhammadan faith. I hope to have an opportunity of analyzing it in a future number of this Review and of pointing out, with every deference to the Amir, where its *raison d'être* has, perhaps, affected its literal accuracy, and has limited its notions of *Jihād* to the technical and subordinate use of that term as an equivalent for "holy war."



becoming a leading one among all Muhammadans and that it would be unreasonable to expect him to abdicate such a position, which, in certain eventualities, may even become of the greatest service to British interests and, in any case, is now inseparable from his services to the Muslim faith.

The alleged intrigues of the "Indian fanatics" also count for nothing in the tribal risings. The settlements at Malka and Sitana, I believe, are destroyed and were never looked upon with favor by the superstitious Pathans. The Patna and other Indian refugees were severe Puritans, hating all veneration of saints, and it was very absurd to identify them with the alleged intrigues of the late Akhund of Swat, himself a saint. I remember an Arab once being brought to me for report by Colonel B. and a strong police escort as a Wahabi acting under the orders of the Akhund to stir up Indian disaffection. I offered him coffee and a chibûk, of which he readily partook, thereby disposing of his Wahabiism; he turned out to be a servant of the shrine of Medina, for which he was collecting subscriptions. Another, a Persian, was accused of a libel on the Empress, the "Kaisar-i-Hind" or "Cæsar of India." Enquiry proved it to be a translation of Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar." Many more instances may be cited to show the confusion among our authorities regarding even elementary questions that require a knowledge of the native language or polity concerned. Yet such knowledge is a *sine qua non* condition for government.

I do not, however, deny that the echoes of the Turkish slaughters of Armenians and Greeks, in the face of the Christian Powers, may have had an effect on the Panjab Frontier tribes. It is, however, of the very weakest description. I remember that in 1866, when I discovered the races and languages of Dardistan, the papers were full of alleged Russian intrigues in the direction of the countries bordering on the Pamirs. I did not find a Gilgiti, Chitrâli, Hunza, Nagyri, or other Dard, who had ever heard the name of "Rûs" or Russian, and many Pathans thought of

"Rûm" or "Turkey" as a bird. Yet it cannot be doubted that the rise, or dominance, of a Muhammadan power gives satisfaction to all Muhammadans, especially to those under "infidel" rule, but from this platonic feeling to revolt against it is a very long step. It is in India itself that the propaganda in favour of the Sultan of Turkey, so far as it departs from a reasonable and commendable sympathy with co-religionists, who ought to be our natural allies, may, under circumstances, be inconvenient to British rule. As a long resident in Turkey, I am aware that the spiritual pretensions of the "Khalifa" have largely grown since the accession of the present Sultan and that in many Indian mosques where prayers used to be, most legitimately, offered to "the ruler for the time being, and may God render him favourable to Muhammadans," the KHUTBA or preacher's address is now pronounced in the name of Sultan Hamid as Khalifa of the Faithful. How far this pretension is well-founded is a matter which I have already endeavoured to analyze in a long letter in the "Times" of 2nd January 1884 and in several papers in "the Asiatic Quarterly Review," and it is to them that I would refer any student of the subject. Suffice it to say here, that, although not "a perfect Khalifa" because not of Koreish descent and for other reasons, which it is unnecessary to mention, I consider him to fall into the next category of "an imperfect Khalifa" or "Khalifa náqis" because he has an army which enables him to enforce his secular decrees. He is a "Defender" of his faith, as Her Majesty the Queen is of ours, without being, thereby, a really spiritual head, for he has no power to alter a single rite, much less a dogma, of his, the Sunni, form of Islâm. Still, in proportion as his claims receive the "consensus fidelium" in India, they are of alike secular and spiritual weight and have to be considered, although it should not be forgotten that the mutiny of 1857 followed closely on the support which the "Ingliz dinsiz" or the "irreligious English" had given to Turkey in 1854/56 against Russia.

The relations of the Sultan with the Amir, if any exist,

I take to be purely formal and such as befit the *de facto* Khalifa of all Sunnis and a ruler of that denomination who teaches Islām and has added to its domain. The fact that the Shahzada did not visit Constantinople is significant. No doubt, in a certain Viceroy's time, the Sultan sent an Envoy to the then Amir in connection with a scheme for a Jihād against a Northern power, but *tempora mutantur* and both Sultan and Amir have changed in them.

I trust that there will be no severe punishment inflicted on tribes that fight for their freedom and that the conquered may not be disarmed, for such a course, as in the case of the weaponless Kashmiris, would render them effeminate in course of time and would, more immediately, destroy their ability to assist us against a possible foreign invader. The high Pathan Code of Honor appreciates a Giant not using his strength and if we treat the tribes generously we shall gain their friendship, which is the avowed object of the Forward Policy. To add blood on blood, by making a severe example of them, as some suggest, is, on the contrary, making our breach with them irreparable and, unless our prestige is that of a tyrant, is not strengthening our power as a nation of freemen representing, on the frontier as in India and elsewhere, principles of liberty, humanity and justice. The recent departures from these principles are undermining our rule in India as they are alienating our adherents in all the countries of Europe which, on that account, can now, with more safety, combine against us. The panic of an imaginary invader which has driven us into sending 42,000 troops against a few swarms of tribal flies has, it is stated, already cost sixty millions since the initiation of the Forward Policy. Less than a tenth of the stated number or amount would, under the Panjab Government, have kept the Frontier quiet for that period and it is to that Government and to local knowledge that the Frontier should be restored. Otherwise, it is impossible to estimate how many more men would be required and how much more money would be wanted when the foe, for whose



benefit alone we should create an eternal blood-feud between ourselves and the intervening tribes, really meets us on the other side of the Indus. In a Panjab *status quo ante* he could never come so far, but, with the continuance of the present Imperialism, a resistless and bankrupt India must be the result of a policy, called "forward" but really most "backward," which sacrifices her revenues on an unnecessary and ever-growing military expenditure, instead of devoting them to the development of her resources and the advancement, intellectual and material, of her population.

To sum up, in my humble opinion, the present disturbances are mainly, if not solely, caused by our obtruding military roads and posts in tribal territories hitherto recognized as independent. A military occupation which is so strong as to absolutely preclude any attempt at internal risings or even an annexation involving complete civil administration, were it possible, would be intelligible, though most reprehensible and eventually more disastrous, but the present policy is neither a military occupation nor annexation. It is simply that small posts are dotted about scarcely accessible regions, and with little or no inter-communication, for the purpose of "dominating" the tribes. In the event of an outbreak these posts may be just able to defend themselves, but they certainly cannot suppress it, till relief comes from India. The present weak and faulty disposition, and the inevitable dispersion, of our troops, actually invited the recent tribal attacks and will ever do so, as a stronger and more effective occupation is, practically, impossible, owing to the area to be held, the distances to be traversed, and the limits of the Indian Exchequer, which makes such "a game not worth the candle," even were its ostensible object—the defence of India against a foe from the North—promoted—as it is really defeated—by holding in any force the intervening countries.

## ELEMENTS OF UNREST IN INDIA.

BY A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

INDIA has suffered in the past twelvemonth from a combination of calamities probably unprecedented in her history : a wide-spread and grievous famine, a deadly plague of a kind hitherto strange to the country, followed by the destructive violence of the recent earthquake. With the possibility still to face of floods in some of the famine-stricken tracts, we have no assurance yet that she is at the end of her misfortunes.

The relief of these calamities has an interest for all that has been generously acknowledged, but just as the sequelæ of a disease demand sometimes more care from the physician than its immediate treatment, so also the after-effects of these gloomy events is of more importance to the student of India, than their present state : to the English student in particular because of the stake held by his compatriots in the country. To him the question which they raise is whether, and to what extent, the security of British interests has been affected. Although an answer can hardly be expected until the reaction has followed on the crisis, a few preliminary reflections may not be without their use.

The silent mass of our Indian subjects is susceptible of the guidance of certain dominant classes. Of these, the first to suggest itself, in the position in which its representatives would desire to be placed, is the educated section of the people : the next, the hereditary princes and landowners, whose local authority in more despotic days was practically supreme : the third, the military races : the fourth, the moneyed classes : the fifth, the religious leaders, Hindu and Muhammadan. Let us consider the attitude of each group towards British rule as some guide in determining where under ordinary circumstances danger

would lie: and where consequently we should look for it first under exceptional conditions. We will take first the educated section.

We often hear that the British Government has allowed the youth of India to be educated to its own disadvantage and to theirs. To theirs because its system prepares more persons for employment in the public service than there are appointments, whilst unfitting them for other kinds of occupation: to its own, because with this ground for discontent, it has enabled them to pick out the weak points in the British system of Government, without instilling the good sense to appreciate that system as a whole. This criticism specially applies to those who have learnt the English language.

It is of course one-sided. Educated Indians stand to the British administration in a double capacity: as a class by themselves, and as the spokesmen and would-be instructors of their more ignorant fellow-countrymen. By themselves they are numerically insignificant. Their interests are bound up to a large extent with the continuance of British rule, which provides them with exceptional facilities for the satisfaction of such intellectual cravings as they feel, and with the means of livelihood in many forms of occupation besides the Government service. They are probably acute enough to realize their position, whilst some of them have an independent and sincere admiration of the British administration and institutions. On the other hand, the privileges of free speech and an untrammelled press have tempted a considerable section to preach an academic sedition under the impression that it is political reform. It is fortunately more academic than actual because they are too well understood by their fellow-countrymen to have their utterances taken seriously; whilst they are alienated from them as much by their education as by their apparent dependence on the ruling powers. It has been observed that they tend to form a separate caste.

One of their critics, himself a well educated native, has



told me that the organs in which the views of this section are expressed in Bengal, though read more widely in the villages than is perhaps realized, are valued solely for their more or less fictitious reports of official scandal, which afford entertainment without stirring rancour or obtaining credit: and, in fact, take the place of the village storyteller, not of the political reformer. Under such circumstances, educated natives can hardly be efficient instructors of the mob. But as its spokesmen they often give utterance to real grievances, and have been known to offer criticisms of practical value upon legislative measures under the consideration of Government; whilst their ranks furnish admirable brain work at an extraordinarily cheap rate in all departments of the Public Service. Thus although they are regarded with suspicion by the ordinary Englishman, and do not shine before a parliamentary committee, they are as a class useful, hardly dangerous, and probably as sincerely attached to the British Government as their fitful temperament permits.

In determining the attitude of the princes and landed proprietors we observe first, that a prince's career in times anterior to British rule lay chiefly in the extension of his dominions at the expense of his neighbours, and was limited mainly by his personal capacity for the struggle. Upon this basis we divide those now in authority into such as would without the British have been encroaching upon their neighbour's territories, and such as would in turn be suffering encroachment. We observe that the latter owe their security to the British administration; whilst of the former we may reasonably presume that none hanker after the potential careers from which they are shut off. Many are the successors of men deposed by British rulers, and are indebted to our Administration for their position. Others again are attached by promotion in the Public Service; whilst the tendency of all as a class would naturally be to deteriorate in those qualities which are dangerous, under the enervating influence of security com-

bined with a limited ambition. Similar considerations apply to the landed proprietors with perhaps this modification, that where they owe their present position to the British it is rather through the indirect action of the land-laws, than by direct interposition.

But with proprietors and princes alike it is well to draw a distinction between their own attitude, and that of those around them. Whilst their better interest lies in loyalty and wise administration, they are traditionally bound to assert their independence before the ladies of their household, their dependents, and their priests. The influence of the first and third of these is notoriously conservative; opposed to foreign notions merely because they are foreign. The second, the dependents, are interested in any intrigue that will cause more money to pass through their fingers than they already handle; and, being as a rule cleverer men than their masters, they only lack the opportunity of anarchy to profit by it, as they have done before in Indian History. These influences are adverse, and their effect may occasionally be to outweigh the inducements of loyalty, but, on the whole, we are not likely to be wrong in saying that the landed classes are with us, as they were generally found to be at the time of the mutiny.

In dealing with the military races we have to consider that their occupation in former times depended, even more than the ambition of their rulers, upon constant warfare: and to see to what extent their instincts are still satisfied by military employment, or have become blunted by disuse. The last census returns show approximately 30,000,000 of the Hindu population as belonging to military and dominant castes. To these we may add 20,000,000 representing the more warlike portion of the Muhammadan community, resident chiefly in the Northwest corner of the Peninsula. But of the total of 50,000,000 we find approximately 800,000 only described as in military service, or less than one in fifty. Thus the Administration provides an insignificant proportion with a substitute for the adventurous

careers of their fathers, and such as it does provide is inferior in the prospects of gain and promotion. The remainder are engaged in agriculture or civil employment. They grumble occasionally at the law courts, where they find themselves at a disadvantage compared with the lawyers fostered under British rule; but, on the other hand, more than a generation has passed since the last independent fighting in India, and as years go on they are accommodating themselves more and more thoroughly to the changed regime. A correspondingly stronger incentive is needed to rouse them to action. History shows that it would be best furnished by religion.

The influences of wealth come next. On the one hand, British rule has extended the scope of commerce and financial operations. On the other, it has let in the competition of foreign capital. It has made commerce safer; but not appreciably so finance, since there is evidence that in the most troublous times before British rule bankers enjoyed an unique security, "the necessity and neutrality of their occupation protecting them from the violence of the despot or conqueror."\* They had also exceptional opportunities of profit as treasurers under provincial governors. On the other hand they were apt to be mulcted by the same officers, and were occasionally liable to the less calculated exactions of a foreign invader, whilst they had by no means the security that our courts afford for the recovery of usurious debts. The advantages and disadvantages to them of our rule seem nearly balanced; but there is the additional security that a change of rulers would be unwelcome to all concerned in trade and finance, as involving an interval of anarchy and loot. Still in political agitations they make money as treasurers of the subscriptions.

So far then as these four classes go we find the survey of their attitude generally favourable to British interests. There exists, no doubt, a danger, dependent mainly on

\* "Orme."



religion, from the military race, but otherwise the sources of opposition have been either smothered or conciliated. We will now estimate the attitude of those who control the religious influence. Their sphere of operation is broadly divided between Hindus and Muhammadans. We will take the Hindus first.

We observe, to begin with, that in their treatment of Hinduism our countrymen are at a disadvantage compared with their Muhammadan predecessors. Looking first at their unofficial relations we note that the Hindus and Muhammadans are both oriental, and so they had an initial sympathy with each other that our Western origin forbids. Further at the commencement of their intercourse they were in approximately the same stage of civilization. They thus entered upon it with greater facilities for understanding each other's attitude. Then the Muhammadans, particularly under the Mogul dynasty, settled and bred in the country. Their great men married Hindu women upon apparently the same terms as those of their own race; whilst as the result of a prolonged occupation of the Indian plains, their physical characteristics as a nation adapted themselves to those of the Hindus.\* The outward change, would naturally have been accompanied by a process of assimilation to the ways of Hindu thought, a corresponding indifference to Muhammadan precepts, and a lack of energy to enforce them. The lower class Hindus and Muhammadans were then as now on generally friendly terms, taking part indiscriminately in each other's festivals, and reverencing each other's holy things. They are declared to have regarded conversion as a matter of social convenience.

In their official relations the Hindus had little on the whole to complain of. Their Muhammadan conquerors did not occupy India with a view to their own prospects in the next world, or the conversion of the inhabitants, so

\* The children of the third and fourth generation of immigrant Moguls have the brown complexion and languid manners of the native Indian.—  
"Bernier."

much as the immediate profits. The predecessors of the Moguls imposed upon their Hindu subjects certain invidious distinctions, but appointed them equally with the Muhammadans to high posts in the Administration. The Hindus were not, we are told by Elphinstone, "on the whole molested in the exercise of their religion," and although they suffered from the ravages of an occasional iconoclast or bigot, they still had the consolation of knowing that the policy changed with the king, and were so enabled in bad times to endure in the hope of better. Akbar's enlightened policy towards them on the establishment of the Mogul dynasty is well known. It was followed by his successors until the time of Aurangzebe, when a change was initiated as disastrous to the Emperor as to his subjects. The description of its effect is instructive. "The Hindus seem rather to have been irritated by systematic discouragement than inflamed by acts of cruelty or oppression. They were excluded from office, degraded by a special tax: their fairs and festivals were forbidden: their temples were sometimes insulted and destroyed, but it does not seem that a single Hindu suffered death, imprisonment, or loss of property for his religion, or indeed that any individual was ever questioned for the open exercise of the worship of his fathers. Yet . . . the most violent outrages have seldom raised up so obstinate a spirit of resistance as was engendered by the partiality and prejudices of this Emperor."\*

It is to our purpose to note that systematic discouragement was sufficient not only to alienate the allegiance of the Hindus, but also to arouse an active spirit of revolt; which eventually found expression as soon as opportunity came. In the confusion that followed between the death of Aurangzebe and the British supremacy the Hindu Mahrattas spread over India, and where they did not prevail there was neither time nor constituted authority to interfere with religious observances.

\* Elphinstone.

To sum up the characteristics of Muhammadan relations with Hinduism, we find then as between the peoples of each creed an initial sympathy, which circumstances expanded; and in the policy of their rulers a want of continuity in repression, as well as a lack of power to enforce such restrictions as were periodically imposed. The converse of this is the case with ourselves. Whether in official or unofficial relations, we are apt to enter upon our dealings with the Hindus having our foreign notions unsoftened and unsympathetic. We neither settle nor intermarry in the country. The Eurasian element affords no bond of union. We are wont to look on Hinduism with the good-natured contempt of a superior civilization, and we finally furnish the channel for a flood of modern ideas which are necessarily antagonistic to the interests of Indian superstition.

The English Government again presents a comparative continuity in policy, and a power to enforce its regulations. It is reproached with having at first accorded a support to Hinduism which was denied to Christianity; but speedily, with the growth of administrative strength and the pressure of Western ideas, the policy changed to one of non-interference in religious matters, subject to the prohibition of obnoxious rites. And in spite of repeated agitation reforms were gradually but steadily enforced, which are now declared to have proved acceptable to the people, but were and are beyond doubt adverse to the interests of their priests.\* For they not only did away with individual occasions of profit, but lowered the prestige of the priesthood by implying that their holy books were unfit to be followed, and that they as a body encouraged practices unsuitable for human observance. These reforms are now a matter of the past, but religious gatherings and processions

\* "The movement for the education of native women, the inexorable suppression of barbarous usages . . . were supported by a few intelligent natives, but gave deep offence to the Hindu Pundits, the Mohammedan Moulvis, and the millions who venerated their teaching."—*Holmes' History of the Mutiny.*



are subject to constant interference on sanitary grounds, which the people are not sufficiently advanced to appreciate: whilst the slaughter of kine, which the earlier Moguls prohibited in deference to popular prejudice, has become a more or less recognized grievance. Thus the necessary effect of British rule has been a discouragement of Hinduism, not deliberate or violent, like that of Aurangzebe, but insidious and more permanently effective, being inspired not by the caprice of an autocrat, but the steady pressure of foreign civilization.

The classes affected include all who live on the credulity, or religious necessities, of their countrymen. In the vagueness of the Hindu hierarchy we are unable to distinguish them clearly, but the following groups probably comprise the most important; namely, the Brahmins as a caste throughout India: the spiritual teachers, whether of the orthodox church or a diverging sect, who depend for their authority not on caste but on a superior sanctity otherwise acquired: and the rank and file of the devotee fraternities. All these are injured alike in moral influence and material prosperity by the restrictions of a civilized government. All would profit by a period of temporary anarchy, which would not, so far as we can see, be in the direction of greater enlightenment in the system of government.

On the other hand we are wont to set certain assurances; first, that the influences which invite opposition simultaneously weaken the capacity for harm; secondly, that, being inimical chiefly to the baser features of Hinduism, they win as much support from the better instincts of its leaders, as opposition from their lower passions; and thirdly, that the rivalry of race and sect amongst Hindus is in any case an effective safeguard against a hostile religious combination.

Now as regards the first of these, it is sometimes forgotten that one accompaniment of British rule in India has been a steady increase in the number of ignorant inhabitants, that is of those most susceptible of superstitious influences, upon whom the leaven of education is working

so slowly as to be almost imperceptible in its effects. The records of the last census alone show that the number of absolutely illiterate persons in India rose from 217,000,000 in 1881 to 238,000,000 ten years later, being  $94\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the whole population. It is true, writes the Census Commissioner, that "the rate of increase of the non-illiterate is considerably above that of the population at large. . . . But in relation to the whole population of each year the leeway to be made up is enormous." Where, at the being of the decade, there were four females in the thousand who were not illiterate, there are now five; and in the thousand males in place of 91 we now have 104.

To put it concisely, the literate few still bear an insignificant proportion to the illiterate many, and will continue to do so for a period that is at present indefinite. Literacy is not the sole evidence of progress; but as the main channel for enlightened ideas it affords a fair test of their general penetration.

Next it has already been remarked that the educated as a class show a tendency to become alienated from the masses; in proportion, be it added, as their influence depends upon their education only. It need not follow that those who have already a recognized authority forfeit it by becoming educated: they are rather enabled to use their existing superiority to a better effect. Now the educated are recruited more from the Brahmin caste than from any other class in India. Thus the Brahmins have kept themselves well in front of the tide of progress, and in the best position to protect their interests against the encroaching influences. They still occupy the place that is traditionally theirs, of the class whose business it is to think for the rest of the people. They therefore can generally interpret innovations in a way that may not be derogatory to their prestige, for it is the duty of the people to accept the results of their meditations. For instance, as an explanation of certain depraved practices it was stated by some opponents of the Age of Consent Bill in 1891, that

the present is the *Kaliyog* or Black Age, in which such practices are predestined. They thereby avoided the slur of having neglected, as leaders of the people, to anticipate a reform the introduction of which was found necessary by the ruling authority ; whilst at the same time, by implying that the action was useless if not also impious, they contributed to make the measure a dead letter. The famine itself has afforded an opportunity, which, if we may believe the *Times*, they have not failed to turn to account. It has been interpreted "by the most orthodox organs of Indian opinion as a visitation of God for the sins of the rulers and the ruled, and a general hint to Hindus to study their Shastras."

It need not be said how much readier the masses are to accept such interpretations as these than the more matter of fact views of their British rulers, and what a barrier they present to the penetration of civilized ideas. It is sufficient for our purpose to conclude that they can hardly yet have affected the susceptibility of the people to the influence of their priests.

With regard to our second assurance, of the support won by British measures of reform from the better feelings of the Hindu leaders, the question we have chiefly to examine is how far the baser features of the religion, to which our civilization is opposed, form an integral part of its system. Hinduism with all its offshoots is transcendently natural to the people and the country. It has developed for 30 centuries, not ousting, so much as absorbing and thriving upon, its rivals. It has defied some 7 centuries of Muhammadan supremacy and one already of Western scepticism ; and still in its main form, Brahminism, it "lives and is propagated faster than any other religion in India, because it is indigenous, the produce of the soil, and of an environment that still exists."\* The crisis of the famine, once more to quote the *Times*, "has merely brought into prominence the fact that Hinduism is as plastic as ever, capable of assimilating the ideas of each

\* "Asiatic Studies," Sir Alfred Lyall.



new period, and presenting them as part of its historic self." A religion of this abundant vigour cannot easily be diverted from its natural course : so that the result of an attempt on the part of its leaders for the time being to cause a diversion would more probably end in their alienation from the people than in any sort of success. But a notable feature of this vigorous developement is the gradual assertion of a sinister strain, not traceable perhaps at the fountain head, but steadily becoming manifest, and markedly prominent about the time when the British first entered upon dominion in the country. We may attribute it partly perhaps to the influence of a gloomy environment as the bright faith of the Vedas spread through the jungle of Central India and the swamps of Bengal : partly to the incorporation of savage faiths by the way : partly to the encouragement by its priests of a lucrative source of profit, and partly to the insecurity of life and property, which attended at any rate, the later stages of its development ; all heightened in their effect by the ignorance of the people. Whatever the provoking causes, we see the strain pervading the later mythology, whilst the reports of early travellers emphasize its hold upon practical life. In the infancy of British dominion it was calculated that 10,000 lives a year were sacrificed to it in various ways. Each attempt to repress its obnoxious practices provoked strenuous opposition, and the first sign in 1857 of the relaxation of authority was the re-establishment of Suttee and other barbarous customs which benevolent rulers had abolished. The English officials sadly confessed that their rule, notwithstanding all the good that they had effected, "had taken no hold upon popular sentiment." More recently again it inspired the opposition to the Age of Consent Bill, to which reference has already been made, in 1891 ; when the enlightened Bengali, who took exception to the measure before the Viceroy's Council, declared that "it would induce the bulk of the people to have recourse to all possible devices to make it a dead letter, as it is considered

by them to be an interference with their religion." He spoke, as the representative of the province where Western ideas are supposed to have been best assimilated, against a reform that was designed merely to prohibit sexual intercourse before the age of 12, a practice that had apparently obtained the sanction of the Hindu religion.

With its history before us we can hardly say the tendency to depravity is a forced product. It is rather a living branch of a growing organism, repressed, not stifled, by the restrictions of civilized rule, and likely to assert itself again when those restrictions are weakened or withdrawn ; unless indeed and until those factors in the environment to which it may be due have materially changed. But granted the vexed question of their improvement, we have still to acknowledge that an environment which, including them, has prevailed for so many centuries, must have produced a habit of thought in religious matters that it will take many generations to eradicate, generations by no means yet exhausted. In the meantime in proportion as the Hindu leaders devote themselves to the championship of innovations, they must tend to lose sympathy with the people, and forfeit their leadership.

We have still the safeguard of the rivalry of race and sect amongst Hindus ; but here let us note, first, that the effect of British rule has been a levelling away of causes of difference, together with the provision of a common interest in opposition to the distinctive influence of civilization ; and, secondly, that important principles of the orthodox belief pervade the tenets of all the sects, providing standards round which all sectaries may rally. The chief of these, apart from the respect generally accorded to Brahmins, are the Hindus' reverence for asceticism, and their worship of the cow. Asceticism is the goal of their religious life, the culmination of their philosophy ; it is glorified above the gods in their sacred books. Schismatic reformers practised it as a necessary preliminary to influence, and the most outrageous abuses of its humbler

devotees have failed to discredit it. It is still the closing refuge of a successful career, and provides "a pose" for every preacher who wishes to guide the mob. With the importance of the cow we have been familiarised of recent years by the anti-kine-killing agitation. It is not always realized that this agitation is not factitious, but the revival of others of old times. When the favourite wife of Aurangzebe was captured by the Rajput of Chittore the condition for her release was that the Mogul should "refrain from destroying the sacred animal of their religion." The residents of Bombay used to have to go 70 miles down the coast for their beef, because "it was very difficult to procure beef in other parts, as they were under the jurisdiction of princes of the strictest sect of the Hindu religion, who worship the cow, and regard the killing of that animal as the greatest of crimes."\* A supposed insult to the cow was a nominal cause of the Mutiny. Anti-kine-killing riots have ever occurred both under Muhammadan and British rule. With these elements of union we cannot regard a general Hindu combination as out of the question.

Now summing up the case for the attitude of the Hindu religious leaders we find that it is likely to be hostile, because they are permanently opposed to us in interest, whilst the influence they command is potent and all-embracing. Let us turn next to the Muhammadans.

It has been asserted that the Anti-kine-killing agitation is a guarantee of security to the British Administration because it divides Muhammadans and Hindus. But this is a fallacious conclusion. A century ago the Hindu bands of Gosain and Vishnavaite devotees used to fight in thousands when they met at the Hardwar fair, and they did so on a smaller scale until very recently in one of the native States. If the cause of the cow unites them, as it does, against Muhammadans, a common interest is not less likely to bind Muhammadans with Hindus against the British.

Muhammadans have an initial grudge against us for

\* "Orme."



completing the subversion of their supremacy in the country. This grudge as it grows weak with time, is probably replaced to a considerable extent by their inability to compete with Hindus for employment under the British regime. On several occasions they have displayed active hostility. They joined the Hindu insurgents at the Mutiny. The Afghan Mullahs at Dost Mohammed's court pressed him to attack the British in their embarrassment. The Nana Sahib's chief agent was a Muhammadan. A Moulavi of Fyzabad was the most determined of the rebel leaders, and many of the assaults upon Lucknow were headed by the green flag of the Prophet. Not long after the Mutiny, Patna became the headquarters of a conspiracy for sending men and money to a hostile settlement across the frontier. Muhammadan fanatics still resort to the assassination of British officers. The spirit of enlightenment which provokes the antagonism of the Hindus is, in fact, equally uncongenial to the temper of the Muhammadan religion.

With the Hindu priests against us then the Muhammadians are not likely to be on our side; and adopting the old saying that the British in India live over a volcano, we are in a position to add that the explosive element in the seething mass below us is religion. Let us view the calamities of the past year in the light of this conclusion.

Notwithstanding the intensity of its hold upon his life the Hindu does not as a rule trouble himself about his creed. He goes through the routine ceremonies, and offers special worship at an occasional fair or festival; but should his gods be insulted he looks to them first to protect themselves. But if misfortune follow to himself or his house, he attributes it to the reaction of their wrath, and bestirs himself for the means of conciliation. If these be ready to hand, he adopts them; if not, he bows to destiny, recollecting perhaps that this is the *Kaliyog*. Nevertheless he does not forget the injury, and should the gods at any future time deliver their foes into his hand, he regards it

as a sacred duty to exterminate them. We can find instances of this attitude. A case is mentioned by Sleeman in which the Marquis of Hastings' troops were attacked with cholera on the march, and it was attributed in the locality to their having killed a cow for food in the grove in which they had encamped : the gods thus administering their own punishment for the offence. Again in Saugor the people used to point out withered trees in the mango groves where the Europeans had halted, and declare that they had been seen to wither from the day that beef for the use of the troops had been hung from the branches. But they do not appear to have resented the practice until they were themselves visited with a succession of bad seasons, when they presented a petition to the authorities against kine-killing. The authorities were not prepared to grant their prayer, and no further steps were taken ; presumably because it was dangerous to do so. But at the Mutiny, when revolt was compatible with safety, the whole country side rose against the British garrison and officials.

Viewed in this light, what is wanted to make the religious element dangerous is, first, that the gods should declare their displeasure ; and, next, should indicate that they are prepared to assist their champions. Hints of their displeasure have been conveyed from time immemorial by national calamities on a larger or smaller scale, but seldom, we may safely say, on a scale exceeding the combination of the last twelve months. These visitations happen to have coincided with a so-called Hindu revival—a general quickening of interest in the religious side of Hinduism, of which the Anti-kine-killing agitation, the tree-daubing of a few years back, and other indications of restlessness in the religious world were perhaps the premonitory signs.

We may justly pride ourselves that the losses caused, at any rate by the famine and plague, have been reduced by British efforts out of all proportion to what they would have been under an Oriental government ; and our congratulations may fitly be echoed by the better educated

amongst our native fellow-subjects. But it is not they or we who are susceptible to the misrepresentations of religious agitators. Nor are we or they those who have seen relations die in numbers of the new disease, or have actually suffered in person from the pinch of starvation. Our attitude of mind is consequently different from that of the illiterate masses, who still sit up at night in their distant villages to scare away the cholera fiend ; and who would readily believe that the gods must have condemned the British, or these troubles would not have fallen in their time.

But will they be equally ready to believe that their gods are prepared to fight for them in resentment at the British dominion ? Their only effectual assurance of that kind that we can conceive, in agreement with current views on the subject, would be that there should appear at the culminating moment of a wave of high-wrought religious enthusiasm an invader on the Indian frontier, or such complications in European politics as would to the knowledge of the people tie the hands of the British Government in India. This contingency we like to consider remote.

But short of this we may have a crop of lesser troubles : a general straining of relations between Europeans and natives, marked perhaps by disturbances or outrages where the chances of detection and punishment seem to be remote. For following the analogy already adopted we should expect the wave, if it did not break, to subside, succumbing to the force of internal authority, but tending to break forth wherever the contained energy might be strong, and the power of repression weak. It is too early yet to say that the recent outrages in Poona are to be thus accounted for. I hope to discuss in a second paper the extent to which they and the Chitpore riots illustrate the contentions arrived at, and the lessons they teach. The Muhammadan revival in India and the growing influence of the Sultan of Turkey equally demand separate treatment, as do also the renewals of tribal troubles on our Frontier, and the effects of our Afghan policy on Indian Muhammadans generally.



## SUGGESTED REFORMS FOR CHINA.\*

BY TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.

It is evident that, under the political circumstances prevailing, at present, in Europe, where Russia has displaced Germany in the rôle of *Deus ex machina*, the project of partitioning China may well be relegated to the dim future. The fate of Poland has also been hanging, like the sword of Damocles, over Turkey and Persia, and the inclusion of China within the doomed circle forms a triad of three Asiatic States, which are believed to be in a condition of decrepitude, and whose decay and final disintegration cannot be stayed by human power. As regards China, since her recent humiliation by Japan, the tone of the foreign Press, both in China and elsewhere, had been considerably tinged with pessimism. An element of despair and hopelessness was present, and Professor R. K. Douglas thus voiced the feeling in England (*Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1896):

"Such being the condition of affairs in China, we may well despair of the future of the Empire. The whole system of administration is rotten to the core, and there is no sign or symptom of any effort towards progressive reforms. Ninety-nine out of every 100 mandarins are wedded by long habit and by personal interest to the existing system."

Such a bitter wail of despair is hardly justifiable. Now that the stern logic of events has proved the superiority of the arms of the Japanese, who are but "pupils of the Western barbarians," the spirit of reform has really been awakened, and the foreign schoolmaster will soon be abroad over the length and breadth of the land. The Emperor has recently decreed the admission of such subjects as science, mathematics, and foreign languages into the curriculum of the public examinations, by means of which the ruling classes are recruited. German military officers are now engaged in drilling the Chinese troops, and the masterly way in which a mutiny was recently

\* See the introduction to this paper in last issue.—*Ed.*

quelled at Woosung by German-drilled soldiers is a happy augury for the future. The navy too is about to be organized by officers deputed by the British Admiralty. The simplification and codification of the laws has been undertaken. Above all, the Tsungli Yamen has given its official sanction to the establishment at Peking of an International Institute, which shall be the radiating centre of Western thoughts and ideas to the official classes of China. In a huge empire of 400,000,000 souls possessing no facilities of communication, a considerable time must elapse before the result of any leavening process is felt; but there can be no doubt that, with the construction and extension of Railways and Telegraphs, which the Chinese Government has now undertaken in great earnest, the modernization of the Empire on Western lines cannot but be accelerated. Even H.E. Chang Chih Tung, one of the ablest, most learned, and most anti-foreign of Chinese Viceroys of the present day, has seen the errors of his ways, and has silently acquiesced in the employment of foreign capital, labour, material, and brains in the construction of Railways. The construction of a trunk line from Peking to Hankow, and thence to Canton was sanctioned in 1889 on His Excellency's recommendation, and a Belgian Syndicate has now secured a contract to build the first portion of the line to Hankow. These good signs and healthy symptoms are not unaccompanied by prospects of a commercial or industrial nature. The West River has been opened to navigation by foreign vessels, and the Shimono-seki Treaty has given a marvellous stimulus to the erection of mills at Shanghai, which bids fair to rival Japan, Bombay, and Lancashire in the manufacture of textile fabrics.

It seems clear then that the regeneration of China will soon be an accomplished fact, and this belief is strengthened by the active assistance rendered by Russia, and by the goodwill and sympathy of the other Powers. England represents liberty, justice, representative institutions, the spirit of humanity and naval and commercial supremacy,

and Russia autocracy, militarism and successful diplomacy, while France is identified with culture and altruism, Germany with military discipline and organization, and the United States of America with democracy and the diffusion of learning. What is best in each of these nations might be utilized in moulding the future of China and in bringing her into line with Western countries. It should, however, be understood at the outset that, for many reasons, the Chinese will not willingly and cheerfully submit themselves to be controlled by Civil, Judicial, Military, Naval, Public Works, and Agricultural Departments manned by foreigners on the model of the Imperial Maritime Customs. This is the panacea suggested by Colonel Mark Bell in his article on "China's Future," which appeared in this Review of April, 1895. The adoption of the proposal *in toto* would practically amount to a foreign occupation as has been established in Egypt. There is, however, one Department of the State, viz., the Imperial Treasury, where foreign advice and assistance would be welcomed and appreciated. The public revenue is derived from three sources: customs duties, licenses, and a tax upon land. No proper accounts appear to be kept of the second and third heads of revenue, and the claims of the Privy Purse evidently dominate over public needs. The real cause of China's disasters and her present helplessness is her inability to balance her income with expenditure. No budgets are framed, nor are accounts periodically scrutinized by any central authority. Hence many makeshifts of a questionable nature have to be resorted to. There is always an "offering" of money made to the Exchequer by a Mandarin on his appointment, and he has, in addition, to give suitable "presents" to the Ministers, who have secured him the "Imperial favour." This system of purchasing office has produced manifold abuses, and has honeycombed the land with bribery, corruption, injustice, oppression, and insecurity of life and property. The purchase of an office is looked upon as a commercial transaction, and every office-holder tries to



recoup in various ways the capital invested by him. The consequence is that, especially in the Provinces, there is hardly any policeman or soldier worthy of the name. In time of war or disturbance, or when an inspection by a high Mandarin is expected, ignorant peasants, coolies, beggars, or thieves, who have never handled any weapons of war, are impressed for service, and these are the men who appear as white-livered "Chinese soldiers" in the eyes of foreigners. That the Chinaman, when he is well paid, well fed, and well led, has the making of a good soldier in him is undoubted. There is ample testimony recorded by General Gordon, Lord Wolseley and others as to the aptitude, courage, and physical endurance of the Chinese soldier. But so long as the existing system of "squeeze" continues, the maintenance of an efficient army, navy, police, or judiciary is scarcely possible. The financial reform including the preparation of annual budgets, and the regular payment of adequate salary to all officials, must, if there is to be any, begin with the Imperial Household, and must percolate down to the lower ranks of the Mandarinate. The aim of the reform should be to abolish sinecures and to dismiss all unpaid retainers, who live upon the fat of the land.

China labours under the disadvantage of being governed in accordance with the Confucian system of polity. That system was primarily framed for the several small States constituting China in the life-time of the great Philosopher. To still adhere to that system, after a lapse of 25 centuries, and to apply it to an overgrown empire resembles the spectacle of a boy who has outgrown the garments of his earlier years, and the result is stagnation, disaster, and imminent ruin. According to the Confucian polity, the form of government is based upon the patriarchal system, under which the principle of reciprocity is eliminated, and responsibility is fixed upon a person without any distinction as to contributory negligence, wilful remissness, misadventure, accident, or personal participation. The Central

Government takes into account the results rather than the causes of actions, and so long as there is no outbreak or overt rebellion it fancies that the country enjoys peace and prosperity. The whole weight of the Imperial Power is thus exerted towards the suppression of open sedition rather than on the control and supervision of the details of administration. Indeed, Emperor Yung Cheng lays down in one of his edicts that

"To keep the people in peace is the most important measure in the practice of Government; and the most urgent measure to obtain this end is the keeping down of the seditions."

According to this principle, powers of life and death, except in cases of high treason, parricide, and killing of husbands, are delegated to the Viceroys, and they exercise, in all other matters, quasi-imperial powers within their own jurisdiction. Under such a system the administrative machinery is apt to get out of order, and public grievances accumulate, like smouldering fires, till they burst out subverting the existing order of things. A dynasty in China lasts on an average from two to three centuries. This unceasing, periodic change may probably be ascribed to the stereotyped practice of each dynasty. When a new dynasty is established, it spends about 50 years in consolidating its authority, and an equal period in reorganizing the administration according to its lights. After the country has enjoyed peace for a century, the zeal, ardour, and energy of the Central Government become weakened through luxury, indulgence and the absence of any check upon its caprice and arbitrariness; it becomes corrupt and effete till it is supplanted by another dynasty. In spite of the assurances of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and his compatriots, such a historic drama cannot now be repeated without throwing back the dial of progress and civilization and disturbing the economic condition of other countries. Therefore, in order to secure peace, and to prevent unnecessary bloodshed, it is essential that the present Manchu dynasty, which has occupied the Dragon Throne for over

two centuries and a half, should be supported in its endeavours to reform the administrative methods of the Empire and to conform itself to the modern conditions prevailing in other countries. In this noble work of reform England, which has happily shaken off the fetish of Russophobia inherited from Lord Beaconsfield, might, with her wealth, and administrative experience acquired in India and Egypt, be able to render useful assistance. It would, perhaps, be wise to concentrate this new-born British enterprise round a bank established on the model of "the Imperial Bank of Persia." The proposed Bank might acquire a monopoly of note issue and uniform coinage, and the control, for a limited term of years, of forest and mining rights, and the right to construct roads and railways within specified limits especially in the regions bordering on Burma. The Bank might also keep the accounts of the Imperial Exchequer, and receive in deposit, for safe custody, all the revenue of the Empire. Financial bankruptcy, and its inevitable concomitant, moral bankruptcy, have been the curse of China, and anything done to place her finances on a sound footing will be a great blessing to her.

For the present, at least, Japan had, perhaps, better stand aloof from this international work of reform. The passions excited by the late war have hardly subsided, and any assistance afforded by her either in the shape of advice or money, will be looked upon with suspicion. Besides, for some years to come, her energies and resources will be required in consolidating her authority in Formosa.

As far as England is concerned, it is time that she took prompt and definite action. Of all the European Powers, she has the largest stake in the Far East, and she is, like Russia, an Asiatic rather than an European Power. It is becoming to be recognised that China is the real pivotal point of the world. He who commands her resources and her teeming millions must have a preponderating influence in the counsels of the world. She is of much greater im-



portance than India, when viewed either as a field of Commerce, as an ally, or as a land possessing boundless agricultural and mineral wealth. There is no gainsaying that she deserves more attention than South Africa even with all her glamour of gold and diamonds, which cannot be inexhaustible. Indeed, the dusky sons of Africa would require to be educated for centuries before they could appreciate material comforts and become consumers of the produce of British workmen; whereas China is a ready-made market with splendid possibilities.

China is now in a transition stage of her development, and what is wanted is some high-minded, capable and vigorous statesman with a large grasp of affairs and a knowledge of Western history, laws, and institutions. Their efforts should be supplemented by those of a tactful, far-seeing and sympathizing Foreign Minister, like Sir Harry Parkes, who left the impress of his genius upon the institutions of Japan.

The surroundings and situation of Peking do not appear to be favourable for the execution of important reforms. In the first place it is located on the northern confines of a large empire, and secondly there is about it an indescribable air of squalor, decay, and moral and intellectual turbidity, and it would be well if the Central Government could be removed from its impure and depressing atmosphere. At a more suitable locality with proper sanitation, and accommodated in suitable offices, and removed from the scene of former traditions of idleness, corruption, indulgence, and effeminacy, the energies of the administrative Departments might be exerted with greater effect and for more useful purposes. Nanking is, indeed, the natural capital of China. Commanding the highways of the country, situated in the Yangtze Valley, the richest region in the whole Empire, and surrounded by great historic associations, it is, as it were, the centre of gravity of the Middle Kingdom. Once the capital is located there, the whole of the administrative machinery in all its ramifications, north and south, east and west, could be set in motion, and regulated and controlled

with greater efficiency.\* H.E. Chang Chih Tung, who is much imbued with the modern spirit and a high patriotism, might well be commissioned to embellish his favourite town of Nanking, laying out roads and parks, building palaces and offices, and in short, to make it a capital worthy of a great empire. A similar measure was adopted in Japan in 1869, when, at the restoration of the Empire on the abolition of the Shogunate, the capital was removed from Kyoto to Yedo, where, for 250 years, the family of Ieyasu had wielded the destinies of the empire. The removal of the capital, coupled with the abandonment by the Emperor of the ancient traditions respecting his person and his court, and his determination to rule his empire with personal supervision, mark, more than anything else, the starting-point of the awakening and marvellous progress of Japan.

The progress of a nation has always been through the stages of primitive barbarism, class communism, feudalism, and monarchical or imperial federation. The awakening of Japan was immensely accelerated and materially fostered by her feudalism. But in China there is neither feudalism nor a landed aristocracy, and the empire is governed by a bureaucracy which may be called the Aristocracy of Talent. Hence, in the absence of territorial magnates of commanding influence, the Government is obliged to deal directly with the masses, and to manifest a feverish anxiety lest there should be any combination among the plebeian units against the central authority. It has been demonstrated over and over again that the Chinese authorities are imperious in dealing with individuals, but oscillating and apprehensive in respect of groups of men, because behind the latter there is always the spectre of riots or incipient rebellions. Weighing the advantages of an aristocracy against its evils, it may be accepted as a maxim of statecraft

\* Further, the domination, in the immediate future, of Manchuria, the cradle of the present dynasty, by the Russian Railway, recalls Gordon's Memo. during the Kulja scare in 1880 to the Chinese Central Government to remove from Peking into some province where it, and the Chinese people, having a unison of thought, could work together. The Yangtse Valley, the cradle of Chinese statesmen and scholars, and Nanking, its capital *par excellence*, is the pivotal point where alone the unification between the rulers and the ruled, so desired by the friends of China, could be satisfactorily consummated.

that the existence of a wealthy, landed, and leisured class is one of the bulwarks of a throne ; and it is, perhaps, not yet too late to create the nucleus of an aristocracy in China by conferring grants of land upon officials of approved loyalty and long service, whose relatives and dependents could be relied upon in the hour of need.

With the beginnings of a feudal system representative institutions of a simple kind might be introduced with great advantage. At the Treaty Ports it is a disgrace to Chinese administration to permit the continued existence of insanitary towns and villages reeking with filth and odours of all kinds by the side of clean and healthy foreign concessions governed by Municipal Councils. Village and town Councils might be formed to attend mainly to sanitary and educational matters. China is one of the worst and dangerous plague-spots of the world. She is said to have originated both the influenza and the bubonic plague, which have carried off thousands of lives, and is thus a standing menace to the public health of other countries. In fact, the bubonic plague is chronic in China, and every means should be adopted to stamp it out. For this purpose local Councils will be extremely useful. Further, the principle of representative government should be encouraged and fostered till its highest end has been consummated, viz., the voice of the chosen of the people being heard in the counsels of the Empire.

In conclusion, a note of warning may be sounded lest the novelty of new measures should blind Chinese statesmen and their foreign advisers to the excellence of some of the indigenous institutions. It should be recognised that every new form of Government to be practicable, satisfactory, and permanent, must be a development from that which precedes it, and must absorb whatever is lasting and wholesome in the constitution of its predecessor ; and further, that, for the attainment of this end, it is desirable to retain those features which have stood the test of time, and harmonize with the genius and traditions of the race.



## JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS IN INDIA.

BY SIR RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E., VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

MUCH has recently been written about the separation of judicial from executive functions as preventing abuses of powers by District Magistrates in India. The prudent division of the legislative, judicial, and administrative powers of the State—a principle ably laid down by Montesquieu and adopted owing to its precision by his countrymen during the French Revolution—is now the basis of their constitutional law. For Englishmen there is a doubt, *pace* Hamilton and Bentham, whether such complete separation implying also independence of powers can be maintained with advantage to the community. Human affairs do not distribute themselves into well-defined departments to suit doctrinaire systems. In France the complete separation of powers has developed a “*Droit Administratif*” under which Government officials of every class are exempted from the jurisdiction of ordinary tribunals. The wrongs inflicted on unofficial citizens by executive functionaries are virtually left for redress to courts composed of the latter class, instead of being, as in England, judiciable by the ordinary courts. The latter system has largely been adopted in India, and was a leading idea of the Cornwallis Code. There has, however, been a constant tendency to make over judicial matters to Collectors and others working under special rules subject to executive control. The immediate convenience, or even higher, if specious, advantage of such an arrangement tends to create an administrative system exempt from that judicial control, which secures complete civil freedom to British India. Every encroachment on the ordinary judicature should be jealously watched by those who consider that the safest foundation of our Indian Empire is the contentment of its people, as yet uninvested with the power of meeting public evils by legislation in a popular sense.

If, however, the principle of making the executive officer answerable to the ordinary tribunals is a sound one, as undoubtedly it is, it must be extended. The Collector must not give effect to even lawless benevolence, by an exercise of the criminal powers vested in him for other purposes. As a matter of fact, the revenue official does *not* often employ his powers as Magistrate to enforce his behests as Collector. The purpose is sometimes achieved through a magisterial order, uncognizable by the Civil Court, which if sought in a regular executive court would be prevented. There ought obviously to be a legislative prohibition against such use of magisterial powers. Whether the Collector should always be a different person from the District Magistrate is another question. Authority is of great importance in the conduct of affairs, especially in Oriental countries.

Divided authority increases the chances of collision, and wastes forces. Personal Knowledge, and influence are even more essential to success where the administrative systems are imposed from above, as in India, than where they are a methodized expression of the desires of the people. As the habit of lawful obedience becomes a popular instinct, the need for personally combined powers diminishes, while specialists are required, as administration grows more complex. The Collector should, therefore, be only gradually divested of a great part of his functions. As time goes on the District Magistrate can dispense with the Collector as an Intelligence Department, because he will be more assisted by the people and the police. In the meantime obvious abuses of power should be met by specific legislation and the District Magistrate saved from executive pressure which in not many instances he has been unable to resist. The phrase "union of executive and judicial functions" generally means the combination of the executive duties of a Collector with those of a Magistrate; and sometimes the double duty of the District Magistrate of administering justice in criminal cases and of superintending the police. The first "union of duties," so far as it concerns the second, has been the subject of a compilation of eminent opinions. Mr. M. Ghose, who has also specially strongly argued against the second union, has, in support of his views, collected opinions and cases which deserve consideration. The two combinations are to be assailed and defended on different grounds. Sir James Stephen thought that the best division of jurisdiction would be between (a) civil and (b) criminal united with executive power. This union he defended because "The district officers are the local governors of the country, therefore the district officers ought to administer criminal justice." Yet even he admits that the officers holding the double powers may advantageously distribute the work so as to confine individuals to *one* branch. It would follow from his argument that the Sessions Courts ought to be abolished, for most serious civil cases are assigned to them, and all magisterial proceedings can be appealed to, and be revised by, them.

[The writer here quotes letters and despatches of the Government of India of 1870 and '83 showing that the administration of civil justice ought to be wholly separated from executive duties, but that no steps be taken to divest executive officers of their criminal jurisdiction.]

In Reg. II. of 1793 the principle is laid down that "The Revenue Officers must be deprived of their judicial powers" but at the same time the judges, made zilla magistrates, were assigned complete control of the police, which gradually passed along with their magisterial powers to Commissioners, Joint Magistrates, and Collectors as District Magistrates.

On the other hand, in 1865 and 1866 the Judges of the High Court of Bengal object to the burden of executive work being thrown on the District Magistrate as Collector, which makes it impossible for him to deal with many criminal cases. Reform was to be found in leaving the District Magistrate free for criminal work, as "cases of peculiar intricacy should be investigated by officers of the highest experience, *i.e.* by the Chief Magistrates of Districts." There is no indication of their disapproving that other combination of duties—police control with criminal

adjudication. In 1869 the Court insisted not on divesting the District Magistrate of police powers, but on freeing him from the obligations of a collector as a means of bringing him completely under the control of the Court.

The Government of Bengal in its letter of December 1, 1869, points out that the general administrative work of a district is continuously growing in bulk and complexity. The wishes of the High Court, therefore, for the performance by the Magisterial Collector of a large amount of original criminal work could be met only by a complete separation of the duties of the collector from those of the magistrate. The Joint-Magistrate it was suggested should, as Assistant Judge, take over the magisterial functions of the District Magistrate and the Collector all the executive work of the district. Yet the Collector ought not to be deprived of all judicial power, the Government adopting on this point the opinion of officers like Lord U. Browne and Mr. Westland, who contended for the union in the head of the district of magisterial and police powers.

The other line of division, that between the adjudicative and the ministerial functions of the Magistrate was also considered. Thus in 1854 Sir J. P. Grant laid down that "it ought to be the fixed intention of the Government to dis sever as soon as possible the functions of criminal judge from those of thief-catcher and public prosecutor." His views were opposed by Sir F. J. Halliday, because the "native community can never understand why when the Hâkim has caught a thief he should not forthwith try and punish him." Lord Canning found it to be quite in accordance with native opinion "that the officers who are charged with the duty of superintending and directing the operations of the police should also exercise the powers of a magistrate," and "that the District Magistrate should exercise a general control over the proceedings of his subordinate officers and interfere when it may be necessary for him to do so." This is identical in sense with the direction subsequently issued by the High Court to District Magistrates enjoining on them the necessity to "maintain a watchful and intelligent control over the proceedings of their subordinates." Sir J. P. Grant, however, was not to be driven from his position. The Magistrate, he said, "feels that he cannot with satisfaction to his own conscience or even with outward decency take an active share in both of his mutually repugnant duties," those of judge and thief-catcher respectively.

By 1860 the Government of India had for the time at least accepted as a fundamental principle "that the official who collects and traces out the links in the chain of evidence in any case of importance should never be the same as the judicial officer who is to sit in judgment on the case." The Police Act V. of 1861 was distinctly based on the same ground by its introducer, Sir B. Frere. The main value of that measure rested on "the entire separation of the executive police from all immediate subordination to the sitting magistrate and from all judicial functions." But even then the Commissioners, the authors of the Bill, laid down that "it is necessary that the District Officer shall be recognized as the principal controlling officer in the police administration of the district," and said



"our provisions will show the care we have taken to preserve the responsibility of the magistrate for the general success of the criminal administration of the district, and to afford him prompt means of ensuring the obedience of the organized constabulary to his lawful orders." Sir B. Frere could not deny these quotations; but he adhered to the principle of severance as lying at the root of the Bill; and on this explanation of its purpose it was passed.

It must be admitted that the mass of the opinions relate to the separation of the Collector from the Magistrate. The entire severance of magisterial from police duties is discussed. It was made the qualified basis of the instructions to the Police Commissioners in 1860, and of the Police Act of 1861. But the opinions recorded from time to time appear to have been, with very few exceptions, in favour of retaining the connection of judicial and police powers in the Magistrate of the District. This tendency of opinion seems to have continued since the Police Act was passed. The "general control" given to the Magistrate of the District has, in Bengal at least, been construed as a power of interference extending just as far as the District Magistrate thinks expedient. Such a position would not have been allowed with its obvious attendant evils unless it had been strongly supported by the highest authorities.

There must have been some reason why after the Government of India had passed the Police Act of 1861 in order to effect an "entire separation of the executive police from all immediate subordination to the sitting magistrate," and to effect a "complete severance of the Police and Judicial functions," matters were allowed to gravitate back to their former position, save that the magistrate, as head of the police, now had a much more effective machinery at his disposal. The truth is, partly that the magistrates are more closely connected with the Government in its highest place; and exercising in general functions of great importance, they naturally have a weight far exceeding that of mere departmental officers. Partly also the result has arisen from the general moral dominance of the Magistrate in his district. From ordering what is to be done he has insensibly acquired the habit of ordering how it is to be done, though he cannot be an expert in all things; and his constant pressure on the police must produce a certain atrophy within that department itself.

Another reason, supported by the feeling of everyone in India, is that the Indian police cannot be trusted without a strong, capable, vigilant and comparatively disinterested local control. Purely police officers become filled with police prejudices, their sense of respect for individual liberty becomes blunted, their zeal in the pursuit of offenders upsets their judgment. The lower ranks are ready to bully and to lie to just the extent they consider safe. Supported by the partisan favour of their officers there is always a danger of their becoming a curse to the country. The District Magistrates' control prevents this, and keeps the whole force fairly active within the bounds of duty. His experience and the minute information he gets as head of the magistracy are of the greatest assistance to him both in controlling and in stimulating the police; who in all important cases must work up to the hands of the Magistrates and be subject to their

criticism. An effective responsibility is indispensable; the District Magistrate is the officer by whom it is best enforced—but always and only on condition that he does not become a policeman himself.

[Sir Raymond West then comments on the cases which Mr. Ghose has collected of apparent abuses of authority by District Magistrates, ranging from 1874 to 1894. In most of these cases, it would appear, he was advocate for the accused, and one would like to hear what the Magistrate had to say for himself. In many instances the law, if it ever countenanced, would no longer allow the abuses of authority of which he complains.\*]

Sir Raymond West sums up his judgment on the cases given by Mr. Ghose as follows:

"On an impartial review of this mass of cases it appears that in most of them the view presented, though not an unfair one from the standpoint of the advocate, should not to be accepted without large qualifications. In several instances the serious errors alleged were not attributable to the union of functions. They were blunders of over zeal or irascible temper equally possible whether functions were combined or divided. In almost every case the law properly invoked would afford a remedy. The European Magistrate of the District appears in several instances to have manifested a somewhat domineering temper invited by a weakness on the part of the native subordinate magistrates which more or less disqualified them for their office. In none is there any indication of really corrupt or sordid motives. 'Cæsar doth never wrong but with right cause,' the impugned Magistrate may say in answer to his accusers; and if the system admits of reform his character and competence do not stand in the way."

There is no reasonable doubt that in many instances District Magistrates have in fact exceeded their lawful powers in not merely advising and controlling their subordinates but by suggestions and a pressure that must have interfered with the free unfettered use of judicial discretion by the Magistrates actually dealing with criminal cases. These magistrates were blameable for their weakness as the District Magistrate for undue encroachment. But if the cases be typical they are necessarily one-sided. The national characters being what they are, the native magistrates must in other instances have been saved from numberless errors and failures by counsel and even dictation of which we of course hear nothing. In condemning irregularities we must not refuse to recognise that they have sometimes probably wrought well."

[Sir Raymond West then analyses the complaints made by the District Magistrates in the additional papers supplied by Mr. Ghose, Mr. Nundy, and others in "India," for which we may, perhaps, also find space in our "Correspondence" columns.]

Sir R. West continues:

"The combination of functions in the District Magistrate being what it is and open to such obvious objections the questions naturally occur of how this system came into being and why is it maintained? These questions can only be answered by a reference to history."

\* The elaborate analysis of all these cases, on which Sir Charles Elliott has already tersely replied *verbatim* in our columns, will be given, if space permits, under "Correspondence" in future issues of the Review.—*Ed.*

Sir R. West proceeds to give the history of the constitution of the criminal and civil courts in British India tracing it back to the Report of Warren Hastings in 1772. We quote an extract from it :

"The regulations of the police then claimed the attention of the Indian Government. According to the ancient Hindu system the lord of the community owning a tract of land was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order within it. Under the Moghul government the several functions of civil government centred in the Zamindars, who enjoyed large grants of land for the support of the police. The powers vested in these landowners were either left unused or were grossly abused. Warren Hastings introduced a police system standing apart from the general administration of the country but, chiefly perhaps on this account, it proved a failure.

The judges of the civil courts were next vested with authority to arrest criminals, and send them for trial to the Faujdari courts. To this after a time was added magisterial jurisdiction in petty cases. The administration of criminal justice was still treated as not properly a function of the executive officers, and even the subsidiary work of capturing offenders and bringing them to trial was not as yet assigned to the revenue collector.

In 1787 the functions of Civil Judge and Collector were once more combined in the same person, though he dealt as under a separate authority with revenue and ordinary civil cases.

Six years further experience drove Lord Cornwallis from the policy which he had accepted from the Honourable Court. Regulation III. of 1793 once more separated the Collectors' functions and made their proceedings subject to the jurisdiction of the independent civil courts then established. The Collectors fretted under the fetters thus imposed on their discretion. Some practical inconveniences arose when the executive work of the Collectors was hampered by the delays of the civil courts and the decrees of the judges. Step by step the Collectors recovered their former powers. For what are classed as revenue cases the executive and jurisdictional authorities were once more united in 1831 and in 1859 the famous Ryot Act No. X. made the Collectors the sole judges in the first instance of the whole class of cases which in 1793 it had been philosophically pronounced they were *ex officio* unfitted to try.

It is in pursuance of the same theory of the Collector's greater interest in matters connected with the land and the land revenue, that in recent years he has been put in a position to control the execution of decrees in ordinary civil cases affecting the property of landholders. Instead of the property of the judgment debtor being at once made available to pay his ascertained debt, it is protected against execution by elaborate devices and arrangements which are under the direction of the Collector. The design is most benevolent ; sometimes the plan works beneficially. What at this moment interests us is that it has added seriously to the aggregate work of governing and has enormously increased the Collector's authority in the judicial sphere.

The object of this digression on the subject of the civil courts has been to show the tendency, repeatedly checked and counteracted but finally



triumphant, of jurisdiction to concentrate in the hands of the chief local administrative officers.

[It is quite impossible for any Review or Society, not exclusively devoted to legal disquisitions, to wander through these learned mazes, even with the aid of the safe guidance of Sir R. West, whose generous and enlightened view on a branch of the subject will be echoed by every Englishman.—*Ed.*]

"The District Magistrate, if he is to be in any measure the judicial head of his district, ought to stand quite apart from the details of police activity—to be, in fact, between the police and the people, even those people on whom suspicion rests. Police efficiency would be improved by being left to its natural development subject to stricter responsibility. But even if for some time the percentage of convictions sensibly diminished, the apparent loss would be a great ultimate gain. It is commonly said in England, 'Better that two guilty should escape than one innocent be convicted.' The popular feeling is quite right. When an accused is brought to trial pity inclines the crowd in his favour. Harsh means of proof, any leaning against the prisoner will deprive the sentence of its moral weight, and one wrong conviction so procured turns the general sympathy against justice in a hundred other cases. Let people on the other hand see that every presumption is made in favour of the accused, that his helpless blundering ignorance is treated with tender forbearance and then the ultimate conviction if there is one is but the voice of their own reason and conscience. 'Anyhow he has had a fair trial,' they say, and the confidence thus created extends to a hundred dubious cases of which they cannot quite see the rights or wrongs. Confidence moreover begets love; the desire of justice for its own sake becomes a pervading dominant principle, and submission to the law identical with freedom, as the natural resultant of feelings and convictions trained to harmony with the civic and social systems. Thus and thus only is the highest platform of public spirit reached and the way prepared for indefinite further progress through the identification of the individual with the community of which he is a member, and his whole-hearted devotion to all means of social amelioration. The mass of men being selfish ignorant and suspicious, and their souls being inaccessible to force, we must, even at a sacrifice of rigorous and complete penal justice, endeavour to draw them by obvious reasonings and obvious firm benevolence, within a sphere in which all may work best for all, and in so working find happiness without losing individuality. A nation, an empire that can best and first achieve this end is predestined to incomparable greatness through the complete co-ordination and co-operation of all its natural forces in practising the arts of peace and war."

[Now follows a criticism on a criticism by Mr. H. J. Reynolds on the article of Sir C. Elliot in reply to a Lecture given by Mr. Ghose to the East India Association, which appeared in "The Asiatic Quarterly Review." These rejoinders, which are not altogether pertinent to the object of Sir R. West's Lecture, ought perhaps to have been more properly addressed to us direct. When Sir R. West publishes the remarkable manuscript volume which we have so inadequately tried to condense into an article, the gratitude of the Bench and Bar as also the better administration of justice in India will be the fitting reward of his labours and learning.—*Ed.*]

As the REMEDY for possible evils, Sir R. West suggests :

PROPOSED SCHEME BY SIR RAYMOND WEST.

"The Code of Criminal Procedure contains, in a rudimentary form, a scheme of magisterial business under which two or more magistrates sitting together as in petty sessions are to exercise the highest jurisdiction vested in anyone of them individually or such as the Government may assign to the particular bench. Some use, but too little use, has been made of these provisions, which add some further elements of complication to an elaborate code; yet properly constituted and controlled local benches of magistrates may be made the means of simplifying and expediting the course of penal justice, and of giving a beneficial application to the principle of local self-government.

A zilla or district should be divided into a certain number of local sections. For each of these when possible a bench of Magistrates should be constituted vested generally with full magisterial powers. One official chairman should be appointed for several of such benches at one or other of which he should preside every working day. He should himself be a magistrate of the first class, but should usually exercise his powers only in concert with his colleagues of a local bench. His presence and presidency at one or another would be determined by the relative gravity of the cases to be dealt with, all new cases being daily reported to him by the police. In his absence the senior magistrate present would preside; but difficult and important cases should be adjourned for the attendance of the chairman. If in his turn the District Magistrate or the Sub-divisional Magistrate happened to be on the spot he should preside.

To every local branch a clerk should be appointed from among persons who had passed the District Pleaders' examination or at least that part of it relating to criminal law. Of such persons there are many now available who for a very small salary would act as Legal Remembrancers to the benches, and put all orders and process into the proper legal form. They should keep the records of the benches and answer inquiries and furnish returns not calling for any exercise of judicial power.

The Magistrates of a bench should have no authority to act judicially except when assembled in a prescribed quorum. They should sit together about once a week at a fixed central place. For a conviction a majority should be required of two-thirds of the Magistrates present at the time. Cases of which a bench was once seised should not be subject to withdrawal or transfer except by order of the High Court.

As a compensation for their services the local Honorary Magistrates should enjoy some complimentary designation, and should be granted a certain official status giving them precedence over the ordinary householder. As their experience grew, individual members might be invested with limited magisterial powers, especially those of receiving complaints, issuing summonses, warrants to arrest, orders for documents and notices to witnesses, and taking bail. The adjudication of criminal cases except of the pettiest kind should be reserved for the bench at its weekly sitting.

It might not be possible in some parts of the country to find men of

sufficient intelligence and of such social position as would fit them for the responsibilities of a Magistrate. In the absence of local gentry the heads of villages who already in Madras and Bombay exercise a petty jurisdiction could in most cases be enlisted. But in some places even this resource might fail. Still the other parts of the plan could be put in force. A perambulating Magistrate hearing cases at certain fixed points on fixed days would afford great relief to the persons concerned, while the expertness gained from continual practice would probably make his decisions more satisfactory than the hurried judgments of men oppressed with other work.

To carry out the scheme I have sketched, of local benches, with stipendiary presidents moving from one bench to another, some additional expense would have to be incurred. The expense could be partly covered by a reduction of the staff performing both executive and magisterial duties, for as these would be relieved of a material part of their work a smaller number of them would suffice. Nor would this put justice at a greater distance from those seeking it, since in many places there is a duplication of magisterial functionaries. Still there must be some augmentation of expense, and the district or large town desiring to secure the great advantage of a skilled Magistrate devoted solely to its service should be called on to pay half his salary out of local resources. To the Government there would be a material saving in police guards, and better to witnesses travelling about the country. To the people there would be the saving of time, harassment, and uncertainty as to the time and place of disposal of their criminal cases.

Every bench of Magistrates should have its small house of detention provided, like the Court-house, out of local funds. This house of detention, or lock-up, should be in charge of an officer wholly unconnected with the police; and any person arrested by the police should be taken forthwith to it unless released on bail. One or two of the Magistrates should in turn go to the adjoining court-house every day, to take down any statements that prisoners desired to make, and to hear their requests and complaints. The handing over of a prisoner to the police "for further inquiries" should be wholly stopped. A prisoner willing to point out property, or the scene of a crime, should be sent straight to the spot and immediately brought back again.

The preliminary inquiry into the truth of a complaint of an offence is usually made by the police alone under the provisions of Chapter XIV. of the Code of Criminal Procedure. In some cases, however, the investigation is made by a Magistrate under Section 59 or 202 of the Code. In such work Magistrates are not skilful; and they cannot give themselves up to it without neglecting their regular duties. Opinions formed in the course of the preliminary investigation are apt to cling to the mind of the officer who has made it, and to influence him more or less in afterwards dealing with the case judicially, if it should come before him in its later stages. The sleuth-hound ardour of the zealous detective can hardly, in the same case, co-exist with the perfectly balanced judgment appropriate to a Magistrate. The police needing guidance, as they often do, in their proper work should in difficult cases obtain advice and assistance from



the Government prosecutor of the district or division. He readily perceives the points on which it depends whether a case can be sustained or not; and his advice and suggestions would prevent many failures. In the Bombay Presidency passed candidates awaiting judicial employment are now placed as honorary assistants under the Government pleaders at the District Courts. The services of these educated young men might in many cases be advantageously made use of in directing and controlling the police inquiries into alleged crimes when the circumstances were complicated, and the questions presented difficulty. In discovering the best lines of inquiry, and discriminating the really valuable point of information and evidence, the Indian police are very inefficient, and must remain so until they are taught better by persons of more highly trained intelligence. The young lawyers thus employed in "getting up" cases, seeing afterwards how they fared in the courts, would themselves draw many useful lessons from the experience. They would examine witnesses better, and discern more readily wherein lay the probable strength or weakness of any case with which they had to deal judicially at a later period.

Every accused tried in a Court of Session ought to have the assistance of a pleader. If he cannot employ one himself, one should be assigned to him by the court from among the juniors of the bar. Such a service would lend dignity to the bar, and should be performed gratis in return for the benefits of practice, and for the monopoly enjoyed by the profession. In the case of a criminal appeal admitted for hearing the appellant should be allowed a like advantage. A penal sentence ought to bear the keenest criticism.

If the modifications in the law and the administration of the law which I have suggested fall short of the proposals of ardent and sanguine reformers, they would yet suffice to prevent all the abuses which have actually been complained of in recent years so far as these are illustrated by cases directly in point. The appellate and revisional authority over magistrates' judicial proceeding ought to be withdrawn from the District Magistrate, but in matters of routine and mechanical arrangement, and in the enforcement of diligence on the part of the inferior Magistrates, his power should be sustained at least until the system of divided functions can be gradually superseded by the petty sessions arrangements which I propose. The District Magistrate being relieved of appellate and revisional functions it would follow that Subdivisional Magistrates and Magistrates of the 1st Class could not be invested with them. In all cases of any importance they would be exercised by the Court of Session. The District Magistrate, *i.e.*, the Collector, would still be ex-officio Magistrate of the 1st Class for his district and empowered to withdraw cases to his own court from any inferior Magistrate, though not from one of the 1st Class. There are social and religious and racial antipathies, and even jealousies and suspicions active in most zillas, which make it desirable even apart from political reasons that the chief officer should be able to take any particular case into his own hands, and this must continue so long as the moral weakness prevails amongst native Magistrates which everyone in Bengal appears to complain of.

The District Magistrate being assigned such a position as I have indicated, the term "subordinate magistrate" should be abolished. In judicial matters the magistrates should be subject to the appellate and revisional jurisdiction of the Sessions Courts; in such matters as the assignment of local jurisdiction and the distribution of business they should be subject to the District Magistrate as Chief Magistrate of the District. Their subordination should in each case be left to be gathered from the specific authority assigned to the higher and controlling functionary. On the conclusion of a case dealt with by the District Magistrate, whether commenced in his Court or withdrawn into it, he should send to the Sessions Court the usual tabulate giving an outline of the case and showing in the column of "Remarks" why it was withdrawn. So too if it were transferred. The Sessions Court would then be in a position to judge, even without being moved, whether the proceedings ought to be called for and reviewed on account of any indiscreet use of the powers we are considering.

The District Magistrate being freed from judicial embarrassments, and very rarely trying a case or committing one to the Sessions, might most beneficially be charged more directly and distinctly with the superior control of the police of his district. It is a relation frequently insisted on that the Superintendent of Police is or ought to be the District Magistrate's assistant for police purposes. An assistant for police purposes of a judicial functionary is almost a contradiction in terms, but such an assistant of the head executive officer of a district is quite appropriate. The District Magistrate should check abuses and stimulate diligence by calling the police to strict account, but without attempting to direct the details of their work. In forming plans of co-operation, and in detective arrangements, the experienced officers of the force ought to be much more clever than the District Magistrate himself, though from his commanding standpoint the latter can best judge by results whether the police are really doing their duty.

The position in India of the police in relation to the Courts and the Magistrates is in some respects quite a false one. Instead of working up to the hands of the magistrates and the needs of impartial and cautious justice they often take on themselves the office of critics, and police administration reports are garnished with reflections on the fairness and competence of the functionaries who have ventured to acquit even in the most carefully got-up cases. The District Magistrate's position as head of the police, responsible for the good order of his district, makes him all too ready to listen to such complaints; and through him they pass on to a Government with pronounced executive leanings. The presence in each Provincial Government of a strong member as Minister of Justice is indispensable to a sound administration, but passing from that topic I observe that the interest of the District Magistrate in police efficiency positively disqualifies him for the judicial supervision of the Subordinate Magistrates. He should not only be debarred from the unbecoming and illegal communications to which his weaker subordinates are too submissive, but he should be relieved wholly from the functions of appeal and supervision,

though vested still with executive authority to see that the Subordinate Magistrates do not waste the public time, harass witnesses with short hearings and needless adjournments, and make their variety of employments an excuse for neglecting all.

Under such a scheme as I would advocate, and so long as magisterial and executive functions centre in the same offices, the promotion of every subordinate should be made to depend as much on the opinion of the Sessions Judge as to his magisterial capacity and rectitude as on that of the Collector and District Magistrate as to his executive ability. It is almost impossible under existing arrangements in Bengal and the North-West Provinces that the judicial element of government and its administrators should obtain due recognition in comparison with the executive, but if reforms are to be entered on an improvement in this particular presents no great difficulty.

The question of the separation of executive from judicial functions has been argued by some advocates of the severance on the ground that there is a constant and conscious endeavour on the part of even the Government in India to put pressure on the judges in the discharge of their duties. "The increasing tendency," it is said, "of the Executive even in high places to bring pressure to bear directly or indirectly upon the judiciary, not even exempting the judges of the High Courts, is of the most ominous import." And again, "The Governor-General in Council himself acts under the control of the Secretary of State; and what prospect can there be of independence being secured to the judicial bench so long as the Executive powerfully contends against such independence with the knowledge and sanction of that Crown Minister?" The suggestion that the Secretary of State and the Government of India in any way interfere with the Judges' decisions is not only grossly unfair but almost ludicrous. I had the honour of filling a seat on the bench of a High Court for fourteen years and I can safely say that in that time no hint ever reached me that the Government desired this or that decision. Nor I am sure was anyone of my learned colleagues ever approached in any such sense. As a member of Government I read so far as I recollect only one expression of opinion by the Secretary of State on the relations between the Government and the High Court, and that was that any semblance even of interfering with the independence of the Judges was to be carefully avoided. My experience was substantially the same in the lower grades of judicial employment and even as a Subordinate Magistrate. As an Assistant Judge I once decided in a series of five or six cases against the Collector who had wrongfully ejected some squatters. The Collector was very angry, but when on appeal my judgments were confirmed he had no excuse for any further display of bad temper and he did not at any time respect me less because my decisions thwarted his public zeal. Much less did he attempt to bias my judgment in any subsequent case. As a Mofussil judge I never once felt that the pleasure or displeasure of the executive high or low was a matter of the slightest moment when I was on the bench. In matters outside the purely judicial sphere I had occasionally to cause some friction and to bear it. In one instance I had to maintain



my cause against the Government before the Secretary of State, but I did not feel that this small wrangle and the somewhat high-handed proceeding of the Government in any way affected my judicial independence.

I think then, as I have not heard of any experience materially different from my own, that the gentlemen who are disturbed in mind about the independence of the judges, may lay their concern aside. The Judges hold a sufficiently independent position. They are well able to take care of themselves and are not less supported by pride and principle than the corresponding functionaries in England. If in any way they are affected by the presence of Government or a Government official as a party it is in the way of a determination to make it quite clear that the court of justice is the poor man's citadel. The Government advised by its law officers feels this so strongly that it will not fight except on strong grounds, so that when it is driven into litigation it is successful in a great majority of cases—which however are really less beneficial to it than its defeats when justice is plainly seen chastening executive zeal unguided by discretion.

The truth of the matter is that the executive officers being deeply interested, as we must all wish them to be, in the success of their work and conscious that they have the welfare of the people at heart, are eager to carry out their measures and easily irritated at the legal barriers which the Courts every now and then place in their way. To some the Judge becomes a sort of *bête noire*: they would fain abolish him and his office altogether, especially when in a high temperature they read a judgment frankly exposing some stupid illegality or indiscretion. And this spirit one here and there possibly carries with him into the higher places of government. But he is not long there before instances of blunders which he is sure he could never have committed come again and again to his notice. He still fumes occasionally at the conceited Judge, but quite as often he swears *sotto voce* at the wrong-headed Collector or commissioner whose perverse obstinacy has brought discredit on the executive and has had to be corrected by the Court on its civil or its criminal side. The same energies and turn of mind however which have raised him high as an administrator have generally kept him far apart from judicial employment, and a certain one-sidedness is thus made inevitable. The proper remedy is to be found in having judicial, though not exclusively judicial, experience and ability strongly represented in every Indian government by a member filling the rôle substantially of a minister of justice and police. The judiciary need representation and support just as much as the executive functionaries, and in every grade they ought to feel that their performance of duty is consistently judged from the standpoint of the highest public interests. This should be felt in the case of promotions and also in the case of non-promotions or removals. Judges are not more fit than other men for irresponsibility; they are not irresponsible or irremovable in England. What is needed is that their responsibility, their credit and discredit should be meted out on sound principles and with sympathy and real appreciation of their ability, zeal and learning.

The Revenue Boards in the North-west Provinces, Bengal and Madras, are chiefly circumlocution offices. The members of them should be pro-

moted to take a direct and responsible share in the government of their provinces. At least one or more of the members of each Revenue Board should be so employed, and with him should be joined a strong and experienced representative of the judicial department.

The maintenance of the judiciary in India on substantially its present footing of generally independent, yet harmonious, working with the executive is an object of the first importance to the permanence of our system of government. Every measure that will conduce to the Judges' professional competence ought to find ready acceptance, and the dignity of the Bench should in all ways be carefully upheld. There are some advocates who would wish to see the Indian mofussil bench manned in its higher places solely from their own profession. The offers of such places which to my knowledge have been made in several instances to really competent men have invariably been refused. English barristers or English trained barristers of inferior ability placed on the mofussil bench would in their narrower sphere be as mischievous as the Supreme Court of Calcutta in its first years of revolutionary activity. The next and almost inevitable step would be to suppress their petty self-assertion by bringing them well under control. They would have few supporters in the councils of government, and the native bar hungering for their emoluments would demonstrate that English lawyers were even less qualified than Civil Servants to be mofussil Judges. The tendency would be to an entire appropriation of the District Judgeships, as the Subordinate Judgeships are already appropriated by native functionaries. It is most desirable of course that native ability should be duly recognized. But it is yet more important that the bases and the balance of our government should be preserved. When we admit the great advantages of a separation of powers, that is on the tacit assumption that all authorities alike accept and submit to a substantially uniform group of supreme directing principles. Similar though not absolutely identical notions of patriotism, public duty, and personal honour must pervade the higher officials of the state if they are to pull together for any long period. A body of French or German officials for instance could not long work beside our English judges and magistrates. An Indian bench wholly, or almost wholly, native would stand so widely apart from an English-manned executive that united harmonious action would by-and-by be impossible. There would be infinite heart-burnings, and the judicials would go to the wall. The judiciary would eventually be infinitely weaker as opposed to the executive than it is now; and though places would be gained justice and good government would suffer. These considerations may reconcile us to some grains of ill in our system, and prompt us to mend it rather than to end it.

## THE MOPLAS OF MALABAR.

BY F. FAWCETT.

[The recent outbreak of Moplas, suppressed, after little bloodshed, by the capture of the band, gives additional value to this interesting account of a brave people and of their rising in 1896. Formerly Moplas only "went out" to die; now we capture them and, if our suggestion in a footnote on page 299 be adopted, we believe that the Moplas will become most loyal subjects.—*Ed.*]

THE news of 92 Moplas having been shot at Manjêri, Malabar, on the 1st March 1896, was a shock to the people in England, and to those who are unfamiliar with the question, the measures adopted for putting down an armed resistance to authority may have seemed unnecessarily harsh. It is not in the spirit of an advocate, however, that the Moplas are made the subject of this essay, though it is in one of sympathy for men who exhibit a courage which is absolutely dauntless, and a contempt for death which is unparalleled and certainly unsurpassed in any other part of the world by any race.

The Manjêri temple, a shrine of the Hindu Bhagvati, situated on the summit of a small hill just outside the village Manjêri which lies, roughly, between Ootacamund, the summer capital of Southern India, and the sea to the west, has been the scene of more than one little battle. In 1784 this temple and the palace of the Kârunamulpâd, its owner, were besieged by a large body of Moplas, and after three days' fighting utterly destroyed. The rebel Moplas were attacked by some of Tippu Sultan's troops, a thousand strong, and were victorious, slaying Tippu's commander. The temple was restored in April, 1849, and in August of the same year during the Muhammadan Râmazân, a body of 30 Moplas desecrated it, and routed two companies of sepoy, killing four privates and a European officer, Lt Wyse. Their number soon rose to 64, and a few days afterwards they were destroyed, fighting gallantly, by European troops who lost 2 privates killed and of whom 2 officers and 6 privates were wounded in the operation.

This the Moplas did to our well-armed troops with war knives, in a shape between a bill-hook and a "kukri," tied to the hand and wrist, sometimes one to each, while madly rushing at their foes. Of this kind of warfare there has been much in Malabar. Even when in 1894 the British troops were armed with the Lee-Metford rifle and the Police with Sniders, some of the fanatics reached the bayonets ere meeting what they sought: death and entrance into Paradise. To the western mind this devotion to death, which combines tender longing with fiendish fury, is altogether incomprehensible. How is it that the severest of all punishments has no effect in preventing one outburst succeeding another, in none of which a Mopla has ever been taken unwounded? Men, old and feeble as well as the young and lusty, come on unflinchingly until the bullet or the bayonet ends their existence. The lad in his father's house quiet until a few hours before he faces British troops will rush on as if to the manner born, will throw himself on the bayonet, if he can, and, covered with wounds, will try to strike at a soldier. Others will leave the plough or sickle or their cattle in order to join a passing gang of Shahîds or intending martyrs of the faith. There may have been instances of half-heartedness before a battle, but in the struggle of death no case of flinching or being taken unwounded has ever been known. The man who goes out to die, and



does not die, even though he seeks death with all the heroism of which a man is capable, is never forgiven, and his life would not be safe for a moment among his own people. Father, mother, brothers, sisters and wife would not as much as listen to me when telling how one dear to them a few days before was lying in Hospital with bullets through his body. Why did this "would-be-Shahid" not die? is all the notice that a family gives in such a case or else "He is gone; he is nothing to us" is all they would say. Just after the outbreak in 1894 when 32 fanatics were shot, of whom but 2 survived—one a convert, shot through the spleen, and a boy of 15 wounded in the leg—the mother of one of the survivors was heard to say indignantly: "Well, if I were a man, *I would not come back wounded!*"

This longing for death, which is so opposed to western feelings, no matter what the belief in a future existence may be, was evinced with greater strength than ever during the last outbreak; for it was plain that nearly one-half of the dead were self-slain, or had been slain by their comrades. They were wounded perhaps by military or police rifles, but not unto death; determined, however, not to be taken wounded, they asked their comrades to kill them. One survivor, whose left humerus was smashed and who also had a few flesh wounds, was lying on his back. One of his fellows went over to finish him. The keen knife was already on his throat and had severed the skin, when the would-be slayer was shot dead by our men. The killing of Mopla by Mopla is, as a rule hitherto unbroken, completely at variance with their ideas.

Mopla songs best tell their feelings when going out to die the death of religious enthusiasts. One of these was written by the popular Mopla poet Alungal Kandi Mōyankutti Vāidiār, grandson of a convert from Hinduism, of the stock of the old Vēlan or Vāidiār, a hereditary Hindu physician. The poem begins with extolling Muhammad, and tells how the Damascus King was convinced of the truth of his mission when the Prophet made the moon rise at the wrong time, ascend the zenith, divide, and each half pass through the sleeves of his coat. Then follows a version of the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and how the innocent minister ascended to heaven telling the king who suspected him that he would be pardoned if he accepted "the new Vēdam" which a prophet was then bringing to men over the sea.

Regardless of chronology, the poet tells how Islām was brought to Kērala\* and how, eventually, a grand mosque was built at Malapuram. [An absurdity is that the Perumal is compelled to do the *Hāj* or pilgrimage while Muhammad was alive. Muhammad was dead 200 years before Islām was brought to Malabar or the Perumal, the last Emperor, went to Arabia.]† Moplas will not allow even an atom of the cadjan roof of the Mosque to be burnt. They will fight to the death for it, and they are glad of the opportunity. The poem then says:

MOPLA MUHAMMADAN POEM WHEN MARCHING TO DEATH.

"The soul in our body is in the hand of God. Can we live for ever in this world? Must we not die once? Everything will die but God alone will not. Such being the

\* Malabar.

† The "black stone" at Mecca and the Meccan shrine, or Caaba, round which were suspended poems that had won that honour in tribal poetical contests at Okhaz, was an object of pilgrimage to Arab tribes for centuries before Muhammad.—Ed.

commandment of God we will have no excuse when we are brought before him after death; so determine earnestly to fight and die. If we die fighting with the wicked men who attempt forcibly to burn this holy mosque which is the house of God, we shall obtain complete salvation. The occasion to fight and die for the faith is like unto embarking in a vessel which has come to bear the believer to the shores of bliss. Therefore, embark! How well for you that such a vessel has come! It will bear you to the broad gates of Heaven. 'Is it not for the arrival of such a vessel that we should pray?' . . . 'The pleasures of wealth, or family, are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness.' Our most venerable Prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the *houris* who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the *houris*. The splendour of the sun, of the moon, and of the lightning is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their cheeks, eyes, face, eyebrows, forehead, head are incomparably lovely. Their lips are like corals; their teeth like the seeds of the *Thalimathalam*; their breasts like cups of gold, the pomegranate, or like beautiful flowers. It is not possible for the mind to conceive the loveliness of their breasts and shoulders. . . . If they wash in the sea, the salt water becomes like honey, and as fragrant as Attar. If they were to come down to the earth and smile, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voice. When they wear red silk garments bordered with green lace of seventy folds, their skin, bones and muscles can be seen through them. Such is the splendour of their body. If they clap their hands, the clang of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 500 years' journey. They clap their hands and dance and sing as they come like swans to the battlefield. If a human being were to see their beauty, their smile or their dance, he would die (with longing) on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle, they rub away the blood and cure the pain; they kiss and embrace the martyrs, give them to drink of the sweet water of Heaven and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with carpets set with precious stones will be brought, and a voice will say, Let my men mount; let them dance with the celestial *houris*. Then the celestial coverings will be placed on their heads; they mount the beautiful horses which will dance and leap and take them away to Heaven, where they will live in unbounded joy."

"Such is the fate which awaits those who die fighting bravely. At the dissolution of the world they will be sped like lightning over the bridge across Hell. In Heaven they will attend the marriage of Muhammad. They will be decorated with bunches of pearls and crowns of gold; they will be seated on the tusk of Muhammad's elephant, and enjoy supreme happiness. It is impossible to describe the pleasures which await those who die fighting bravely without flinching. All their sins will be forgiven and God will listen to all their prayers."

Far otherwise is it with the coward. "All his virtuous actions are ignored. He incurs the wrath of God. He will be written down a renegade in the book of God. His prayers are vain. He will die a sinner and be thrown into Hell where fresh kinds of torture will be given him. In Hell are countless myriads of scorpions, snakes, worms and frightful dragons. It is a pit of everlasting fire." The pleasures of Heaven and the pains of Hell have been revealed to Muhammad "who in his turn taught his disciples. It is the learned *Musallians* who now hold this knowledge."

Let it not be supposed that the above feelings are mainly sensual and erotic. On the contrary, the *Mopla's* version of Islām has had a strong effect for good on his life and morality.

Another song by the same poet is of Muhammad's famous battle of Bedr, where he routed the *Koreish*; also a subject of endless interest to the *Moplas*. They say that as the battle was fought on the 17th *Rāmāzān* in the 2nd year of the *Hejra*, it is a good day on which to die. Most fortunately for the future peace of the District the rebels were obliged to make a stand on the 16th. Curiously enough, the month of fasting, during which it is enjoined not to fight unless forced to do so is the very one in

which the Mopla, ultra strict follower of the prophet according to his lights, chooses to go out to fight and die. The twelfth day of Ramazān is with them a good day on which to start, and it was selected in the last rising.

The poet describes how the Angel Gabriel told the Prophet that bliss awaited those of his followers who died fighting the infidel. The Prophet then tells them how they could gain Paradise and be met by the *houris* "whose eyes are like the waxing moon, whose cheeks are like the young plantains' leaves, who are soft as the petals of the young shoe-flower" by way of inspiring them with courage. The imagery is not quite so happy as before, for the necks of the *houris* when they walk "wave to and fro like the neck of a rutting elephant." But "their breast is like a lake wherein are lotus flowers, and they are always 16 years old and very amorous." They come like sporting elephants to bear away those who die in battle and strive with each other saying, "I will take him,—I will take him." The Prophet swore to his army that such happiness would be theirs if they died fighting bravely." Omar was eating dates; when he heard this he cast them away. The Prophet asked why. He replied that he wished to waste no time eating dates: "I wish to use my time for fighting; and so saying he rushed like a lion among a flock of sheep, killed many and died fighting: he met the death he wished for." The father fought against son, for the bond of the faith is stronger than the bond of blood. The Angels of death fought on the side of the Prophet, and the Koreish were defeated.

There survive impressions of the displaced religions of the lower races of whose blood there is much in the Mopla. There is much bowing, in the way that Hindoos bow, and prayer is offered to deceased and semi-deified persons, notable priests, tangals and shahids. The most important oath by which a Mopla can swear is "By the feet of the Mambram Tangal," and many vows are made at the shrine of this great priest who came from Arabia to spread the Faith in Malabar, and died there. On the coast where the Arab blood and influence is strongest, the religion is so to speak more purely spiritual; in the interior where there is little or no Arab blood, it is more animistic: the religion is more strongly infused with the once universal ancestral worship and its concomitant phases.

On the coast the favourite Moulud ceremony, for instance, is entirely spiritual in its essence—as an Arab Mopla priest describes it. In the interior it is to obtain some favour from a deceased person who is invoked.

A song which illustrates the way in which the dead may aid the living is entitled *Shahidu Māla Pāttu*, a garland of songs about the Shahids—those heroes of the Malapuram Mosque who are the subject of the first song being indicated.

"In the name of God I begin this song. I pray to Muhammad the prophet who is the cause of all created things. I pray also to his relatives and to the Ashabi Army. I pray to all Mussulmans." The Poet goes on to say that "Abu Betir Siddik was the first true Shahid. Even the Angels of God hold him in high respect. He was a true man and he never exposed his person to anyone until his death. May God always bless him." Omar Bin Kutāb is the next. He "held the faith dearer than all his wealth and all his children. The dust in his hand was transformed to musk by the Most High, and the



odour of that musk always pervaded his body." Space does not permit more than a meagre outline of these songs, and the special characteristics of the Arab Shahids can be only alluded to in the briefest manner. "Usman Bin Afrân is the third great Shahid. He had the Prophet's permission to admit any one he pleased to Heaven. He visits every place like the lightning of Heaven. He is the most celebrated man in Heaven or Earth; and he married two of the prophet's daughters." Ismân Ali is the fourth. "He is described as a Tiger in By-thul-Issa. The Angels of death fear him. He was the son of Abdulla's brother, the most beloved of the Prophet and the husband of Fatima the Prophet's daughter, dearer to him than eyesight." A tremendous fighter! "His name is written 'Tiger' on the cot in Aesh." . . . "He is the gate of the Hall of Wisdom. May God always bless him."

The story of the Perumal, the last king among the kinglets of Malabar, and his voyage to Arabia where he met the Prophet are then told. Then we come to the destruction of the Malapuram Mosque when 44 Moplas, the bravest of the brave, fought to the death:

"Parents, wives, children, tried to dissuade them, but to no purpose. They were told they would by their husbands' death in glory obtain salvation. But what about the present? 'Do you not see the sky sustained without a pillar . . . the frog in the deep recess of the rock, the chicken in the egg, and the child nourished in the womb? Is it reasonable that you will be helpless? Does a man in the grave think of his parents? When we are weighed in the balance who but God will help us? Can one's parents? If the men permit sacrilege to their mosque all the pains of Hell await them: it is only by dying for the glory of God they can obtain Heavenly bliss; and then they can bless and aid their families."

"Ho! ye brethren! The Shahids are most mighty. Ghosts and Bhûtas fear them. The wicked Iblis is their enemy. . . They have independent power of doing good to men. Those who sing their praise obtain salvation from God. Those who slight them will suffer untold misery." . . . "Nothing is more pleasing to God than sacrificing one's body and soul in defence of God, and none are more honoured than these Shahids." . . . "They did not become Shahids under compulsion but of their own faith and conviction; therefore God gave them a special place in Heaven and a crown in Taj-il-Okâr. Their bodies are always fragrant. God takes special care of them."

The poet says his song is "A Hymn of Praise for the benefit of all mankind." "Its name is Kâliyath Shifa. . . . As a necklace for kings have I composed it. Those who wear this necklace here will be rewarded by God hereafter with a necklace of gold. I am always praying to God to bless those who repeat this song." He asks God to forgive orthographical errors, for the sake of the Malapuram Shahids, and then, naming every ill or misfortune possible to man, asks that for the sake of the same intercessors he may come to no harm. He goes the length of asking that he may be "One of the great men who attend to the wants and defects of the house of God," and that he too may die a Shahid! The song is intended to be repeated amidst vows in a time of sickness.

Another of the same kind I have by me, but I must refrain from quoting it. Like the other it tells how any want may be supplied, diseases cured, wells filled and even cholera driven away, simply by invoking the Malapuram Shahids. There is nothing which they cannot do for man. It is never admitted that these are gods "for there is no god but God," but very powerful beings who have been invested with power of their own, which they may exercise for man: having given body and soul to God while in this world has earned for them the privilege of obtaining assent from God whenever they ask Him for anything on behalf of those on earth.

For the same reason that these songs are passed over, taking from them here and there merely a few extracts, there must be omitted the songs of love. These songs have not been put into English before. It is no easy matter to do this for all Mopla songs are composed in a very curious jargon, a mixture of all the Dravidian languages in which the vernacular Malayalam is paramount, with Hindustani and even Arabic, written in the Arabic character which most Moplas can read. First they were turned into Malayalam and then into English.

The tract inhabited by the Moplas who are fanatically inclined (all are not so : those of a certain tract only) was disarmed some 10 years ago, but the operation has not in the least scotched the spirit of "Shahidism." The following are its injunctions : There must be no chance of capture. The position taken up is chosen most carefully. It must not be one in which they can be caught like rats in a trap. There has been some change in tactics. In the last few outbreaks guns have been used for defence of the position taken up ; to secure as many as possible of these the country round is scoured by the gang, and the more guns the more adherents. The war knife is prohibited by law, but a very efficient substitute and almost identical in shape is the common wood chopper ; these and swords are now used.

The band which takes the initiative is composed of men who have through continuous religious devotions assumed an attitude of mind in which the ordinary functions of the brain are stayed by religious ecstasy. The orthodox procedure is then to dispose all one's worldly possessions, divorce one's wives, solemnly give up body and soul to God, dress in a long white coat and white cap, and finally to go out calmly in order to seek death whilst fighting. The above directions are not always strictly followed for many of the Shahids possess nothing but their wives, and these are not divorced for fear of their intentions becoming known. With the exception of the unfortunate murder of Mr. Conolly, District Magistrate of Malabar in 1855, the first overt act has been invariably the murder of some landlord or land agent, or of an apostate. Confused ideas as to Mopla outbreaks being purely agrarian, or purely fanatical, have thereby arisen. Agrarian they are, fanatical too, to a considerable extent, but fixing any social phenomenon as the product of any single cause is and must be an error.

Before attempting to consider this portion of the subject let us hark back and say something of how Islām was brought to Malabar—how there have become such a people as the Moplas—events which are often referred to in their songs. Ceremonies too perpetuate it. The Maharaja of Travancore takes possession of the throne only until his uncle returns from Mecca,\* and the Zamorin of Calicut, of whom we have heard since the days of Vasco da Gama, is not crowned until, coming into Calicut for the purpose, he is met at the river by a man dressed as a Mopla woman who gives him betel to eat, and having eaten which the altitude of his caste is much reduced and he is under very unpleasant consequences ever after.

\* This seems to be a *lapsus calami* as the Maharaja is a Hindu or, at least, the statement is not sufficiently explained. Mr. Fawcett's interesting reply to this note will be found under "Correspondence."—Ed.

The word "Mopla" otherwise "Mappilla," is said to be "a contraction of Mahā (great) and 'pilla' ('child,' an honorary title; as amongst Nāyars in Travancore) and it was probably a title of honour conferred on the early Muhammadan immigrants, and possibly on the still earlier Christian immigrants. . . . The Muhammadans are usually called Jonaka or Chānaka Mappillas to distinguish them from the Christian Mappillas, who are also called Nasrāni\* Mappillas. Jonaka . . . is believed to stand for Yavanaka = Ionian = Greek." Be that as it may, the Moplas of the outbreak tract are Muhammadans to a man. It is only in Cochin and Travancore that certain Christians are termed Moplas. The following account is taken from Mr. Logan's Manual of Malabar :

"All Malayali accounts are substantially in accord as to the following facts :—The last King or Emperor of Malabar was one Chēramān Perumāl, who reigned at Kodungallūr (Cranganore, the Monziris of the Greeks, the Muiyir-Koda of the Cochin Jews). He dreamed that the full moon appeared on the night of the new moon at Mecca in Arabia, and that, when at the meridian, she split into two,† one half remaining and the other half descending to the foot of a hill called Abi Kubais, when the two halves joined and set. Some time afterwards a party of Muhammadan pilgrims on their way to the foot-print shrine at Adam's Peak in Ceylon chanced to visit the Perumāl's Capital, and were admitted to an audience and treated most hospitably. On being asked if there was any news in their country, one, by name Sheikh Sekke-ud-din, it is said, related to the Perumāl the apocryphal story of Muhammad having by the miracle about which the Perumāl had dreamt, converted a number of unbelievers."

And so it came about that the Perumāl wished to unite himself to them, a vessel was made ready and the Perumāl landed eventually at Shahr on the Arabian coast.

"It is uncertain whether it was here (Shahr) that the Perumāl came for the first time into contact with the persons who were to be the pioneers of Islam in Malabar, or whether they, or some of them had been of the party of pilgrims with whom he originally set out from Kodungallūr. But, however this may be, the names of the persons have been handed down by tradition as (1) Malik-ibn-Dinar, (2) Habib-ibn-Malik, (3) Sherf-ibn-Malik, (4) Malik-ibn-Habib and his wife Kumarieth, with their ten sons and five daughters."

"The Perumāl apparently changed his name to that which is said to appear on his tomb, namely Abdur Rahmān Samiri."

After some time he wished to return to Malabar to spread the new religion and build places of worship, but while the ship was being built he fell ill and, feeling death at hand, implored his companions to do that which he had intended to do himself and gave them letters to the various chiefs of Malabar. "And after this he surrendered his soul to the unbounded mercy of God."‡

"It has come to notice from the information of an Arab resident near the spot, that the tomb of the Perumāl still exists at Zaphār on the Arabian Coast, at some distance from the place (Shahr) where he is reported to have landed. The facts have still to be authoritatively verified, but it is stated that on his tomb the inscription runs : 'Arrived at Zaphār, A.H. 212. Died there A.H. 216.' These dates correspond with the years 827-832 A.D." The Malabar Kollam era dates from the departure of the Perumāl to Arabia in 825 A.D. The current year is 1071. It is likely he spent 2 years at Shahr before proceeding to Zaphār.

\* Nazrāni, a corruption of "Nazarene."

† Koran, chap. 54.

‡ Rowlandson's Tahafat-ul-Mujahidīn, p. 53, quoted in Mr. Logan's Manual.



During this Kollam era the Faith has spread and spread, and when the census was taken last, in 1871, the Muhammadans in Malabar almost all of whom are Moplas, numbered 769,857 or over 29 per cent. of the population.\* And they increase rapidly.

The mosques of the Moplas are quite unlike those of any other Muhammadans. Here one sees no minarets. The temple architecture of Malabar was noticed by Ferguson to be that of Nepaul; nothing like it exists between the two places. And the Mopla Mosque is much in the style of the Hindu temple even to adoption of the turret like edifice which, among Hindus, is here peculiar to the temples of Shiva. The general use nowadays of German mission-made tiles is bringing about, alas! metamorphoses in the architecture of Hindu temples and Mopla Mosques, the picturesqueness disappearing altogether, and in a few years it may be difficult to find one of the old style such as that in the illustration. Some Mopla Mosques were once Hindu temples but the commonest kind is something like the one in the illustration but without the ornamentation and the turret, having one, two or more roofs in the larger ones perhaps in imitation of the Caaba. Some again are in the humblest style being little more than hovels. The Mosque is however always as grand as the community can make it, and once built it can never be removed for the site is sacred ever afterwards. Every Mopla would shed his blood rather than suffer any indignity to a Mosque. It would be the case of the Malapuram Shahids all over again, for, once religious enthusiasm is aroused death has no terrors but only alluring smiles.†

The Moplas are Sunnis and claim to have had their religion from the fountain head. The chief priest in Malabar, the Valia Tangal of Ponani, styles himself Valiyazārathingal‡ Sayid Ali Bin Abdur Rahman Vali Tangal, Ponani, a pure Arab by blood and who claims direct descent from the Prophet. Curiously enough he inherits his sacred office in the female line—his nephew and not his son is his successor—after the custom of Malabar, while his family property passes according to Muhammadan Law. Other Mopla priestly offices, even that of the Mahadūm, the chief representative of learning who confers religious titles and degrees, are inherited in the same manner while, as all over S. Malabar (among Moplas) property devolves in the usual way, sons, daughters and widows receiving certain shares: sons an equal share; a widow with sons, an eighth of the whole; a widow without sons, a sixth of the whole; daughters, half a son's share.

The Nayar tarawād, in which devolution of property is through the female line is the most stable of all arrangements for preservation of the family and family property. The Moplas of South Malabar have followed this custom as regards certain priestly offices, not all, but the Moplas of North Malabar follow it in respect of property. They have changed their creed but not their custom of inheritance. In the North they are well off. Every circumstance of the tarawād tends towards aggrandizement. In the South they are very poor, for they are extremely prolific, and, they divide up their property in such a way that prosperity is impossible. Their

\* This includes the Laccadive Islands.

† See the drawing of a Mopla Mosque at the end of this paper.—*Ed.*

‡ Valiyazārathingal = belonging to the Great Shrine.

prolificness and mode of inheritance are enough to destroy the most capable people in the world, situated as the Moplas are.

Not only are they prolific but their numbers are increased largely every year by fresh adherents from the Hindu as well as from the inferior races. In the decade preceding 1891 the Hindus increased by less than 8 per cent. while the Muhammadans increased over 15 per cent. The position of even the slave-like Cheruman is changed at once when he enters Islam; instead of his very presence carrying pollution to people within 100 yards of him he can walk where he will and hold his head as high as the best, and what is more, every Mopla will stick to him through thick and thin.

A people prolific and overcrowding and at the same time wretchedly poor as are the Moplas of E. Malabar, are most unfortunate subjects for fanaticism; and more especially so when the land tenures are such as if arranged specially for the purpose of making people discontented. Of this fanaticism we will now say something, and endeavour to account for its existence. In many places people are poor and prolific but not fanatic. Why are these Moplas so?

When a civilized community adopts Islām as a creed, there is no great change brought into the ordinary course of life. We were told at the Congress of Orientalists in London of 1891, that Muhammad's Paradise was no more materialistic than that of the Christians as described in Revelations; it was purely spiritual, but clothed in language the everyday interpretation of which, and not the poetic inference, was accepted. Montaigne had the same idea. Whether the civilized entering Islām adopt the exalted interpretation which is said to have been Muhammad's meaning, or whether, as is usual, religion has really very little hold on life among the most civilized peoples in the towns, the fact remains that they do not feel bound to go out, become Shahids, and kill those whose persuasion is not theirs. If the Town Councillors of Liverpool decided to-morrow that such a thing as a mosque should not lift its minarets in their midst, that it should be destroyed for a temple of Rimmon, there would be no blood shed. There would be letters in the *Mercury*, some talk and violent language; but no one would go out and die for it. If this attitude is prosaic it is sensible. We have come to allowing without demur our oldest and most hallowed churches in the city being knocked down and grave-yards of the dishonoured dead being turned into play-grounds for making healthier an already over-teeming population. Far more interest is taken in the temples at Philæ.

Contrasting the attitude of the civilized followers of Islām with those who are more or less uncivilized, if the shrine at Mambram or the Malapuram mosque were to be destroyed to-morrow by order of Government, there is hardly a Mopla in Malabar who would not give his blood to avenge the disgrace to his pearl-like faith. There would be much blood shed. The most insignificant shrine, a wayside mosque, even though no better or larger in structure than a hen-house, cannot be moved without much blood being shed. Why is this? When a Hindu temple is desecrated and made abominable by a handful of Moplas, no one raises a hand to avenge the insult to the religion. Nor will those of that creed

stand up to save their temple. The god or goddesses, Shiva and Bhagvati, must look after themselves in these ebullitions of excitement. If their shrine is made a place for filth or even for the slaughter of the sacred cow, they must look on with equanimity. All that is looked for is ceremonies which will make it just as sanctified as ever it was, and the disgrace is swallowed. Why is this? The people are much the same in blood as their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen.

If the difference is not to be found in the blood it is to be found in the creed. During the Soudan War we had unmistakable evidence of the extraordinary influence which Islām has on the lower and uncivilized races. What made the immortal "Fuzzy Wuzzy" of Kipling's ballad such a "first-rate fighting man"? Really nothing but the effect of Islām on his receptive nature. More recent instances of this there have been in China.\* It is a creed which, as if by magic, turns the submissive into heroes. We have evidence of this here. The Cherumans and Kanakans, inferior races in Malabar, are submissive to the last degree; in their lives the most harmless of beings, exemplifying many of the notions which are supposed to be exclusively Christian, and always in peace. But let one of these adopt Islām and he is changed altogether. The psychic effect is marvellous. A youth shot down in the outbreak of 1894, who recovered and is now in Madras, was a convert of only a few months. Two of those shot in this year were Cherumans and converts: one had become a Mopla only 15 hours before he was shot! The head and front of the last outbreak was a converted Cheruman. So it is with Tiyaṇs and others who join the Moplas' faith, *but the effect on those of the lowest races is the strongest.* The localities where the element of danger is greatest are where the Moplas belong in blood to the lowest races. The most dangerous criminals, the worst dacoits, are also to be found amongst this mixture. In a place called Nāḍapuram, in N. Malabar, the whole community of Nayars was turned wholesale into Moplas during the troublous time of Tippu Sultan, but no more peaceable people are in the province. The effect on the lower races and the close mixture with them is altogether different. The Cheruman, it may be said, is barely 5 ft. 2 in. in height (the average for the N. Malabar Tigan being almost exactly 5 ft. 5 in., while the Nayar is taller), much darker in colour, his nose is broader, and his cranial capacity is much smaller: his head length is 18.2 ins., and the width 13.6. Compare this with the Aryan Nairbudri, 19.2 and 14.6.

Now, the hold which Islām has fixed on this mixture of the lower races is very strong indeed. The foreign or Arab blood in Eastern Malabar is very slight, if at all existent. Following M. Broca's method of indicating the racial position of mongrels or mestizos, if there has been foreign blood it has been eliminated long ago. True, there are individuals of Arab blood, but, as a rule, they are not among the dangerous ones. To the Arab blood has been imputed the extraordinary fanatic character of the religion of the Moplas, who are quite unique among the Muhammadans of S. India. But this is an error. There are within the same province a class of their co-religionists called Rowthans, descendants, it is said,

\* See a recent number of this Review.



of Tippu's cavalry, who, themselves converts, settled near Paghat; but these Rowthans are as cowardly as the Emâd Moplas are courageous; and if the fanatic element came from the Arab, we should find it strongest amongst those who are of pure or almost pure Arab blood, on the coast, but there we see no signs whatever of it. Not only the Arab Moplas, but the class calling themselves Bôtkals (Arab traders bailing from the Persian Gulf) are as peaceful as any class in Malabar, and are as little likely to go out and become Shahîds as their so-called brethren in the Faith living in England.

It seems to be incontestable, whether in Africa, or China, or Malabar, that the fanatical feelings which make people fight quite regardless of life are to be accounted for in the extraordinary effect which Islâm has on untutored races. The mixture which produces the Mopla of Emâd is certainly exceedingly impressionable and emotional. He holds the truths and beliefs of his Faith, as interpreted subjectively, with the very strongest tenacity. The Salvation Army man who invites his brethren to embark for the shores of kingdom come, chiding those who prefer to hesitate, has not the smallest intention of embarking himself until he is compelled to do so. He is not so strongly affected by the reality of what he sings about as to possess the slightest inclination to be off at once to the meeting by the river, when the path is death. The reality of the unseen, or that which lies in animism, is much stronger in the lower races than it is in the higher, as any investigator may find out for himself. To the Mopla the pleasures of heaven which await those who die fighting are not a far-off and indistinct vision, or, as with many people, what they believe they believe; it is not this, but something which impresses his whole being; it is altogether real; so real that he can, with that kind of confidence which makes his courage sublime, meet death with delight.\*

The Mopla is indeed essentially religious. Although his religion may be sometimes in the style of the Ghâzi, with the shows of the Muharram he has no sympathy, and will have none of them. The Ramazân fast he keeps faithfully, and prayer is never far from him. It is supposed that his devotion to religious teaching is a drag on his advancement in secular education—that so long as he retains it, he must remain behind in the general struggle for advancement in a country ordinarily well ordered and peaceful; but with this I do not at all agree. It is much to his credit that he will have that which he feels with every fibre of his body to be the word of God before everything else, and will not submit to have anything substituted for it. He is only too glad to have proper secular teaching after a certain portion of the day has been devoted to the Korân; the unfortunate thing is he does not get it. After all, the course of the Korân required of every Mopla boy and girl, who is taught to read it in the original, is not a long one; and while it is in progress it is really no hindrance in the way of

\* The use of the words "fanaticism" and "fanatical" may convey a meaning altogether different to that which is intended. It is not mere frenzy which gives courage in a charge. This kind of fanaticism may possess a man for years or even throughout his life; he does not become what we commonly call a fanatic for lack of opportunity.

general knowledge, for, as we see in the village schools, the Korân is closed at 10 a.m., and the rest of the day is devoted to A B C.\*

Whether separation of religious and secular education among any community in Europe is an unmixed benefit has yet to be seen. For what would the Hindu be without his religious instruction? Indeed, we may say, What *is* he? for we have amongst us those Anglicized Hindus who try to put off the old altogether, assuming the new only, and surely the most sympathetic friend of this land cannot but view these as hybrids which had better not supersede the original stock. No; the Mopla should have his religious teaching, and he should have it properly. To aid him would in no way infringe the fundamental principle of our administration, to interfere with the religion of no caste or creed. It would be easy to show that these people are specially unfortunate, and that they have been left behind in the general progress through no fault of their own; and it would be not only reasonable but consistent with our world-wide known spirit of fair play to give them special assistance. The Mopla College at Ponain disseminates darkness when it should give light. The Musaliars, who have qualified to "read at the lamp," and the Tangals are grossly ignorant. And as for the Mullas, who teach the sacred book to the children, I have never yet met one who had the remotest idea of the meaning of a single word of the Korân. Thus the children are taught to read, but not to understand; what they read, incoherent Arabic, is gibberish to them; what they learn is quite another thing.†

It is for legislators to consider how State aid can best be given to education in the curriculum of which religious instruction is not omitted. The people should be helped to help themselves in this matter. It is not fair to assume, as it has been, that these people are incapable of improvement, desiring only to linger over their own version of the Prophet's message to men. But it must be done judiciously. Some time ago the Korân was transcribed into Malayalam, retaining the Arabic character, it being then supposed that people would like to understand what they read. This transcription is used on the coast, but not where fanaticism smoulders; there they will not use it, and the book finds no sale, for the affluence of the spirit of the Korân is felt, through mere reading or hearing it in the original, even though not a word is comprehended, to be better a thousand times than any transcription into the vernacular. And of course the Musaliars of the mosques are against it, for if the people could read and expound for themselves, their influence and pecuniary gains would disappear. It is apt

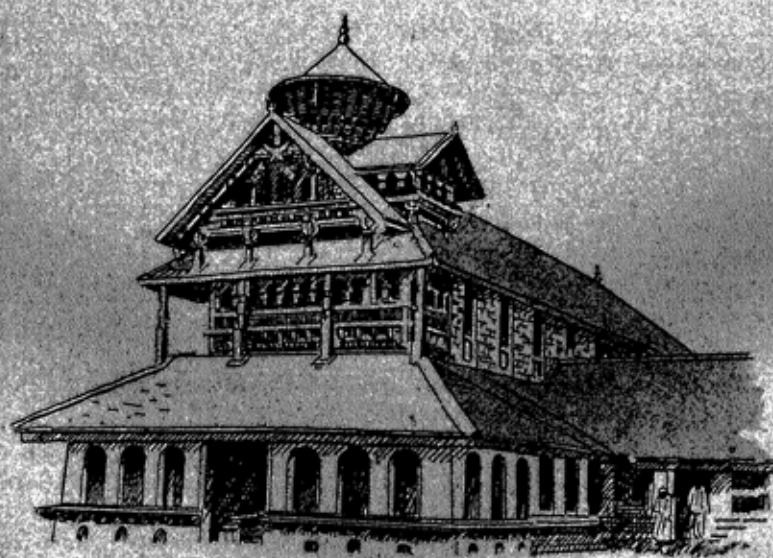
\* In the ordinary mosque-schools the Korân only is taught, for want of a teacher of the vernacular.

† The above must be understood *enm grano*, for every learner, and certainly every teacher, of the Koran knows many of its words not only in connexion with religious acts and ceremonies, but also has them in his vernacular and in the best associations of his daily life. The spirit of the Koran, therefore, though not its grammar and translation, are taught in the ordinary Koran Schools. Were Government to encourage the study of Arabic and the appointment of competent and orthodox teachers to the Muhammadan Mopla Schools, secular subjects would also be studied with alacrity, fanaticism would disappear, and loyalty take its place to a Government that had protected the Moplas alike in their religion and worldly interests—*dir wa dunya*—in their faith and in this world.—Ed.

to be forgotten now what was done a generation or two since in this land of examinations for the benefit and elevation of those who now have so much of the cream; and it is supposed to be quite in the right order of things if the Moplas are pressed still closer against the wall and by degrees utterly crushed. The Hindus, who have all the wealth and all the influence, would not be sorry to see this done. And of course some comfort would be found in what is now an aphorism which so few understand, "the survival of the fittest." The survival of the fittest in the operations of nature is quite a different thing from the survival of the best; and if the Moplas are not aided now, they must succumb to those who are far inferior to them in all manliness, courage, and grit.

The marked difference between Mopla and Hindu is observable in other ways than those where fanatic fervour comes in view. All the kinds of work requiring pluck, energy and sustained effort are done by Moplas. Moplas have done the heaviest work and earned the reputation of being the best workmen, steady, tractable, and never troublesome while well treated, in the building of the iron bridges which the Madras Railway Company have thrown over the big rivers of the Presidency; and in the gold mines of S. India the best miners are Moplas. They work as Hindus never do.

Let us hope that slaughter such as that on the 1st March 1896 and again on the 13th will not again occur, but, instead of it, that the best qualities of the Mopla may be turned to account in the general economy. First of all, they must be civilized, the country opened up with roads, and they must have an opportunity to throw off their childish ignorance. The matter has now been taken well in hand by the Government, who, by-the-way, are not overlooking the problem of security of tenure to agricultural tenants, without which there can be no hope for peace in Malabar.



A MOPLA MOSQUE.



## THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO PALESTINE, AND THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

BY M. GASTER, PH.D.

EVERY orthodox and devout Jew has been repeating for centuries three times daily the following Prayers :

"Sound the great trumpet for our freedom, lift up the banner to collect our exiles, and gather us speedily together from the four corners of the earth, to our own land. . . . Restore our judges as aforetime, and our counsellors as at the beginning . . . and speedily reign thou over us, O Lord, thou alone, in lovingkindness and tender mercy . . . . And to Jerusalem thy city return in mercy and dwell therein as thou hast spoken . . . and build it soon up in our days as an everlasting building, and speedily establish therein the throne of David. And let our eyes behold thy return to Zion with mercy."

And on Sabbath days and great festivals the following is repeated by every Jew all over the world :

"May it be thy will, O Lord, our God, and God of our fathers, to lead us up in joy to our own land, and to plant us in our own borders."

And :

"May it be thy will, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, merciful king, that thou mayest again in thine abundant compassion have mercy upon us and upon thy sanctuary, and mayest speedily rebuild it and magnify its glory. Our father, our king, do thou speedily make the glory of thy kingdom manifest upon us, shine forth and be exalted upon us in the sight of all living, bring the scattered ones among the nations near unto one another, and gather our dispersed from the ends of the earth. Lead us with joy unto Zion thy city, and unto Jerusalem the place of thy sanctuary with everlasting gladness."

These prayers are the very oldest that form the Hebrew liturgy, and were formulated not long after the destruction of the Temple. According to some scholars they are still older, and were in existence in some modified form even in the time of the Maccabæan and then the Hasmonæan rulers, who were not considered the lawful kings, not being descendants from the royal house of David. But whatever the origin may be, the fact remains that from the very beginning these prayers were considered to be "the" regular and obligatory part of the Liturgy. They represent the Hebrew religious Tradition, following and emphasizing the Scriptures. It would be superfluous to quote the words of the Prophets in which the same ideas, in often the same words, are expressed. There is no break between them and the Tradition, as sanctioned by the Synagogue. Century after century these prayers have been repeated, embodying the hope of the future and giving courage to the Jews amidst the innumerable and unspeakable persecutions to which they have been subjected. Deep down in their heart lived the conviction that the day would come, when humanity, tolerance and justice would reign supreme, when they would again be what they vainly endeavoured to be, all through the middle ages, men enjoying the same liberties as other human beings and claiming the right to have a rest for the weary feet and a place to lay the head down undisturbed.

Then ceasing to tread the soil of other countries they would again be gathered in mercy to the land of their fathers. Imagination embellished that picture and added to it the hopes of the whole of mankind, that the time of eternal peace and mutual goodwill would dawn on that very day and that instead of war, love and brotherly harmony would reign supreme. In this way the Return to Palestine was to coincide with that change in human society, commonly expected to take place at the Messianic age. In the state of degradation in which the Jews lived such a Return could only be imagined as possible when all passion should have been extinguished, and instead of hatred and prejudice, truth and real sympathy should rule. According to the philosopher and the thoughtful the Restoration and gathering of the Tribes was however considered to be an event to be accomplished previous to any Messianic age, and thus far independent of it, as being merely the preparation for it.

For centuries those prayers have been recited daily, and the mourning over the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion among the nations has been kept up by the Jews year after year. The hope of the Restoration lay buried under the heap of actual misery. It looked more like a poetic dream, in which the dwellers of the Ghetto indulged, fancy playing around it. It was so far removed from any actuality or possibility of being realized, that the utmost for which a devout Jew hoped, was to be allowed to die in Palestine, an end which could easily be accomplished, either in a natural or unnatural and violent way. The idea that the Jews could live, and live freely in Palestine could not even enter the mind of those who had learned to know that the next morn might find them on their way from the place where they had rested on the previous night. When the Crusaders had been swept away from Palestine, some hundreds of Rabbis went together from France to die, and if allowed, to live in Palestine. But even such an attempt was considered a great achievement and it was duly treasured in the memory of posterity. It has always been considered a pious duty to go at least once to Palestine. The Haj exists as such, though not so pronounced as in the Muhammadan world, where the Haj to Mecca brings with it some earthly and heavenly rewards. With the Jew no such reward is promised, nor is it even expected. It is merely one of his pious duties. And even now every man desires to be buried if not in the very soil of Palestine, at least to be covered with some of the earth from Palestine. In more than one Jewish Community the custom still prevails to sprinkle some of such earth brought from Palestine over the face of the dead prior to the burial.

With the change which has taken place in the political life of the European nations at the end of the last century, began also a change in the position of the Jews. Some of the disabilities were slowly and often reluctantly removed. The first rays of the long expected dawn began to appear. The Jews took them to be the full light of the day. They began to bask in that ray and were only too ready to repeat thoughtlessly the formula of assimilation and absolute identification with the nations who opened the gates of the Ghetto. Some went so far as to renounce the past altogether; not noticing that they were at the same time giving up

the future, at any rate in the form expressed by Bible and Tradition, that they denied by their daily action what they offered God in their daily Prayers. The great mistake lay in the fact, that they did not see how deeply attached a Jew can be to his country, how ready he can and ought to be to defend it to the very last drop of blood and yet that there is no need to sacrifice one iota of his ideal hopes, which are to be realized in a peaceful manner, to the benefit of mankind. In England one can be a good loyal British subject and yet belong to a self-governing colony; one can be as good an English patriot as possible and yet pray, nay, act for the restoration of the temporal Power of the Pope, and be a Catholic French Premier and loyal to Queen and country.

However it may be, they identified themselves as far as they were allowed with the whole intellectual and political life of the nations in whose midst they lived. If one would count the number of soldiers who have served in the armies of the Continent, it would probably exceed two millions during these one hundred years. In Russia alone no less than 200,000 Jews, if not more, are serving under the colours, and their number is very great in Austria and Germany. Rumania alone, which exists as an independent state only a few years, has had upwards of 10,000 Jews, who have been in the actual service. No less great in comparison is the number of those who serve in the army of science, and have contributed to the intellectual wealth of their countries. They have also been prominent in the field of politics; and in the social developments which have taken place they took their share. It was simply their duty which they performed, but they performed it cheerfully and did not claim special recognition for these services; so great was their gratification at finding themselves forming part and parcel of the general polity. I mention these facts only for the purpose of laying bare one of the causes which have contributed to bring about this new Zionist movement. By that participation in the discharge of duties connected with citizenship, the Jews learned to know more about the constitution of the modern State, from which they had been excluded for so many centuries. The words of the past and the dream of those dark centuries assumed now a clear form. It was no longer the pious dream or the unattainable mirage in the desert which had surrounded them; it assumed a practical form, and the unlooked-for and unexpected became a tangible reality. The old message delivered by the Prophets and the words of the thrice daily repeated prayer were now read with eyes opened by an education, to which they had been willing pupils. The old yearning which had found vent previously merely in poetical outbursts, now crystallized round a practical interpretation. Utopia had ceased to reign, and the question was now beginning to be seriously asked, Why should those expectations be doomed to a further burial in the dreamland of the past? why should the Jews not begin to look upon it as a possible reality? This is one of the elements which gives the clue to the psychological explanation of the first impulse that was given in this century to the idea of the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine. It was the conviction which dawned slowly upon the religious masses that the time may be near for the realization of their religious hopes.



This feeling was then greatly intensified by the political and social changes which have occurred in Europe in the course of this century. The principle of race as basis for the new political unities was enunciated. New nationalities grew out of the old political amalgam known as the State. This principle belongs to our century. Before that time no state took into consideration the aspirations of the manifold elements which went towards its formation, nor did it take any notice of unity of language or racial descent. It is owing to this new factor that the rebirth of the ancient Hellenic kingdom took place, and, more recently, the formation of new states in the empire of Turkey, solely upon the basis of racial unity. This example was not lost upon the impressionable Jews, and they logically concluded that, if this is right for the smaller or larger state in the new development of things, how much more right would they be to claim a sympathetic support for exactly similar aspirations. There is no nation in Europe, or in fact anywhere, that had such a valid title to any country as have the Jews to Palestine, whose Promised Land it has been and whose Holy Land it has become. But these were merely accessories to the other great cause which has given the final touch to this movement and from a religious and historical has turned it into a social and political one.

No one can deny that the position of the Jews, especially on the Continent, is no more what it has been 25 years ago. There were and there are States in which the Jews still live as if they were still in the dark middle-ages, where not even the pretence of civilization has penetrated a very thin surface. But there are great and mighty States, which one should have thought had been successfully weaned from the ancient prejudices, and lo! the law of atavism seems to have acted with elementary force. Feelings which one had hoped to have seen completely obliterated came to the fore with a rush, which threw down the primitive barriers that had been erected. The time has passed, however, when the Jews resigned themselves to be the prey of the civilized or uncivilized mob, and they began, and in some instances begin, to reconsider their position. There is no more to be hopeless bowing or cringing such as had been forced upon them in a society which knew only gross flattery or abject servitude. They have gone far away from that state, and will return no more to it if they can *help* it. And they *can help* it. This is the keynote of the new movement: it is the *decision to help* themselves and not to allow themselves to be dragged down again to the ignominy of the past. Persecution, open and downright brutal on the one side, anti-Semitism, which is moral persecution, polished, refined, and no less deadly on the other confront the mass of the Jews. And where? In the most civilized states of Europe. To give advice to the other governments as 'The Times' of September 4th does in a leader on the Congress of Basle, is simply an anachronism. That advice is at least five-and-twenty years too late now, when in the most civilized states in Europe anti-Semitism flourishes; and it shows a tendency for growing and invading also other countries hitherto not yet affected by that moral plague. Our condemnation does not alter facts. These have a tendency to be much stronger and more abiding than the most subtle philosophy and the most excellent advice. These facts

stare in the face of the Jews. They make them feel again insecure in the lands in which they live, and they see the danger for their children. They are now unwilling to submit to it any longer, and however desirous of being good and faithful citizens, they cannot shut their eyes to stern reality. Not only has the "Honeymoon" passed away, but instead of harmonious living together the Divorce is forced upon them. I speak, of course, of the vast majority on the Continent and even in America, and must make an exception for England. Here the emancipation of the Jews proceeded from a totally different principle than that which had obtained abroad. Characteristic of the Englishman is his profound attachment to the Bible and the deep reverence which he feels for the Divine word. To him the Jew has therefore been the Treasurer of the word of God. When he claimed citizenship it was this consideration which militated in his favour and prevailed. The sympathy rooted in the devotion to the Book was transferred to the lawful owner of it. The "Ahl ul Kitāb," "the people of the Book" were therefore emancipated from the very heart of the English nation. Their emancipation rests here upon a totally different basis from that of the emancipation of their brethren abroad. There it was considered to be one of the conditions of the new political life, a postulate of constitutional government. With the shaking of the fundamental principle of constitutional government, this principle has also now greatly been jeopardised.

Now came revolt against social ostracism. A third factor appears. Social problems unknown before are pressing now upon the attention of the statesman. They make themselves felt in all the strata of society. The change from feudalism to liberalism has not always been followed by beneficial results to the populace, at any rate, not so quickly, that they should be perceived and appreciated. The altered conditions of things, science and mechanics have brought hardships, which were felt on many sides. The people which suffers is always on the look out for external causes to which to ascribe those hardships. It does not seek them in the new principles which have brought them about, and as a rule tries to find a *Scapegoat*. In ancient times when a plague decimated the populace, or some other evil befell them they found the Scapegoat easily. He lived in the Ghetto. To the same quarter the people turn again, and the Jew is singled out as the Scapegoat. But he refuses to submit to it any longer. He will not be made the sacrifice of unreasoning exasperation or of blind prejudice and will not allow himself to be thrown down the steep mountain-side, which shows the decline of sentiment and humanity and the repudiation of all those beautiful ideas of cosmopolitan brotherhood which filled Europe in the Forties, and which he took *ad litteram*. A reactionary wind is blowing all over the Continent. Political parties try to make capital out of it. They speak of "foreigners" who ought to be excluded, of protection from undue competition and other similar phrases. Restrictions of the rights and liberties of citizens are sure to follow in the wake of this revival of mediæval mysticism, with its guilds and narrow walls shutting out the light. Internal feuds among the parties grow in intensity and the life of the Jews is being made a burden to them. To the old and direct method of slaughter a new more subtle one has been

substituted, which is propagated in the name of new economic laws. The net result of this class of legislation has been to reduce vast numbers of Jews to grinding poverty, especially in the Eastern countries of Europe. How to provide for the ever increasing host of famished millions is another side to the problem, which has now forced the Jews to find a remedy that may be of a lasting character and would at the same time satisfy the religious aspirations and the national hopes based upon Bible and Tradition.

The first move in this direction was to seek outlets, not merely to find a productive country to cultivate. It was also considered an absolute necessity to go to such a country, where the disabilities under which the Jews were groaning should not exist and would not be likely to arise. It was just then that religious feeling asserted itself in an unexpected manner. I had better add that, it was not then thought to be as strong as it has shown itself, even from the very beginning. The tendency was naturally to form Colonies. And when the masses were consulted they answered as one man—only and solely in *Palestine*. The name of that country had a glamour in it and the hope to be able to live there where the ancestors had felt happy to *die*, was so strong, that it proved irresistible. The Jews had always enjoyed considerable liberties in Turkey. This gave the Jews confidence in the rule of the Turks, who had shown themselves, invariably, for centuries the friends of the Jews. Close upon three centuries ago, Don Joseph of Naxos obtained from the then reigning Sultan Mehmet the whole tract of Central Palestine with Tiberias and the surrounding country, for the purpose of establishing there a Jewish colony. It was now merely a continuation in the same direction as far as Turkey's policy was concerned. Some 30 years ago and often since the plan for the establishment of such agricultural colonies in Palestine had been mooted. Now it began to be carried out in earnest. I myself was instrumental in founding the very first of these Colonies of Rumanian Jews in Palestine some 15 years ago.\* Our example was quickly followed by Russians and the number of the new comers grew so quickly that the total of the Jewish inhabitants has nearly been doubled. Out of close upon 400,000 inhabitants there are now at least 70,000 Jews in Palestine. The hope was at the same time freely expressed that these colonies would be the forerunners for the actual occupation of Palestine by the Jews, but in a perfectly peaceful and legal manner. The ultimate aim naturally was to be the re-establishment of the Jewish State with the assistance of Turkey herself. No secret was made of these aspirations, which reached the ears of the governing circles in Turkey in a somewhat distorted form. Other influences of a very powerful nature also worked against the settlement of the Jews in large numbers in Palestine and the Porte prohibited the further entry of Jews into Palestine. Attempts were then made to found colonies in America. But singularly enough, in spite of excellent reports and highflown encomiums and vast sums bestowed upon them, they soon withered and dried up. The oriental plant could not take root outside of Palestine. Here alone they thrive. The late Baron de Hirsch attempted the colonisation on a more munifi-

\* Samarin, now called Sichron Yaakob.



cent scale and lighted upon Argentina as the most propitious land for this purpose. In spite of the large sums spent in this undertaking, the net result may already now be pronounced a decided failure. The little good which could be done has been done, but it is merely a drop of water in the ocean or more like unto a drop of water upon a hot stone. It spurts and splutters and is dried up in no time. The Jews went, but there was no heart in it. Totally different are the circumstances in the Holy land, and whatever may be said to the contrary, this alone is the Country to satisfy legitimate hopes. The settlement there will bring the much needed political and economic relief to the Jews and will at the same time open a new chapter in the history of Asia.

The emigration of the Jews from the Eastern parts of Europe is a *necessity* which grows stronger every day, and I cannot emphasize it strongly enough. No attempt to stop it, or to direct it into another channel has the slightest chance of success. It is infatuation or ignorance of elementary facts to protest against this movement. To the religious man this combination of circumstances and the development of the Eastern question in this direction seem to be providential facts which he is bound to take into account. It is a perversion of the Bible and the prayers to say it is against Bible and Tradition. The words quoted at the commencement of this article are an ample refutation. To the man who stands under political disabilities and who suffers the pangs of artificially produced hunger, who feels the grinding poverty laying its deadly hand upon him, it is then a question of *life and death*. Those who live the life of peace and comfort are not even able to understand it in all its pressing necessity. Every day increases the moral and physical misery and makes the work of rescue more difficult. To remedy all these evils, Jews of various shades of opinion, and of religious thought, have now come together to devise a plan which should have the promise of finality in it. They are all agreed upon the resettlement in Palestine as the only plan feasible and satisfactory from *every* point of view. They are perfectly well aware of the great difficulties which surround this plan, but it has proved to be the only real plan and it will have to be accomplished, if the evils from which the Jews are suffering are not to grow beyond human control, and if the famine-stricken millions who see very clearly the causes of that plague and are gifted with remarkable powers of reasoning should not become a terrible intellectual proletariat. The tide can not easily be stemmed. Slow colonisation alone, as hitherto is only an infinitesimal relief, if any to the large numbers that are affected. As Dr. Herzl, a highly accomplished Viennese lawyer and writer has clearly shown, it would mean the postponement of that solution for at least 300 years, admitting that the rate of progress in Colonisation would remain the same as hitherto. He has therefore developed his plan in a memorable Pamphlet on the Jewish State published a few years ago, which consists in regaining the old country and of settling there the Jews who would be willing and able to work the land and to develop the country in accordance with modern economic principles. He advocated a huge syndicate, not as has been incorrectly said to purchase Palestine, but to regulate the legal position of the immigrants, to acquire

territorial rights as well as to administer the country in a proper manner, safeguarding personal liberty and tolerance to all races and religions in it. The response to that pamphlet was a remarkable outburst of enthusiasm from every quarter. Men who had been considered entirely adverse to any such scheme, fearing it might place them in difficulties with their neighbours or who had almost severed every connection with Judaism, now at once joined hands for the common work.

I will now proceed to develop as briefly as possible the outlines of the plan of the new State in Palestine. I must add at the same time that it has not been discussed or settled or even formulated in any way by any authoritative body. It is merely an "Unauthorized Programme." It embodies what is thought to be the ultimate outcome of the "Forward Movement." A Congress was held in Basle on the 29th, 30th, and 31st August last, and was attended by upwards of 200 delegates from the Jews of almost every country in Europe, and also from America and Palestine itself. It was the first Jewish Congress held for many a century and probably the first since the Dispersion. Professors of Universities, students, business men, scholars and artisans were all represented, and they were all unanimous in their decisions and deliberations. The first resolution was that they should "create for the Jewish people a home, safeguarded and guaranteed by international or better by *public law* in Palestine." It means that the future State is to stand under the protection of that public law which rules in Europe and regulates the intercourse of states and the internal form of their administration. Nothing of that which is contemplated should in the remotest degree be open to be construed into a violation of these laws, which the Jews would be very jealous to observe as being the best guarantees for their safety. The acquisition of that land, *i.e.* Palestine, forms the plan of the immediate future. This is to be effected as I understand it, not by *purchase*, as has been said, but exactly upon the same lines as laid down by England when that Government acquired Cyprus from Turkey. It is administered by England, but virtually according to international law it still belongs to the Turkish Empire, and Tribute is paid to that Power by England. In the same manner is Palestine to be acquired from Turkey by the Jews, without withdrawing it from the suzerain power, they undertaking to pay an annual Tribute computed according to the existing income from that province. In return for this the Jews would also have internal autonomy. They would have their own judges and if possible their own coinage, but they would be under the protection of Turkey. This Power, as already remarked, has always been friendly to the Jews. They trust the Turkish Government fully, and will feel themselves quite safe under the protection of Turkey.

Not the slightest doubt is entertained as to the number of Jews who would be willing to emigrate and to settle in Palestine. If all who are willing to go, and a petition of willing emigrants from Rumania alone was signed by upwards of 50,000 able-bodied men, it is reckoned that at least 3 millions would be willing to go, if only the position be secure. These would also not be the very poorest, because it is anticipated that a large proportion of the new comers would have some means to start in the

new country. Not a few very wealthy are mentioned among these would-be immigrants. The influx would also be regulated by clearly defined laws. The departure from Europe of a great number would at once alter the economic position of those left behind. The great pressure would be lessened and the competition very considerably reduced. In time room would be found also for the less fortunate, but it is not to be anticipated that a Refuge on a large scale is going to be established. The bulk of the Jewish nation, its middle-class, artisans, hard workers, agriculturalists, of whom a great number exist in Russia, Rumania, Hungary and Poland, and who are now systematically crippled and impoverished would be the first to go, and the rich traders and manufacturers would soon follow in their wake.

The country is almost desolate now, but the Colonies which flourish there have proved abundantly that the land is fertile and healthy in spite of what people may say, who take their cue of opposition from incorrect information. Well tilled and worked according to modern science, it would soon become again a land flowing with milk and honey. This is the verdict of specialists who have had ample opportunities to study these questions on the spot. To recall the Trans-jordanic portion to civilization would not prove difficult at all, and as to the mineral wealth of the Lebanon range and the district of Hauran, the valley of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, etc., we have the positive testimony of the Scriptures. Slowly the effect of this new civilization would extend to the whole of Asia Minor, and would revive again the riches of the now marshy plains of the Euphrates and Tigris. The railway which is to connect the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean would strike the North of Palestine or could easily be connected with it, and make it again the highway of nations and the emporium of the world's trade. Immense tracts of land, the hunting-ground of predatory Arabs, would be reclaimed to culture and civilization, and the effect it might have upon the moral history of the world would be far greater than our imagination, which might justly run loose on such a topic, could picture.

I have now to touch upon the question of finances. As seen from the above the whole amount that is practically required is comparatively small. It is merely to cover the annual Tribute to the Porte for at least ten years, taking it for granted that the annual amount would not exceed say *one* million sterling. It would be simply an advance made upon the taxes which the inhabitants would be expected to pay. However small the computation may be of the number of people who would come and settle and possess some means, that number would be sufficiently great to make it an easy task to collect that million and the amount above, which would be required for internal administration; arranged upon the most economical principles. The vast sums of the modern military and naval budget which drain the resources of the European Powers would be dispensed with. A simple gendarmerie would suffice completely and Volunteers, recruited from men who have each and all served in one or the other of the European armies, would not necessitate a great expenditure. The Jews are known to be a most law-abiding people, and



this characteristic will stand them in good stead in their own state. If only a few rich Jews give some small financial support to this scheme there is no difficulty in carrying it out; but even without their assistance, it will easily become an accomplished fact. The masses who bear as a rule the brunt of taxation, will supply this sum by voluntary contribution. There are also funds which have been collected or left for the purpose of assisting the Jews, especially those persecuted in the East. If those who are the appointed administrators of those funds will see, as I doubt not they will soon see, that this movement is irresistible and that it promises to bring about the very results for which they themselves were working, they might then furnish some of the money required for the establishment of this State in Palestine. It would be sufficient, if they merely guarantee the payment of the Tribute. They would be justified in asking for securities as Trustees of moneys left to their care, but they would not be justified, in the terms of their trusts, to withstand the pressure of the suffering masses of coreligionists. They would not be really carrying out the will of the testator or testators if they withheld their assistance at this juncture. But these fears are unfounded. The Jewish men who have the charge of such funds are animated by the loftiest motives, and if they once convince themselves that the settlement of the Jews in Palestine upon the described lines is the best solution of the problem, they will be found to foster it and to render every assistance that lies in their power.

The prosperity of the new Commonwealth, after the first struggle is over and things assume a normal aspect, may be taken for granted. With internal peace all the best forces of Judaism will be flocking thither. One of the prominent features will be the spread of education. If only a small percentage of the accumulated intellectual wealth of the Jews from the Continent is transplanted to Palestine this would at once become one of the finest centres of learning, in the highest sense of the word. A University in Jerusalem with Jewish Professors that lecture now in the European Universities and technical schools with similar appointments, would easily rival any such institution in Europe. This is considered to be one of the fundamental conditions to be realized in Palestine, and if possible from the very beginning. It might prove interesting to mention in this connection, that ample provision has been made at the Colonies for excellent training, and the language in which the children are now taught in Palestine is Hebrew, with the addition of such words as did not exist in the ancient language, borrowed either from the New Hebrew or from another semitic language. In fact Hebrew has never been a dead language. It has been constantly used as a living language in the literature that is widely read and circulated among the Jews. Modern science shall find there a home as well as all the results of modern civilization.

It is not expected that all the Jews that are now scattered over the earth would at once join in this movement; nor that they should all come at once. Come they will, but in time. Some may prefer to stay behind and not lose the privileges and pleasures which they enjoy. Some are indifferent, others are swayed by narrow egotism; these are the very fewest. When the first exile in Babylon came to an end, a good number stayed there

and did not return. The same may and will happen now also. But the cry remains the same: "Who is there among you of all his people, and the Lord God is with him? let him go up." That the Eastern question will assume a different aspect when the Resettlement is an accomplished fact, is clear even to a casual observer, and that one or the other European Power may not facilitate this new solution of the most perplexing question is also not open to doubt. But these obstacles will be overcome. Palestine has a great future as the centre of the great trade routes which connect the three continents. The tradition of ancient Phœnicia is an instructive lesson for all who have eyes to see, and the value of Palestine to the greatest Oriental Power which holds the Suez Canal and Egypt requires no pointing out. The difficulty of the Christian sacred places in Palestine has also not been overlooked, and if the Christian Powers are satisfied to entrust the guardianship of those places to the Turks, surely they cannot be unwilling to entrust them eventually to the Jew when again gathered from the four corners of the earth to his *own land*. All the circumstances which I have tried to describe, however imperfectly, are now forcing the Jews to this Zionist movement which will at once bring the consummation of some of the Divine promises, will restore the heart to the scattered members of Israel, will contribute to save them from political ignominy and from economic misery, will solve one of the most complex problems of modern politics, and may hasten the time when "the Glory of the Lord will again be manifest upon His people."

## AFRICA IN 1897.

BY ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

It may be well to consider the position of Africa after the twenty years since the special scramble for that unhappy continent commenced. In some cases, indeed, the wrongful occupation of territory dates back to the beginning of the century, but the most striking instances of attack and annexation have occurred at a much more recent date. Among the most active aggressors are Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy and Belgium. The possessors of African Territory of an earlier date are Spain, Portugal and Holland.

The gang of slave dealers has, indeed, been reduced to small proportions, and may probably be entirely crushed, but its place has been taken by the merchant of alcoholic liquors and of warlike stores. The destruction, accordingly, of Africans has been increased rather than diminished. Some geographical explorers have passed across the continent killing men and burning villages. Can it be that a Chartered Company only hopes to pay its dividend by the slaughter of natives, and the spoliation of their property in cattle or land?

Africa falls conveniently and naturally into four portions :

I. North Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Red Sea, and extending south as far as the Sahara.

II. South Africa : the region south of the rivers Zambézi and Cunéne.

III. East Africa : the region extending from the limits of North Africa along the coast of the Indian Ocean to the R. Zambézi, and divided from West Africa by a line drawn down the 25th degree of east longitude.

IV. West Africa : the region extending from the frontier of Morocco along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean to the river Cunéne.

Let us now consider the political state of each region and its component parts.



I. North Africa consists of six well defined sub-regions: (1) Morocco, (2) Algeria, (3) Tunisia, (4) Egypt, (5) Abyssinia, (6) the Sahara.

(1) Morocco is an independent Mahometan State, owing no allegiance, spiritual or secular to the Sultan of Turkey: its situation is remarkable with its north coast facing the Mediterranean, and its west coast the Atlantic Ocean: a mountain range to the east and south, a climate suited to European colonization, harbours available for commerce, and proximity to Europe in Spain and Portugal. Under an enlightened Government it might have a magnificent future: the jealousy of the different European States guarantees its independence: but under the present degraded dynasty there is little hope. It is interesting to reflect that, when Charles II. married Catharine of Braganza part of her dowry consisted of the Island of Bombay, and the port of Tangier, which last was held by Great Britain from A.D. 1662 to A.D. 1684, when it was abandoned because it was troublesome. From the Island of Bombay sprang the Empire of India: the possession of Tangier might have eventuated in an African Empire.

(2) Passing eastward we come to Algeria a French Colony. It extends from the frontier of Morocco on the west to the frontier of Tunisia on the east, with the Mediterranean to the north, and the Sahara to the south. I have traversed it and studied its capabilities. It has a strong and not unsympathetic Government, and the half century under French rule has developed its resources.

(3) Further to the east is the French Protectorate of Tunisia, which I have also visited, ruled over by a Mahometan sovereign with every prospect of peace and progress. It extends from the frontier of Algeria on the west to the frontier of Tripolitana to the east with the Mediterranean to the north and the Sahara to the south.

(4) To the east of Tunisia lies the Province of Tripolitana, which extends to the Egyptian frontier. It has the Mediterranean to the north, and the Sahara to the south

through which it has access by caravans to the districts of the Sudán. It is governed by a Mahometan viceroy, and is, nominally at least, part of the Turkish Empire. Looking into the future, should that Empire disappear and its provinces pass by partition among the European States, it is to be hoped that Tripolitána may fall to the share of the kingdom of Italy which has the capacity, and will, to give it a good administration.

(5) In the extreme east of the northern portion of Africa we come to Egypt, nominally a superior Pachalik of Turkey, practically a Protectorate of Great Britain, and possibly hereafter an independent kingdom. Its circumstances present one of the great problems of the future. It seems madness on our part to retain such a dangerous Protectorate. It was well to give it a decade of good administration, and develop its latent resources, but this has now been done and well done. I made a careful inspection of the whole province in 1885 from the point of view of an Indian Administrator. In my humble opinion the time has come to treat it like Belgium, and place it under the protection of the Great Powers as an independent kingdom with its present dynasty, the Suez Canal being neutral, and open to all. No European power can hold it with absolute safety, as it is too small to be called to bear the burthen of an occupying army, and is exposed to attacks on every side from the Mediterranean on the north, the Red Sea on the east, the desert on the west, and the upper Nile Valley on the south.

If it be unwise to hold Egypt proper up to the 1st cataract as a Protectorate, it seems madness, so far as Great Britain is concerned, to annex by force the province of Nubia, and to court perennial trouble by the conquest of the Egyptian Sudán. Apply to Egypt the usual questions asked before the annexation of a province to British India (1) is it defensible from foreign attack? (2) will it pay? If the reply is in the negative, sound policy suggests to have nothing to do with it. No one, who has carefully studied

the problem on the spot, as I have can doubt that the advance now made to the south is perilous, and may eventuate in a second Khartum disaster, even after the fall of Berber. Great Britain has a sufficient burden in controlling the frontier tribes of Afghanistan, and the natives of her African Colonies, without also undertaking the thankless responsibility of bringing the dauntless free Arabs of the Sudan under the dominion of the Turk, or the Egyptian Khedive. There can be no glory in such undertakings. Will there be any real expansion of commerce, any prospect of advancing the true and lasting interests of the Sudan populations, after the recurrent slaughter of dauntless freemen and the barbarous destruction of their villages?

(5) The kingdom of Abyssinia occupies the extreme eastern corner of the north region. It is occupied by a Christian population under a Christian Sovereign, representative of a Church of an older date than any European Church. Barbarous indeed is the population of this monarchy, but it is desirous to maintain its own freedom. Russia has the credit of conducting a semi-religious semi-political intrigue with the Abyssinian authorities. Great Britain thirty years ago invaded Abyssinia, destroyed the then King (Theodore) and his dynasty, and then left the country in anarchy. The more recent Italian attempt to conquer a portion of Abyssinia has woefully failed. At one time Abyssinia was actually deemed by us as being in the Protectorate of Italy. It now looks as if the Italian Colony of Erythrea existed under the Protectorate of King Menelik of Abyssinia. Indeed, Abyssinia may have a future of its own. Above Khartum the Nile Valley lies well within the sphere of its influence, and the Mahdi, and the Khedive of Egypt may have to reckon with the power of King Menelik in the Equatorial regions. Both France and Russia may, through this potentate, obtain an influence, which may seriously affect British pretensions in trade and policy.

II. South Africa—the region south of the rivers Zambézi and Cunéne.



The Dutch Settlement of Cape Town was in 1795 occupied by Great Britain during the war with France, and except for a short interval 1803-1806 never given back; from this basis the Colony has extended on both the East and West Coast. Portugal still maintains its ancient Colony of Delagoa Bay, and Germany in 1882 in her desire to be a "Kolonial Macht" laid her hands on Damara-land and Namaqua-land an unimportant territory on the West Coast. More than fifty years a portion of the Dutch inhabitants of the Cape Colony trekked across the river Vaal, and founded the two Republics of Trans Vaal and the Orange Free State. Neither of them have any seaport; they are shut in by British and Portuguese Colonies. The discovery of diamond mines in Be-Chuana Land led to a Northern extension of the Cape Colony, and in the last few years the Chartered South African Company has in what I consider to be a most unprincipled manner occupied the regions of Ma-Tabéle Land, and Ma-Shòna Land, extending practically the dominion of Great Britain from the Cape of Good Hope up to the river Zambézi. The circumstances connected with the invasion of a distant country by a dividend-paying company, the slaughter of unoffending natives, the confiscation of their cattle, lands, and gold mines, by adventurers, "the riff-raff of the British population," as they were described by a Colonial Secretary of State, are too well known to need repetition in this summary. Emboldened by success against Lo-Bengúla, who was hunted to death, the leaders of the movement, Messrs. Rhodes and Jameson, attempted to play the same game against the Republic of the Transvaal, but the Boers were too many for them, and the whole policy has been exposed with all its lust for gold, the hunger for land, and the contempt for black human life. In British annals no more discreditable incident has been recorded. The East India Company did indeed oust all the Mahometan and Hindu rulers of that great country, but they robbed no man of his lands for the benefit of alien colonists: all rights of property and

religion were respected, and except in pitched battles there was no slaughter : on the capture of Delhi 1,200 females of the Imperial harem came into the possession of the conquerors : they were *not* distributed among the soldiery in the manner in which George Gordon of Khartum distributed the women rescued from the slave dealers, and described by him in his own published letters, but were cared for until they could be made over to their friends.

Along the eastern coast lies the southern portion of the Portuguese Colony, known as Delagoa Bay : the position of Portugal will be more fully alluded to in the description of East Africa.

III. East Africa : the region extending from the limits of North Africa along the coast of the Indian Ocean to the river Zambesi and divided from West Africa by a line drawn down the 25th degree of east longitude.

Of this region only forty years ago little or nothing was known : it contains Lake Nyasa to the south, Lake Tanganyika to the west, Lake Victoria Nyanza on the Equator, Lake Albert on the north-west corner, and several lofty ranges of mountain. Lake Victoria Nyanza contains the sources of the Nile, and is itself upwards of 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. It is considered by some suitable for the colonization of Europeans, but we have no experience of this. Politically it has been divided betwixt Great Britain and Germany in the form of colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence, and hinterlands. They approach from the east : but France appears to be advancing from the west along the course of the river Mobangi into this region, and if this Egyptian craze continues it is possible that Great Britain in the name of the Khedive may be found to be approaching from the north. The Congo Free State has also appeared in the Nile Basin. The occupation of posts on the coast either directly, or as a protectorate of a native Muhammadan power may be admitted as a means of extinguishing the slave trade, but the occupation of the vast regions of unprofitable land, without resources or

commerce on the north side of and beyond Victoria Nyanza by Great Britain, seems unintelligible. Similarly the occupation of the region betwixt Zanzibar and the south side of Victoria Nyanza does not promise at any time to be profitable. The distance of 500 miles from the coast to be traversed and a range of mountains render the tenure of U-Ganda a very unsafe and precarious one. In British India the early Settlements were on the coast, and the occupation was gradually extended up the basins of great rivers, teeming with a vast population dwelling in cities and villages, till the whole country was occupied ; and it took the best part of a century to accomplish this. In Eastern Equatorial Africa this cautious policy has been cast aside. In the scramble for Africa there was a necessity for immediate occupation. Germany and Great Britain pushed on trying to outwit each other, neglectful of establishing supports on the routes of communication with the coast. The real question is : will the occupation of the country, and the maintenance of the railways pay their working expenses ? This is much to be doubted : the inhabitants are in the lowest round of culture : there are no cities, and no accumulated wealth, and no agricultural products. The supply of ivory will not last long. One of the early explorers thought, that the products of the whole of U-Ganda might occupy the railway for one week in each year. The administration of this kingdom is conducted by extremely ignorant native chieftains. The political aspect of the region of East Equatorial Africa is very unsatisfactory. So far at the present time the import of liquors and lethal weapons has not commenced. It is not pretended that European colonists could settle permanently in any portion of the German Colony, Protectorate, or Hinterland. It is a fact that in the British Protectorate north of Victoria Nyanza no European family has settled, no European child been born, and even the missionary, who sends home such an abundance of children from every part of British India, and Ceylon, has none to bestow on his



country from Equatorial Africa or the Equator. We must recollect that barely twenty or thirty years have elapsed since this lake may be said to have been discovered by Speke, and visited by Henry Stanley. Enthusiasts may dream of expeditions pressing northward along the Nile Valley from the lakes to Khartum to meet the advance guard of the Khedive of Egypt moving southwards. Mr. Rhodes dreamt another dream of a telegraphic line from his own Rhodesia, south of the Zambézi river, to Lake Nyása, from Lake Nyása to Lake Tanganyika, from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Victoria Nyanza. In British India we are in the habit of dealing with things actual and practical, and which pay the outlay of the undertaking, so the boasts of African promoters of companies do not disturb an old Anglo-Indian like the writer.

To the north of these two great annexations of Great Britain and Germany are the barbarous tribes of the Galla and Somáli, extending up to Cape Guardafui. The latest maps show this vast region to be partly under a British Protectorate, and partly, Heaven save the mark! under an Italian Protectorate. The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba are held by a Mahometan chieftain under the Protectorate of Great Britain. To the south lies the Portuguese Colony of Mozambique with an extensive sea-front, reaching far down to Lozengo Marquez in South Africa, but the much coveted Hinterland is occupied by the British Central Africa Protectorate on Lake Nyása and the river Zambézi. The Portuguese Colonies in Africa, as in British India, represent the miserable survival of the most unfit.

IV. West Africa. The region extending from the frontier of Morocco along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean to the River Cunéne. Proceeding southwards from Cape Nun we come to the Spanish Protectorate, part of the Sahara, a profitless possession opposite to the Canary Islands, which are also Spanish. Next in order comes the great French Colony of Senegal, which by gradual extension into the Sahara and as far as Lake Chad occupies

nearly two millions of square miles. Next the tiny British Settlement on the river Gambia, and the patch known as Portuguese Guinea. Then comes French Guinea, also known as Rivières du Sud, and the important British Colony of Sierra Leone. Passing beyond we come to the American Republic of Liberia, beyond which is the French Colony known as Great Bassaam on the Ivory Coast. Beyond is the British Colony of the Gold Coast. Beyond is the German Colony of Togoland, and the French Colony of Dahomy. All these petty Colonies have no Hinterland. They are entirely shut off from all internal expansion by the French Sudán, part of the Senegal Colony. The native Kingdoms of Ashanti, or Dahomi, do not count for much. Passing onwards we come to the large block of the Niger Coast British Protectorate, the British Colony of the Island of Lagos, and the territory of the Niger Chartered British Company extending far into the interior so as to include the Sultanat of Bornu in its Protectorate, and reach the shores of Lake Chad. At the point where the coast of Africa ceases to run to the west, and trends southward is the German Colony of the Cameroons, which extends in the interior as far as Lake Chad.

South of the Equator we come on the Colony of the French Congo, which reaches far into the interior, and following the course of the River Mobangi runs northward up to the south shore of Lake Chad, while its eastern expansion is only prevented by the Protectorate of British East Africa from tapping the valley of the Nile in East Africa.

We now arrive at the most amazing phenomenon of the great scramble for Africa, the Congo Free State. It has a narrow neck of land to the south of the broad stream of the river Congo, which reaches the Atlantic Ocean; extending back and into the interior it occupies the enormous area of nine hundred thousand square miles, touching to the north the valley of the river Nile and the French

Colony, to the east the British and German East African Protectorates, and to the south the British Central African Protectorate: to the west the Portuguese Colony of Angola. In fact it occupies the great and imperfectly known centre of Africa north and south of the Equator. That an individual European Sovereign, and a petty State like Belgium can effectually occupy and manage such a vast and profitless territory is very problematical, and France has the reversion of the whole, if King Leopold and Belgium desire to be free of the burthen.

South of the Congo Free State is the Portuguese Colony of Angóla: as a fact a small portion of this Colony is situated to the north of the estuary of the great river. At one time the Portuguese dreamt of extending their two Colonies on the East and West Coasts so as to touch each other; from this dream there has been a rude awakening.

This completes the circuit of the four regions of Africa, and the detail of their political position in 1897, subject to errors of statement in so complicated a subject and changes which are taking place. I have watched the sad and moving drama of African oppression for more than twenty years. The sufferings of Armenia under the Turk are as nothing in comparison.

This great continent, compact in form, and accessible to the ocean on every side with vast navigable rivers, may be said roughly and inclusive of its adjacent islands to comprise eleven millions of square miles: its population amounts to one hundred and thirty millions, and this is a minimum calculation. We cannot kill this population, as we have elsewhere, and replace it by the riff-raff surplus of European nations: even if we wished to do so, we may accept as a fact that the Negro and Bantu races are made of such stuff, that no amount of cruel persecution continued for centuries will suffice to exterminate them. It is the fashion to talk of the Negro as a hopeless savage. In an off-hand way some speak of the great people of British India amounting to three hundred millions in the same airy way:



those, who know them well, are of opinion, that the Hindu and Negro are quite able to hold their own against the Latin and Teutonic races, if they get their chance.

This population both in India and Africa can live and propagate their race in yearly increasing millions in a climate, and in a social environment, under which the European will surely succumb. The same Power that fashioned the features of the region, has created the population suitable to inhabit it. If wisdom and benevolence, and not selfish chauvinism, united with low earth greed, had guided the councils of European statesmen, they would have devised plans which would be to the advantage of the indigenous population, and not to that of the reckless and penniless adventurers.

I now give the statistical results as regards

	AREAS IN SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
I. Great Britain: South, east, and west regions of the Continent and islands on both East and West Coast ...	2,194,000	43,200,000
II. France: North and west regions of the Continent and islands on the East Coast ...	3,320,000	30,000,000
III. Germany: South, east, and west regions of the Continent ...	884,000	8,300,000
IV. Portugal: East and west regions of the Continent and islands on the West Coast ...	826,000	5,400,000
V. Spain: North and west regions of the Continent and islands on the West Coast ...	150,000	400,000
VI. Italy: North region of the Continent ...	...	...
VII. Belgium: West region of the Continent ...	905,000	16,000,000
VIII. Two Boer Republics: South region of the Continent ...	177,000	764,000
IX. Morocco: North region of the Continent ...	154,000	6,000,000
X. Tripolitana: North region of the Continent ...	338,000	1,000,000
XI. Egypt: North region of the Continent ...	349,000	7,600,000
XII. The Egyptian Sudan: North region of the Continent ...	609,000	5,800,000
XIII. Eastern Sahara: East region of the Continent—Wadai, Kanem, Tibesti, etc. ...	773,000	2,730,000
XIV. Western Sudan: West region of the Continent—Mosi, etc. ...	155,000	2,800,000
XV. Liberia: West region of the Continent ...	51,000	1,000,000
XVI. Area occupied by Lakes west region of the Continent ...	70,000	...

## CONCLUDING REMARKS.

What is the moral of this discreditable game of grab which the three great nations of Europe (France, Germany, Great Britain) have been playing at the expense of the unhappy African, Semites, Hamites, Negro, Bantu, and Hottentot-Bushmen? Attila and Genghis Khan could not have done worse than these nominal Christian States. Murder, confiscation, rapine, have been the results. Deception and diplomacy have been the machinery. Lust of land and gold have been the motive power.

What a mockery it seems with one hand to stop the deportation of slaves, and with the other to introduce millions of casks of alcoholic liquors! One missionary reports his landing from a ship with ten thousand gallons of alcohol. Lord Salisbury is credited with the assertion, that the settlement of religious missionary bodies in a region, to which they had come to preach the Gospel, helped to make up the proof of the occupation of the region, which was required to justify a claim to its sovereignty! Treaties were made by missionaries, scientific explorers, designing speculators, and the chief who put his mark to a treaty, knew not what he was doing: the brandy bottle was placed generally by his side and the pen put in his hand: he often, in ignorance, assigning the same lands to rival adventurers.

Throughout there was an utter neglect of the interests of the unhappy population; they were to be saved indeed from deportation across the Atlantic to a country, into which men of the same blood have developed into nine millions of freed men (citizens of the United States of N.A.) in a stage of European culture: they were to remain at home and be slaves there, to see their lands and cattle confiscated, their villages destroyed, their chieftains, like poor Bushiri, hung by the Germans, their women, as in the Cameroons, flogged by the "most cultured" Europeans, or worse. The missionaries of different Churches and denominations flock in, and became a portion of the conquering race: one

missionary near Lake Nyása is said to have actually hanged a man ; another missionary near Victoria Nyasa to have burned a village : some sections of Christians actually wage war with other sections. Things are done, which would be deemed to be impossible out of Pandemonium—and yet this is complacently described as the advance of civilization and Christianity.

There are still a few unoccupied regions, notably Wadai, and Kanem in the eastern Sahara. Thousands of square miles have never had any effectual occupation, but the words "sphere of influence," and "Hinterland," are delightfully elastic. The unhappy Portuguese had nominal possession of a vast region under a treaty made by the Emperor of Monomotápa in 1630 A.D., but they had maintained no "effectual occupation," and when the South African Company began to lust for Ma-Shónaland, the claims of Portugal were rejected with scorn, and perhaps rightly so, for they had lost their opportunity ; as the day of Spain and of the Empires of Rome and Turkey passed away, and as the Empire of Great Britain may before long pass away, unless it reverts to those principles of righteousness which alone give permanence to a Rule.



## PIRACY IN MOROCCO.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

THE two points of special interest in Moorish affairs at present are, the increasing piracy on the Riff coast and the reported negotiations of "the Globe Syndicate" with some of the Sheikhs of the Sus country. In this district Sidi Housein El Heshem has never been reduced to absolute submission by the Imperial forces, notwithstanding the assertions of the Mejazen or Government, supported by the apparently obvious proof of the alleged recent victories, in the shape of numerous camel loads of human heads sent from Sus to decorate the gates of Morocco City. There the Sultan and his Court are still detained owing to the unsettled condition of the southern districts.

Major Spilsbury had attempted on behalf of the Syndicate, to obtain important mining and trade concessions directly from the Sultan, but failed, owing to the determined opposition of the Grand Vizeer, Ba Hamed, who is still, to all intents and purposes, the virtual ruler of the Shereefian State. If, however, as the Mejazen seems to fear, Sidi Housein El Heshem, who is all powerful throughout the Sus country, has, himself, accorded any direct encouragement to the agents of the Globe Syndicate, the hitherto vague and unsubstantial prospects of the promoters of this enterprising venture might, indeed, assume a sufficiently definite character to justify both the anxiety of the Grand Vizeer and the confidence of investors.

These, nevertheless, are considerations of minor importance to the integrity of the Moorish Empire than the increasing frequency of the piratic exploits of the Bocoya Kabyle on the Riff coast, at the opposite extremity of the Sultan's dominions.

Unfortunately the Bocoyas, one of the most powerful of the Berber community—the autochthonic inhabitants of the Atlas range which touches or borders on the Mediterranean

—are absolutely indifferent to the arguments or menaces of either native or foreign authority.

As in the case of most questions there are two sides to the story of these Riffian aggressions, or, as the Bocoya tribesmen themselves assert, to these acts of retaliation due to a violation of good faith upon the part of a Spanish official who failed to deliver a consignment of rifles for which the natives declare they had advanced, in hard cash, a sum of six thousand dollars, or about £1,200 in 1892. According to their statement, this officer, the commander of one of the Spanish fortresses along the Moorish coast, declined to deliver the arms on the ground that the rifles were contraband of war, nor would he return the money he had received. The Riffians have, moreover, repeatedly declared that the Melilla war in 1893, when the Spanish forces suffered severely at their hands, was due solely to this incident.

It will be remembered that notwithstanding the dubious success of the Spanish military operations at Melilla, General Martinez Campos succeeded in securing from the late Sultan, Mulai El Hassan, an indemnity of three millions of dollars.

The Bocoya and other Riffian tribes although they were then compelled, by the Sultan's intervention, to lay down their arms, still persist in their ill-judged attempts, whenever occasion offers, to call attention to their alleged grievance. For a long time it was only Spanish subjects who suffered from their lawless attacks; but finding that these aggressions failed to produce the desired effect, these Bocoya tribesmen, who build their own rough barks, called "felaïks," from the arar wood, a splendid cedar which grows upon their mountains, whose inaccessible fastnesses offer them, when hard pressed, an hitherto inviolable asylum, have now altered their tactics and have boldly decided to seize impartially any European or, as they put it, any "Christian" who may pass within reach, until such time as their own claim to a hearing and to compensation shall have been acceded to.

It is scarcely necessary to say that even were the Bocoyas able to prove, beyond any doubt, the accuracy of their assertions, statements which may be so coloured by passion and race-hatred as to be practically unreliable, and no longer represent the facts, as they actually occurred at the time of the original dispute in '92, still, the means by which these tribesmen are endeavouring to call attention to their alleged grievance involve such cruel injustice to the victims of these Riffian aggressions and constitute such gross violations of international law that no authority, nor even any individual however benevolently disposed towards themselves, could possibly defend their cause. In judging the situation it may yet be well, by an effort of the imagination to place oneself in the position of these Riffian mountaineers, men of a race which has, alone succeeded, alike in the past and present, in maintaining their independence; men who were neither utterly quelled in bygone times by Carthage, Rome or Byzantium; who yielded permanent submission neither to Saracen nor Goth, and who, to-day, defy the Sultan of Morocco as they do the greatest of the European States, not one of whose subjects has penetrated their territory except as slaves or captives held to ransom, although the Bocoya country is situated in the very sight of Gibraltar, and is, at its opposite extremity, contiguous with the French Algerian possessions. To such a people, primitive and fierce, it must be especially galling to submit peaceably to being grossly defrauded as they have been, should their version of the incident, related above, be substantially correct.

It is highly improbable that the time honoured plan of holding the Sultan responsible for these Riffian aggressions will be varied and, consequently, the Moorish Government will doubtless be again called upon to pay a heavy indemnity whilst the Bocoyas may still continue to put the boasted security of the Straits of Gibraltar to shame by boarding the smaller sailing vessels which wind or current may bring within their reach, shooting down all who resist



and carrying off the remaining officers or men as captives to be held for ransom.

An incident which occurred during the earlier months of this year throws some light upon the character of the Bocoya chieftains. The captain of a French barque had been captured and it was deemed advisable to approach the tribesmen through some native avenue. Mulai Mohammed, the younger of the two sons of the Shereefa of Wazan, who, it may be remembered, is an Englishwoman although her sons are, as was their late father, the Grand Shereef of Wazan, under French protection, addressed a letter to the Sheikhs of the Bocoya Kabyles requesting them to release their prisoner. The letter was carried by a cousin of the young Shereef and this native envoy was conveyed to his destination on board of a French man of war.

The Bocoyas received the emissary with courtesy and at once released their captive, delivering him with all his effects, safely on board the frigate. In their reply to the communication addressed to them by the Shereef, they implored the intervention of the French Government to secure them compensation for the wrongs which they asserted they had suffered in 1892.

The Shereef's cousin somewhat rashly and officiously promised them redress, and, on this condition, as they stated in their reply to the letter addressed to them, they released their prisoner without ransom.

Having done this, the Bocoyas waited some time to see what would come of the promised intervention, but it would, of course, be contrary to international courtesy for one Government to interfere in the case of a quarrel between a friendly nation and a savage tribe; consequently the Bocoyas have continued their acts of piracy, and at the present moment, Sept. 10th, they are reported to have in their hands three Europeans captured from the Italian Barque *FIDUCIA*, four from the Portuguese ship, the *ROSITA*, and three men, amongst them a French subject, who disappeared during a fire on board the Spanish Steamer *LA CIERVANA*, and, as it is asserted, were picked

up by a Moorish feluka or "felaik" that was passing at the time of the accident.\*

Besides these, several Europeans have been wounded or killed during the various encounters. Certainly it is a shocking mistake in ethics on the part of the Bocoya to thus vent upon innocent sailors or travellers the ire provoked by an act of egregious ill-faith on the part of the Spanish official—if such an act was, indeed, ever committed.

The Bocoyas' procedure may furthermore call forth a well-deserved chastisement, should any of the powers, whose subjects have been captured, organize a punitive expedition. France, especially, could, with the greatest ease, send Algerian troops across the frontier and add the Riffian territory to the other French possessions on the North African coast, and to France, backed by Russia, what power could bid her stay her hand even should she be disposed to include Tangier itself within the zone of occupation? a possibility which seems to link itself sweetly with the persistent rumours of the establishment in Tangier of a Russian Legation. Hitherto Spain has represented Russia, not an onerous task as there is but a single Russian subject residing here, viz., the physician attached to the French Legation and who has charge of the French Hospital in Tangier.

But, to conclude with our friends the Bocoyas, let us admit that the occupation of their territory by France might offer the most, possibly the only, effective guarantee against future acts of piracy in this part of the Mediterranean, a consideration which renders the late piratical exploits of the Bocoya tribe a distinct and peculiar menace to the maintenance of the *statu in quo* and to the integrity of the Moorish Empire.

\* The Spanish cruiser was expected on the Riff coast on the 17th ultimo, on which date the Italian cruiser Lombardia had already arrived at Tangier, in order to obtain, through the Moroccan Government, the liberation of the European captives, with or without exchanging the Riffian prisoners for them. A high Tangier official was expected to go into the interior in order to negotiate the matter with the Riff Chiefs.—*Ed.*

## BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.

BY LEONARD H. WEST, LL.D.

THE system of governing colonial possessions or dependencies through Chartered Companies has had its most famous illustration in Asia; and though the chief field for this mode of administration is now to be found in Africa, it is fitting that there should still be one representative of British Chartered Companies in the Indian Archipelago, namely the British North Borneo Company. As some misapprehension exists as to the exact nature of a Chartered Company, it may be well to explain that it possesses all the attributes of an ordinary Joint Stock Company with such privileges as the Crown may see fit by Royal Charter to confer, and those in the case of Companies of the class to which that to be dealt with in the present article belongs, usually consist of the ordinary powers of government including the dominion of the territories and their productions with the right of disposing of the same, the right of making laws, maintaining a military or police force and levying customs and taxes.

The Company may own property or may engage in any lawful trade or commerce quite apart from its Charter, and trade was of course the original object of the founders of the East India Company, the fact of their becoming rulers of their territories and founders of our Indian Empire being an unforeseen or unintended result.

At the present time there are only three British chartered companies of this description—the British North Borneo Company founded in 1881, and exercising only government functions, not trading on its own account; the Royal Niger Company founded in 1886 chiefly through the genius of Sir George Taubman Goldie, and exercising both government and trading functions though kept quite distinct; and the British South Africa Company founded in 1889 exercising only government functions, but since 1895, unlike the other



Companies, having its military or police forces under direct Imperial control. The Imperial East Africa Company exercising jurisdiction over Uganda and surrounding country has been superseded by Imperial control, and the Hudson Bay Company has surrendered its direct government functions though still possessing extensive territorial rights. From time to time we hear proposals for new Chartered Companies, as for the Eastern Soudan and still more recently for the Yukon territory, but it may be doubted whether in the present state of public feeling upon colonial enterprise, any extension of the system would be permitted or indeed necessary in the same sense in which it has been in the past.

Much has been said or written recently against government by Chartered Companies, the chief objections to it being focussed in its combination of the ordinary functions of government with the object of commercial or financial profit, and also the responsibility in which a chartered company may involve the Imperial Government.\* The liability of the mother country for wrongful acts committed by the Company does not however arise merely from its Charter; if the Company were an ordinary joint stock company the Imperial Government, while having no direct control over its acts, would be internationally responsible for them, while if the company be incorporated under Royal Charter, the Government has a direct control over it, as in all modern charters, important restrictions are placed upon the action of the Company both as regards its dealings with foreign powers and also with the natives of the territories over which it exercises jurisdiction. Thus we find in the case of the British North Borneo Co. the prohibition of slavery, ample safeguards with regard to the religion of the natives and the administration of justice, the prohibition of trade monopolies, and as a final check the Charter with the privileges it carries may be withdrawn; while in other Charters,

\* See "Principles of International Law," by T. J. Lawrence, 1895, §§ 54, 104.

the supply of intoxicating liquors, arms and ammunition to the natives is restricted, the police or military forces are placed under Imperial control, and other safeguards provided. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Courtney, in the course of the Transvaal debate in the House of Commons last year, used some powerful arguments in favour of government by Chartered Companies.\* Discussing the feasibility of undertaking the control of territories outside our sealed colonies from Downing Street, Mr. Courtney said: "I believe of all courses that is the worst, Downing Street has not the knowledge, cannot have the knowledge, has not the agents to control the movements of a population such as I have described in the territories which are unsettled," but assuming the adoption of the plan of governing from Downing Street, Mr. Courtney proceeded, "I am sure if we do that we should in a very short time get into greater difficulties than we have recently had, and we should not escape the possibility, if a recurrence, of exactly the same difficulties. In fact I believe they would come to us in a worse aspect, one from which we could much less easily disengage ourselves. . . . The agents of the home Government have again and again taken the bit between their teeth, and done things they have not been authorised to do, and the difficulty of disowning them, checking them, putting them aside is infinitely greater than that of checking or putting aside the agents of a chartered company. . . . It appears to me that to have a chartered company facilitates our control although apparently giving up control. You must watch chartered companies strictly, you must retain the power of checking them at once, of disabling them from doing this or that, but you really have greater control over the agents of such companies than you have over agents of your own." Again, referring to the proposal that undeveloped territories should be handed over to the control of the Colonial office, Mr. Chamberlain said: "I cannot conceive that such a Department could do the work that has been done by the existing

\* *Times*, Feb. 14, 1896.

Chartered Company or by any of its successors. I am perfectly sure that if the persons responsible for the development of those territories had to go, as I have had to go, over and over again to the Treasury, to ask their assent to an expenditure of £5, it would have been perfectly impossible for them, or anybody in my position, to have done what the Chartered Company have already done, or another Chartered Company might have done in their place, to make railways, to make hundreds of miles of roads, to do everything to bring into rapid occupation the territories which have been submitted to their rule."

These being views, the views of representatives of Downing Street, I may quote the opinion of the late Mr. Joseph Thomson, whose experience gave him very special opportunities of judging of the work of Chartered Companies. His remarks are specially directed to Africa but are really of general application. Writing eight years ago\* he said: "There are but two ways to administer and develop the resources of such regions as Central Africa, viz. either the French method, in which the Government does everything, acts as pioneer, makes roads and railways, establishes markets, experiments on the products of the country, etc., or else chartered companies. Private individuals cannot do it, for it demands enormous outlay and long continued experiment with the certainty that if successful, others who have spent or risked nothing step in to reap the benefit, if not to oust the one who sowed the seed. It may be all very well to object to chartered companies when no sacrifices are required and no risks are to be run, when the returns are immediate and the profits certain. No government would grant privileges to private individuals under such circumstances. In tropical Africa however no such conditions exist" (nor, as we shall see, in Borneo). "Enormous difficulties from the climate and the natives have to be faced, and vast sums of money spent, in treaty-making, road making, administration, exploration, experimenting, etc.,

\* *Fortnightly Review*, Aug., 1889, p. 182.



work, which could not be done except by a powerful company, which must have some guarantee that it will not be deprived of the fruits of its enterprise."

"Again under a chartered company the administration is carried on at the very cheapest rate, by practical men of experience, not forced like a British Government to appeal for money to Parliament, and to face the by no means disinterested attacks of the Opposition. A continuous policy can be carried on which the natives soon learn to understand and adapt themselves to. More than all, a chartered company is enabled to maintain an effective control over the traffic and stop what is deleterious to the natives and harmful to the country, and therefore to the company itself." Another strong illustration of the useful purpose which a chartered company may serve, is mentioned by Sir Harry Johnson in his recent work on *British Central Africa*.<sup>\*</sup> When in 1889 the Government felt reluctant about incurring the responsibility of taking over the administration of the districts bordering on the Lake Nyassa, owing to their not then promising much or indeed any local revenue of their own, Mr. Cecil Rhodes was able to assure the Foreign Office that his proposed Chartered Company would find at least £10,000 a year for several years for the development and administration of Nyassaland, and the Government thereupon felt justified in taking the action which has since resulted in the founding of the British Central Africa Protectorate, the value of which to Great Britain may be judged from the recent Report by the Consul and Acting-Commissioner.<sup>†</sup> There is however strong evidence that the views of the British public, and hence of the British Government, with regard to the acquisition of new possessions, have greatly changed since the days when the Government allowed us to be cut off from, say the hinterland of West Africa which should logically have been ours, and still more

\* "*British Central Africa*," by Sir Harry Johnson, K.C.B. Methuen and Co., 1897, p. 81.

† "*Africa*," No. 5 (1897). Eyre and Spottiswoode.

so since the days when we surrendered possessions, say, in the Indian Archipelago, which we had already acquired ; and the object which the British North Borneo Company has accomplished in its sphere, or which the Royal Niger Company and the British South Africa Company have accomplished in Africa may now, should the occasion arise, find an agent in the Imperial Government.

Dealing with the work of the British North Borneo Company in particular, we find that while both Spain and Holland claimed rights over the Northern portion of the island of Borneo, now constituting British North Borneo, it had from the beginning of the present century, been allowed to drift into a very deplorable condition. " Monopolies were declared and enforced ; trade was restricted ; the junk trade with China put an end to ; the revenues of the native princes curtailed or stopped altogether ; their authority upset, and themselves driven to desperation in various ways ; and as little or no attempt was made in Borneo, at least, to substitute any other government for those destroyed, everyone struggled for his own hand, and chaos supervened."\* Pirates swept the coasts, devastating wars raged between Dutch and Chinese, Dyak head-hunting flourished unrestrained and population rapidly decreased. Sir James Brooke (Rajah Brooke) succeeded in emancipating Sarawak,† but the northern portion of Borneo remained much in the condition above described up to the early seventies. About that time however, after an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Americans to establish a settlement, attention was drawn in England to the fertility and fineness of the climate of British North Borneo, as well as to its great possible value to Britain, lying as it does in the fairway of an immense British maritime trade between China, Australia, India and the United Kingdom. The result was that in 1877-8 Mr. (now Sir) Alfred Dent acquired conces-

\* " A Decade in Borneo," by Mr. W. B. Pryer, 1894. Hutchinson and Co.

† " The Rajah of Sarawak," by S. Jacob (London, 1876) ; " Life of Sir Charles Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak," by Sir S. St. John (London, 1879).

sions from the Sultans of Brunei and Sooloo of the absolute rights of sovereignty over the northern portion of Borneo which with a grant subsequently secured, constitutes a territory of upwards of 30,000 square miles. Considerable interest in the project was shown by Sir Rutherford Alcock K.C.B. Admiral Sir Henry Keppel G.C.B. who years previously had materially assisted in consolidating the power of Rajah Brooke in Sarawak, by Sir Thomas (now Lord) Brassey\* and other influential men, and in 1881 the Crown was petitioned to grant a Charter which was acceded to on November 1st of the same year. The grant of the Charter was debated in both Houses of Parliament, being supported on behalf of the Government by the late Earl Granville in the House of Lords and the decision approved without division, and by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons and approved by 125 to 62, the opposition being led by the late Lord Lamington in the Lords, and by Mr. (now Sir John) Gorst in the Commons.

Possession of the territory had been acquired in 1878, to the extent of establishing stations at Sandakan and one or two other places, and the first act of administration is to be found in a notice dated 11th February 1878 as to tonnage dues and customs duties at the port of Sandakan. The efforts of the Company were directed to establishing a firm and equitable government, which might convert the savage community it had to deal with, into one, subject to rule and order, and by removal of the oppression, from which the people had suffered at the hands of petty chiefs, gain their submission and confidence. The trade of the country was found to be insignificant, and as the Company had not sufficient capital to undertake planting operations on a large scale, it was decided not to become competitors for trade, as in the case of the Royal Niger Company, but to throw open the country to private enterprise, and by setting up a liberal government, endeavour to attract capital and labour from without, in short, the company was to be a purely administrative body for the purpose of founding a Colony.

\* See *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1887.



A Governor of the territory was appointed, it was divided into Provinces, civil and judicial administration established, police or military forces organised, and expeditions for exploring the material resources of the country sent out.\* Mr. A. R. Wallace in his "*Australasia*," referring to the English Rajahs of Sarawak, questions whether the fate of the human race might not be benefited by the extension of the system there inaugurated of the free government of semi-barbarous states, under trained and educated English gentlemen, untrammelled by the cramping influence of official subordination and unburdened by the dead weight of a complex governmental organisation, or an elaborate system of legal and official precedents, and Lord Granville at the time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a despatch to the English Minister at Madrid, with reference to the British North Borneo Company says: "The experience of three years shows that the peaceful and intelligent development of the great natural resources of the country is steadily increasing, and there is every reason to believe that a sound and liberal system of administration will be established by the company, which will spread the benefits of civilisation among the native population and open up new and important fields to British trade and enterprise, and to the commerce of all nations." A number of companies were formed, the majority for tobacco planting, others for mineral exploration, within the territory, but, unfortunately, the heavy nature of the pioneer work in planting and in gaining a hold on existing markets proved too great for most of the plantation companies, and the mining companies failed to discover minerals in paying quantities, with the result that most of the companies showed heavy losses on their early work, and further development was severely checked. During the years 1888-90 a sum of nearly £120,000 was realised from land sales, chiefly for the cultivation of tobacco, while during the six years which have since elapsed, the amount

\* See "*The New Ceylon*," by Joseph Hatton. Chapman and Hall, 1891. Frank Hatton, "*North Borneo*." Sampson Low and Co., 1886.

received from the same source has been little more than £6,000.

As indicating the history of the development of the Colony, it may be of interest to give the annual Revenue and Expenditure, Imports and Exports since the foundation of the company.

	Receipts on Revenue Accounts.	Expenditure on Revenue Account.	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£	\$	\$
1882-3	16,922	79,715	429,919	159,127
1884	17,672	46,782	377,885	184,173
1885	19,258	43,921	648,318	401,640
1886	21,726	40,680	849,115	524,724
1887	23,273	37,580	958,642	535,267
1888	25,130	40,153	1,261,997	525,875
1889	40,962	63,834	1,799,620	701,433
1890	61,722	70,699	2,018,089	901,290
1891	69,759	81,339	1,936,547	1,238,277
1892	51,118	58,537	1,355,864	1,762,246
1893	32,816	43,874	1,116,714	1,780,593
1894	36,420	39,316	1,329,066	1,698,543
1895	40,738	39,726	1,663,906	2,130,600
1896	44,285	40,270	1,882,188	2,473,753

It will be observed that the high water mark, both as regards receipts and expenditure, was in 1891, and then came a reaction to 1893, since which year, the receipts have steadily increased, and the expenditure has proportionately diminished, though now rising slightly and not unreasonably. Taking receipts and expenditure both on revenue and capital account since the Company was founded, we find that the sum of £726,426 has been expended on revenue account, and £122,205 on capital account, while on the other hand £501,801 has been received on revenue account, and £148,596 from land sales and on capital account; so that up to the present time some £225,000 has been expended on revenue account in excess of the amount received, while the receipts on capital account have exceeded the expenditure on that account, by about £26,000, shewing a net amount sunk in the territory of about £200,000, with what result to show for it we will proceed to consider.

From deficit of some £50,000 per annum, less than fifteen years ago, the Colony has now become more than self-supporting. Its exports, which thirteen years ago would have been worth less than £20,000 at present rate of exchange of about 2s. to the dollar, have steadily increased until last year they amounted to not far short of £250,000 in value, while imports, though not showing such steady increase, have developed from some £40,000 to nearly £190,000 in value. A comparison of the returns for 1885 and 1896, will indicate the chief articles of export and import, and show the great progress, which has been made, in the development of the resources of the Colony, and the advance of civilization.

		<i>Exports.</i>	
		1885.	1896.
		\$	\$
Birds-nests ... ..	...	27,952	45,932
Camphor ... ..	...	8,711	23,265
Coffee ... ..	...	—	26,149
Cutch ... ..	...	—	142,721
Damar ... ..	...	14,365	20,733
Gutta ... ..	...	34,747	58,336
India Rubber ... ..	...	8,535	47,259
Rice and Paddy ... ..	...	7,933	18,206
Rattans ... ..	...	67,100	169,305
Sago and Sago Flour	...	53,417	148,957
Timber ... ..	...	26,908	99,768
Tobacco ... ..	...	1,618	1,372,277
Treasure ... ..	...	27,782	100,084

		<i>Imports.</i>	
		1885.	1896.
		\$	\$
Brass ware ... ..	...	19,417	29,911
Cloth ... ..	...	142,160	281,154
Earthenware ... ..	...	9,821	14,975
Fruit and Vegetables	...	3,430	41,031
Furniture ... ..	...	5,531	12,011
Ironware ... ..	...	8,714	46,754
Kerosene Oil ... ..	...	4,643	37,173
Live Stock ... ..	...	4,322	22,196
Machinery ... ..	...	325	47,756
Matches ... ..	...	1,369	8,712
Oils ... ..	...	7,035	52,764
Opium ... ..	...	19,289	85,438
Provisions ... ..	...	45,553	97,268
Railway Material ... ..	...	—	26,940
Rice Grain and Flour	...	78,039	389,454
Spirits and Wines ... ..	...	14,478	72,719
Sugar ... ..	...	8,109	48,387
Telegraph Materials	...	—	400
Tobacco ... ..	...	12,628	72,589
Treasure ... ..	...	105,766	293,585



As already intimated, tobacco growing is now the staple industry of the Colony, and its export has in the past twelve years grown from a merely nominal amount to more than half the total exports value of the Colony. Its proximity to Sumatra and the Philippines was some guarantee that it might produce a good tobacco, and accounts for the increasing popularity of Borneo tobacco and the high prices obtained for it, while the disturbance in Cuba and the Philippines give opportunities for further increase in its production. Coffee growing is a more recent industry, but promises well, and satisfactory experiments have lately been made with cotton and shea. Cutch, which is now one of the chief exports, is made from the bark of the mangrove tree, which grows plentifully all round the coast; rattans are the stems of a creeping prickly palm, and merely require collecting. They are largely used for roofing, blinds and mats, and with all the other chief products of British North Borneo, including its various sea produce, its birds-nests and specimens of its many varieties of woods, may now be seen in the interesting section devoted to the Colony at the Imperial Institute. Bananas grow freely and with little expense; there is a large amount of land suitable for the cultivation of cocoanuts, for which a ready and increasing demand exists; Borneo is the only British possession in which Manila hemp will grow; while the export of lemons and sugar, from the latter, which much is expected, has already commenced. Mr. W. B. Pryer, late Senior Resident in the British North Borneo Co.'s service, in an address to the London Chamber of Commerce last April, summed up the result to the Colony of this development of its resources by stating that there was no reason why North Borneo should not have as many people to the square mile as Java with its twenty-two million inhabitants, and gave as an illustration of his meaning the case of an estate twelve miles north of Sandukan, where five years ago there was nothing but virgin forest. Now there are over a thousand people there, some of them getting their livelihood from wages,

others cultivating the soil on their own account, while over a space of some 1,500 acres, the forest trees have been replaced by valuable produce-yielding plants. All these people are clothed in imported clothes, use hardware, crockery, glassware and many other imported articles from needles to Huntley and Palmer's biscuits and Crosse and Blackwell's pickles; and what has been done on this 1,500 acres can be done and will be done sooner or later, throughout the country.

The future prosperity of the Colony is the more assured in that it thus depends not upon gold or other mineral products, but upon the more stable industry of agriculture—upon the fruit or vegetable products of the soil. Minerals, however, are by no means entirely wanting: already there is a considerable output of coal from the mines in Labuan off the Borneo coast, which may make it an important coal-ing station from an Imperial point of view, and at the present time attracts vessels trading between China and Europe, and ensures low freights for the produce of the country. Other important deposits are to be found on the mainland. Gold, which has been described as the best “charter” which a company can possess, has been found in several of the rivers of the country, and an effort is now being made to work it systematically, while other metals and even diamonds have been occasionally met with in different parts of the territory, which it must be remembered, while the greater part of it remains as thick jungle, does not lend itself to ready or exhaustive mineral exploration. Indications of petroleum oil have also been discovered in several places, and the working of the deposits is now being prosecuted with vigour, and, if successful, will have an important bearing upon the revenue and general prosperity of the country.

Much of this progress, in the development of the natural resources of the Colony, is undoubtedly due to the policy adopted by the Court of Directors during the past few years of opening up the country by means of telegraphs, roads

and railways. On April 8 of the present year a line of telegraph from Sandakan, across the Colony through some 300 miles of jungle and forest to Labuan, was opened, and communication thus obtained with the telegraphic systems of Asia, Europe, Africa and America; important roads have been constructed opening up districts specially fitted for agriculture and mineral explorations; and the construction of a railway has been commenced which, judging from the experience of the Malay Peninsula, of the newly developed districts of Africa, Australia and Canada, must have a most important bearing upon the progress of the Colony, and already promises to be self supporting from its opening.

The population of British North Borneo, at the time of the foundation of the Colony, was estimated at about 150,000, and it is now probably from 170,000 to 200,000. Much has been written of the aboriginal population of Borneo,\* but whatever truth there may have been in the alleged existence of men of the nature of wild beasts, it is certain that the two chief tribes at the present time are the Duseens or Dyaks and the Bajows; while the immigrants include Sulus, Chinamen, Hakkas from South China and some blacks—Arabs, Somalis, and others from the Straits Settlements. The Duseens chiefly inhabit the interior and are said by some authorities (denied by others) to be the result of an infusion of Chinese blood among the aboriginal inhabitants. They are usually quiet and orderly, not particularly brave, and show some aptitude for agricultural pursuits, specially where they have come under Chinese influence. Dyaks are usually classed with them, the name being a very elastic one really meaning "men," and comprising a large number of different tribes, but so far as British North Borneo is concerned, we may treat the Duseens and Dyaks as very similar in character. The police force of the territory is partly recruited from Dyaks and though as a race they do not exhibit much valour, when trained and officered by English-

\* See "Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo," by H. Ling Roth (2 vols., London, 1896), and the authorities therein quoted.



men, they make very efficient soldiers, specially for jungle and boat work. The origin of the Bajows or Sea Gypsies, chiefly inhabiting the coasts, is also the subject of considerable doubt, but all accounts appear to agree in ascribing to them Malay blood, and though originally of a roving and troublesome nature, they are now beginning to make themselves useful and are likely to play a more important part than the Duseens, in the development of the Colony, being stronger and increasing in numbers. Of the immigrants, the Sulus from the Sulu group of islands to the North East of Borneo, bore the character of being fierce and piratical, but here again, where they have been brought under the influence of civilisation, they have proved themselves reliable and law-abiding. Of still greater importance to Borneo are the Chinese and Hakkas whose perseverance and aptitude for trade and agriculture are of the greatest value in opening up a new country.

This population of mixed races is ruled through a Court of Directors in London, consisting of Mr. R. B. Martin, M.P., the Chairman, Sir Charles J. Jessel, Bart., Vice-Chairman, Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., Mr. W. C. Cowie, who possesses extensive local experience, Mr. Edward Dent (brother of Sir Alfred), Admiral of the Fleet The Hon. Sir Henry Keppel, G.C.B., D.C.L., and Mr. J. A. Maitland; Mr. L. P. Beaufort has shown himself a very able and efficient Governor in Borneo and is assisted by a Treasurer-General and Superintendent of Customs, twelve Judges of Sessions and Magistrates, two Residents, three Medical Officers, a Commissioner of Lands, two Port Masters, a Harbour-Master and two or three other civil officers: the Directors fees and salaries and allowances, both in Borneo and London amount to some £13,000 only, a sum which compares very favourably with the cost of most colonial possessions under Imperial government. The Constabulary or Military force of the Colony consists of Sikhs and Dyaks, numbering 330 of all ranks under a Commandant and Adjutant. Many of us are now familiar with the smart

little Dyak soldiers, from their appearance at the Military Tournament in London, the Jubilee Procession and Aldershot Review. The whole force is maintained at a cost of not much more than £6,000 per annum, and besides its ordinary duties of protecting the various towns, settlements and plantations, it is occasionally called upon for expeditions against rebel chiefs, but peace is generally well preserved within the territory, and the Company's success in this direction has been acknowledged by members of Her Majesty's Government.

The only recent rising of any moment has been that of Mahomed Salleh, a half-caste Sulu and Bajow chief. Two years ago he was guilty of serious depredations in the district about the rivers Sugut and Labuk on the east coast, and went so far as to bring an armed party to Sandakan. Efforts were made by the Government to effect a friendly reconciliation but these proved fruitless, and Salleh's conduct in levying forced contributions in food and money on all sides, necessitated more stringent measures, which after some six months arduous work in the jungle, resulted in the capture of Salleh's stronghold and the restoration of the district to peace. Salleh himself, however, managed to escape into the dense jungle and difficult country of the interior, where, though he and his immediate following were in comparative safety from the police, they must have been in great destitution and much discredited. Very little loss of life among the timid and ignorant inhabitants who had been misled by him resulted; some of his leading followers who were captured were imprisoned and others removed to another part of the territory, while the women and children who had followed him, after being fed and doctored, were sent to a more accessible position. It was hoped that by these means the trouble had been disposed of, but in July last, Salleh with about sixty followers turned up in a fresh quarter, and made a sudden raid upon the Government station at Saya, an island on the West coast, looted and burned down the town, sacked the

treasury, captured the officer in charge, killed a corporal of police and wounded two other police. He carried off his loot to the mainland and established himself in a strong position with the intention of carrying on a government of his own. After a short resistance to the Government police, he however abandoned his position, and information has recently been received that he has again succeeded in escaping into the jungle. The Government officer whom he captured was rescued and a number of his followers captured. The rising appears to have no general significance, the local chiefs being friendly to the company, but Salleh has established a reputation for daring, upon the strength of which he is able with only a few followers to work upon the more timid inhabitants of the district he may select, and for a time, at any rate, do considerable damage; it is therefore probable that the company may be periodically troubled by his local attacks, until they succeed in capturing him. Apart from disturbances created by Salleh, the military expeditions of the company in recent years have generally been directed against cases of head-hunting or raiding for slaves, and as the influence of the company extends, these are becoming fewer, and the old causes of native wars, such as tribal disputes and feuds, rarer.

Since May 1888 the territory has been under the formal protection of Her Majesty's Government, who conduct all foreign relations, but do not interfere with internal administration. I think, it may fairly be said, that the Chartered Company has succeeded in preserving for Britain a possession of great interest and imperial value, and has moreover succeeded in converting that possession into a Colony of considerable present prosperity, and one which gives much promise of still greater prosperity in the future.



# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE second edition of the "Manual of the History of Religions," of Chantepie de la Saussaye\* has appeared. This excellent work, which in its first form (1st edition) has already rendered many services, has been completely revised in this new edition. The eminent Amsterdam professor was associated with a certain number of collaborators and specialists: Messrs. Buckley, Lange, Jeremias, Valetton, Houtsma and Lehmann. We cannot but admire the principle of associating in a work of this kind, as it is quite impossible for one scholar to be competent in the diverse religions and different languages of mankind. The plan of the work has been considerably modified and enriched; herewith is a summary of it. In the first volume, after an introduction upon general questions relative to the history of religions, the following are successively gone into: the non-civilized (die sogenannten Naturvölker), the Chinese, the Japanese, the Egyptians, the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Syrians and Phœnicians, the Israelites and Islam. In the second volume: the Hindus (Vedic and Brahmanic, Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism), the Persians and the Avesta, the Greeks, the Romans, the Baltic people and the Slavs, the Germans, the Celts. Only Christianity is wanted to render the list complete.

The subject has been dealt with very thoroughly, and account has been taken of the numerous discoveries and recent works which the study of religions has brought to light during the last few years. We do not doubt but that the learned public will give the same kind reception to this new edition as it did to the first edition of this work.

## HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE, AND OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

The "History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus,"† by A. Edersheim, has been published, revised by A. White in a third edition. The works of Dr. Edersheim, notwithstanding the dogmatical point of view in which they are written, are in general well informed, and deserve recommendation. This is the case with his "History of the Jewish Nation," which is an interesting study of Judaism from A.D. 70 to the Vth century (Extinction of the Patriarchate and final dispersion of the Jews).

Talmudic theology does not cease to be studied. In 1880, F. Delitzsch and G. Schnedermann published under the title of "System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie" a very remarkable pamphlet by Dr. F. Weber (obit 1879); this work, the value and importance of which cannot

\* *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl., 2 vol. in 8°, J. E. B. Mohr, Freiburg i. B., und Leipzig, 1897.

† 1 vol in 8°, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1896.

be too highly eulogized, has appeared under a different title, in a revised second edition.\*

Another excellent work has reached a third edition, also with a different title. We refer to the "History of the Israelitic Religion," by K. Marti,† which formerly appeared under the title of "A. Kayser's Theologie des alten Testaments." The new edition differs little from the preceding one (1894), but a great deal from the first (1886). This work does not require further praise; it is distinguished as much by its method and its scientific severity, as by the very suggestive character of its valuable contents.

#### ARABIC AND ISLAM.

A publication of the highest interest is that which Mr. V. Chauvin, Professor at the University of Liège, continues, under the title of "Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes, ou relatifs aux Arabes, publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885." The first volume appeared in 1892, and included, besides a long and scholarly preface, the tabular statements of Schnurrer and the bibliography of "proverbs." The second volume,‡ which we have just received, is entirely devoted to the "*Kalilah*"; it contains no less than 239 pages gr. in 8vo. The work of Mr. Chauvin is of vast erudition, and reminds us by its size of the analogous works (large encyclopedic dictionaries) of the most celebrated Arab writers; as we recently remarked to the eminent author, we are almost afraid of the fulness he has bestowed on his subject.

The volume which we announce to-day interests Folk-lorists as much as it does Orientalists,—in fact, the author has not been content with drawing up the very minute bibliography of the *Kalilah*, but he has made a not less detailed study of what has been borrowed and imitated, etc., from writers of all times and all countries, and adding to this comparative study, a summary of tales. At the commencement of the volume will be found a list of the numberless versions of the *Kalilah* from the Syriac, Greek and Persian, etc., down to the modern translations. This list is but an extract of that part of the work which is devoted to the examination of the Arab and other versions of the *Kalilah*. Mr. Chauvin renders great services to Orientalism by the way in which he has conceived and realized his idea of Arab bibliography. We wish his work all the success it deserves. We also draw attention to an instructive dissertation by the same author: "La défense des Images chez les Musulmans."§ No doubt the spirit of Islam and its fundamental tendency to a strict monotheism (in the sense as expressed in the Old Testament), had necessarily to introduce the proscription of pictures,—above all, of those of human beings; but in the Quran there is, properly speaking, no prohibition of pictures; and many coins, medals and monuments show us that Mussulman artists have often represented the human figure and animals.

\* *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und Verwandter Schriften*, in 8°, Dörfling und Franke, Leipzig, 1897.

† *Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion*, in 8°, F. Bull, Strassburg, 1897.

‡ Liège, H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1897.

§ Antwerp, 1896. Comp. *Maurin de Nahuys, Les Images chez les Arabes*. Antwerp, 1896 (*Extraits des Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*).

An interesting collection of popular airs of Tunis has been published by Dr. H. Stumme;\* it includes infantile songs, street songs, recitations in verse, enigmas, etc.

We conclude our review by mentioning a work, which we cannot recommend too much,—that is, “The Preaching of Islām, a history of the propagation of the Muslim faith,” by T. W. Arnold†. This book is quite remarkable by the certainty of its information, its broad views, and its conception of Islām. It is a history of the Mussulman mission from Muhammad to the present time, in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Malayan Archipelago. The author is much too modest when he writes: “As I can neither claim to be an authority nor a specialist on any of the periods of history dealt with in this book, and as many of the events referred to therein have become matter for controversy, I have given full references to the source consulted, and here I have thought it better to err on the side of excess rather than that of defect.” As regards ourselves, we are thankful to the author for having quoted in such a very complete manner all the works (books, pamphlets, articles) treating of the same subject, and this erudite work will always be a valuable bibliography of a very important subject which the author has studied. A charming dedication in Arabic, “To my wife,” acknowledges the help he received from his wife.

\* *Neue tunisische Sammlungen*, in 4°, Drugulin, Leipzig, 1896. (Separatausgabe dieses in der *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen*).

† 1 vol. in 8°, Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster, London, 1896.



## REPORT, DAY BY DAY, OF THE PARIS ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

BY PROF. E. MONTET.

*Paris, 6th September.*

The Eleventh Session of the International Congress of Orientalists was opened on the morning of *Sept. 6th*, at the Lycée Louis le Grand, in the large hall where the prizes are annually distributed. It was hoped that the formal opening would have taken place in the magnificent and spacious "Aula" of the Sorbonne, but the Congress Committee was afraid that it would not have been able to fill it. This was a mistake, as the magnificence of the place would have enhanced the grandeur of the ceremony, and it would have been easy, by issuing numerous invitations, to have filled that marvellous amphitheatre. The truth is that the organization of the Congress is defective; for instance, the various sections are located in two separate buildings, which renders it difficult to attend in both places.

The Congress appears to be well attended, about 700 having joined as members, of whom more than 400 are present in Paris. In each branch we find leaders in their speciality and eminent Orientalists. A few Orientals also (Algerians, Turks, Chinese, Japanese, etc.) gave by their varied costumes a picturesqueness to the scene and relieved the monotony of the black dress. The opening meeting was presided over by Mr. Rambaud, Minister of Education. The venerable Mr. Schefer, President of the Organising Committee, at the outset welcomed the Orientalists and referred to the work of former Congresses. Mr. Rambaud then followed with an address, calling attention to the part taken by France in Oriental research, and stated, amidst the applause of the numerous company, that it was his intention to ask the Chamber to create Professorships in the Malagasy, Abyssinian, and Sudanese languages.

Many Delegates of Governments and Universities tendered to the Congress the greetings and good wishes of which they were the bearers. Amongst others, Prof. Vambery showed as regards Hungary that, although an Oriental power that came from the East, it had taken up arms in the past in defence of Europe against it, whilst to-day it diffused the ideas and civilization of Europe in the East. Another fact worth noticing was the courteous and impressive eagerness shown by the Italian delegates with regard to France, especially in the speeches that three of them addressed to the Minister representing the French Government. The speeches were principally delivered in French, a few only being in German. The election to offices in the different sections was proceeded with in the afternoon.

The Congress is divided into seven Sections: 1. ARYAN COUNTRIES; 2. THE FAR EAST; 3. MUSSULMAN LANGUAGES; 4. THE SEMITIC SECTION (*Aramaean, Hebrew, Phœnician, Ethiopian, Assyrian*); 5. EGYPT AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES; 6. THE LEVANT, GREECE, RELATIONS OF

HELLENISM WITH THE EAST, BYZANCE; 7. ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLK-LORE OF THE EAST. The introduction into the Congress of a Hellenic section seems regrettable. Hellenism, no doubt, has had intimate relations with the East, but it represents an entirely different kind of civilization.\* Let there be Hellenist Congresses; our own is already overcrowded, and Africa, which we have included as a subject in the Oriental Congress, will soon be obliged to have its distinct Congresses, in proportion as the study of the languages of Central and West Africa develops.

In the Sections, which met for work after the elections of office-holders on the 6th September, we have to record several interesting papers. In the *Semitic Section*, under the presidency of Mr. Guidi, Mr. Lamy read a Report on the progress made during the last four years (1894 to 1897) in the study of Syriac. Reports of a similar nature were to have been read in the other Sections. We must not forget that it was at the London Congress of 1891, that the valuable introduction of these Summaries was made.

In the Section of *Mussulman languages* (President, Mr. de Goeje), Mr. Bevan of Cambridge read an interesting note on the Arabic word *Zindik* (heretic), which the author derives from the Aramæan, and which was, probably, applied formerly to the Manicheans. This raised a discussion, in which Mr. Goldziher and Prof. Montet took part; the latter supporting the conclusions of Mr. Bevan. In this regard, Prof. Montet remarked that Aramæan is the language of Manicheism. Moreover, the Arabic documents, in which the word *Zindik* appears for the first time, corresponds to an epoch when Manichean ideas were propagated.

In the other sections, we note: In the *Aryan Section* (President, Lord Reay for India) a paper of Mr. Oldenberg's entitled "Taine's Essay on Buddhism," which gave rise to an interesting discussion, in which Professors Rhys David, Bühler, Senart and Lord Reay joined.

In the *Far East Section* (President for China and Japan, His Excellency Ching Chang; and President for Indo-China and Malay: Mr. Kern of Leyden), Mr. Aymonier read an interesting paper on the dates of the monuments and reigns, furnished by the inscriptions, and the history of King Yasovarman of Cambodia, the founder of Angkor Thom. Numerous questions were put to the eminent Orientalist. Mr. Marre, in the same Section, gave picturesque details of the Malagasy songs.

In the *Egyptian Section* (President, Mr. Naville), Mr. Basset read a paper on the study of Berber, the same subject on which a paper by him was read at the London Congress, of 1891, and Mr. Erman showed the plan of *Thesaurus verborum aegyptiacorum*, published under the auspices of the German government. This closed the first day's proceedings. The following were appointed Presidents of Sections: *Aryan Section—Iran*: Mr. Hübschmann of Strasburg. *Linguistics*: Mr. de Gubernatis. *Semitic Section—Assyriology*: Mr. Tiele. *Greek-Orient Section*: Mr. Bikelas. *Ethnography and Folk-lore*: Prof. Vambery.

\* Hellenism in an Oriental Congress should, of course, only be confined to Greek influence on the East, as e.g. in Græco-buddhistic sculptures and that of the influence of Oriental languages, religions, philosophies and migrations on Greece.—*Ed.*

The venerable Mr. Ollivier Beauregard presented a gracious welcome, in verse, engraved on a charming tablet, to all the members of the Congress.

*Paris, 7th September.*

On the 7th Mr. Goldziher in the *Mussulman Section* puts forward the proposal regarding the preparation of a Mussulman Encyclopedia. This project is an old one, having already engaged the attention of the late lamented Prof. Robertson Smith, after whose death the scarcely sketched task was taken up by Mr. Goldziher. He proposed to the Congress to take under his supervision the elaboration of such a work, which might be destined to replace the celebrated "Bibliothèque Orientale" by d'Herbelot. A Committee was accordingly formed to examine the question and to report upon it before the close of the Congress. This proposal deserves every encouragement; the great difficulty is in obtaining the necessary collaboration of a large number of scholars. Mr. Barbier de Meynard justly observed that if the Paris Congress succeeded in commencing such a work, no one could then reproach our meeting as having no practical scientific utility.

In the *Aryan Section*, in connection with a paper by Mr. Pullé upon an ancient geographical chart of India, the wish was expressed "that the Congress should request the Geographical Societies of different countries and the India Office to undertake the chronological classification and the publication of maps which at different periods have been made on Oriental countries."

In the *Semitic Section* several papers were read on Southern Arabia and its inscriptions by Messrs. Müller and Glaser. The Rev. P. Parisot submitted an interesting work on Oriental music, and the principle on which it is developed. Mr. Guidi gave a sketch of the study of Amharic in Europe and drew attention to the importance of a revision of the old works on this subject.

In *Assyriology*, the Sumærian question was raised by Mr. Halévy, and, as might have been expected, provoked a discussion, in which Messrs. Haupt, Hommel, Oppert, and Jeremias took part.

In the *Egyptian Section*, Mr. Naville read a paper on the last lines of the stela of Minephtah, relating to the Israelites. The above is some of the work most worthy of interest that was gone through in the meeting of Sept. 7th.

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Now I will enumerate some of the work done at the Sectional Meetings on Sept. 8th: *Aryan Section*: Mr. Waddell read an interesting paper on "The newly excavated Græco-buddhistic sculptures" from the Swat valley (Udyāna). We all remember that at the London Congress in 1891, the same subject gave rise to several important and fascinating reports. Mr. Winternitz also addressed the Section on the Mahābhārata manuscripts in the Wish collection of the Royal Asiatic Society. The above two communications led to an interesting discussion. Mr. Oppert discoursed on the Calendar of Persian inscriptions, and Mr. Meillet gave a summary on

\* First so named by Dr. Leitner, who has some of the finest specimens in his museum at Woking, which were excavated by him on the Swat frontier in 1870.



the Armenian text of the "Vision of Enoch" sent by the Rev. P. Kalemkian. Mr. Kirste discussed *Inversion* in the direction of writing.

*In the Linguistic sub-section*, the Abbé Rousselot, after having dealt with the history of experimental phoneticism, described the registering apparatus which he has invented or perfected, and explained the services that experimental phonetics could render to the study of language.

*In the Far East Section*: Mr. Hirth gave a very interesting lecture upon Chinese painting. Mr. Lemire read a communication of Mr. Petrusky's upon the work that he is preparing on Indo-China past and present.

*Mussulman Section*: Mr. de Goeje read a "study" on Ibn el Mǫǫawir, interesting as bearing on the history of the customs of Western and Southern Arabia. Mr. Machuel presented a paper on Mussulman public instruction in Tunis.

*Semitic Section*: Mr. Hommel addressed the Section on the signification of the expression "to offer expiatory sacrifices (Khatta'at)," in the inscriptions of Southern Arabia. As to Sinaitic inscriptions, Mr. Chabot believes that they are the work of one tribe only, which had remained but a short period in the peninsula. The celebrated traveller Euting gave his opinion of these inscriptions, that they were a kind of hotel register where every visitor inserted his name. He makes this statement with the same "verve" that we find in his book on his journey to Arabia, to which we referred in our last (July) report. The Rev. P. Scheil related a few discoveries made during his mission to the East in 1897.

*In the Ethnographic Section*, Dr. Hamy read a paper on the stone age in Indo-China, and cited facts which confirm the theory of the relationship between the ancient population of Indo-China, and that of the Malay countries.

Many other interesting and valuable papers were read in the other Sections, but in this brief analysis of the Congress we cannot enumerate them all.

9th September.

*In the Mussulman Section*, Prof. Barbier de Meynard read a paper, written with the care and delicacy which characterises this Orientalist, upon "Moslim," the Arab poet of the second century of the Hejira. A very interesting discussion took place in regard to two communications of Messrs. Karabacek and Houdas, on the origin of the Arabic numerals.

*In the Semitic Section*, Mr. Halévy extolled the importance of the Hebrew text, recently discovered, of Ecclesiastes, in regard to the literary history of the Bible. On our part, whilst acknowledging this importance, we believe it is illusive to think that this discovery is of a nature to modify the essential results of biblical criticism. Mr. Th. Reinach summarizes his "study" upon a passage of Flavius Joseph relative to Jesus Christ: Joseph is supposed to have spoken of Christ and a Christian bard is alleged to have interpolated the passage.

*In the Aryan Section*, Messrs. Senart and d'Oldenburg made some interesting communications on the manuscript Kharoshthi of a revision of the Dhammapada. Mr. Carrière showed all the interest that an attentive study of the Armenian Bible would present, of which the translation has been made several times.

In the *Greece-Orient* Section, Mr. Strzygowski read a paper upon the actual state of Byzantine art studies. In this respect, the proposed publication under the title of "Monuments of Byzantine Art" was recommended by the Section to the liberal solicitude of the French Government.

Finally, in the Section *Ethnography and Folklore*, Dr. Hamy read a paper on the Ethnographic relations existing between Asia and America.

In the afternoon of the 9th September, an important General Meeting of the Congress was held, when the new Statutes were voted and when important Resolutions were put forward :

### STATUTES

PASSED DURING THE SITTING OF 9 SEPTEMBER 1897.

1. Congresses should be held once in every three years, but exceptionally, in the event of the convenience or the necessity of the country, which issues the invitation, the interval between two Congresses may be reduced to two, or extended to four, years.
2. Each Congress shall be organised by a Committee composed of the natives of the country in which it is to be held. The Committee will be at liberty to increase or to diminish the number of sections into which the Congress is to be divided; it will fix, as it thinks best, the date of the Meeting, the duration of the session, the order of the work, and all the material details of reception.
3. When the Congress is assembled, a Consultative Committee is to form itself, which must be composed of the presidents and vice-presidents of the Organising Committee, and of a certain number of foreign members chosen by the Organising Committee of the Congress. The Committee will decide on the questions that may be put to the Congress.
4. The Organising Committee has to select one or more languages which shall be the official languages of the Congress, and which will be employed in the issue of the Proceedings. The use of other languages in discussions will be optional, under the responsibility of the president of each section.
5. The president of each section has to maintain order during the sittings, he regulates the sequence of work, fixes the length of the communications, guides or stops the discussions, subject to reference, in case of dispute, to the Consultative Committee.
6. Each Congress has to fix, at a General Meeting, the place where the next Congress should be held; it has to make a choice from amongst those countries which will have made their proposals through the channel of their delegates, or from those that the Consultative Committee may think itself able to designate provisionally. In no case can the Congress be held twice running in the same country.\*
7. After the separation of each Congress, the Organising Committee will

\* This is a repetition of the old Statutes, on the principles of which the new ones are based. This rule excludes any second Congress held, say, in the same country a year after the one held in it the previous year.—ED.

re-assume their general powers, and will retain them up to the day that they will have received the official notification of the constitution of the Committee appointed to prepare the next Congress; after this date, they will only keep the local powers necessary to liquidate the duties of the Congress at which they had presided.

8. If, notwithstanding, a serious complication should arise, of a nature to compromise the very Institution of Congresses, and their perpetuity, this difficulty will be provided for by the convocation of an International Committee formed as follows:

1. Of the Organizing Committee of the last Congress.
2. Of a representative of each country, in which the Congress has already previously held its sittings. For each country this representative will be *de jure* the president, or failing him a vice-president of the last congress which was held there. Failing the survival of the president and vice-president in that country, the Committee will complete itself by the means of co-optation.

To the Committee thus constituted belongs (the duty) of regulating the difficulties and to cause, with the least possible delay, the convocation of a new Congress, which would have to approve of its decision.

#### PRINCIPAL PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY THE CONGRESS DURING THE SAME SITTING (SEPT. 9TH).

##### I.

"The XIth Congress of Orientalists, assembled at Paris, decides the creation of a permanent Committee, having for its mission to take the necessary steps in order to ensure the success of the project for the publication of a Mussulman Encyclopedia, and, especially, to obtain the adhesion of Governments and learned Societies as well as their pecuniary co-operation.

"The permanent Committee of the Mussulman Encyclopedia is composed as follows: Messrs. Barbier de Meynard, member of the Institute, Professor at the College de France, President of the Asiatic Society; Dr. Browne, Lecturer in Persian at the Cambridge University; Goldziher, Professor at the University of Budapest, Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; De Goeje, Professor at the University of Leyden; Guidi, Professor at the University of Rome; Karabacek, Aulic Councillor, Professor at the University of Vienna, Director of the Oriental Institute; Comte C. de Landberg; Baron Rosen, Professor at the University of St. Petersburg; Socin, Professor at the University of Leipzig; Stoppelaar, of the firm of Brill at Leyden.

"The Permanent Committee may add new members to its number by co-operation."

##### II.

The Congress passes a vote of thanks to the Indian Government for the preservation of the Buddhistic monuments of Udyāna, and urges upon it



the necessity of watching travelling collectors and amateurs, who would deteriorate those precious monuments.

### III.

The Congress expresses its desire for the foundation of an "India Exploration Association," having its headquarters in London.

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Most of the Sections terminated their sittings on the 10th Sept. In the *Aryan Section*, Mr. Aymonier renewed his paper on the King Yasovarman, which he had read to the Indo-China Section and which we have already noticed. With regard to this paper Messrs. Fischel, Bühler and Senart showed the importance of the inscriptions discovered in Cambodia, and the new light which they throw upon the character of the Hindus, who did not confine themselves to being dreamers and preachers only as it was for a long time imagined, but were a conquering people. To Buddhism was also attributed the first inspiration of the Indian propaganda abroad: on the contrary, one discovers that the oldest Cambodian inscriptions are Brahminical.

Dr. M. A. Stein, of Lahore, presented to the Congress the 1st volume of his translation, with notes, of the "Chronicles of Kashmir," by Kalhana, which has just been published, with two accompanying maps, indicating in detail the ancient and modern topography of Kashmir and its capital Srinagar.

*The Far East Section.* Mr. Déveria read a paper on "the Manicheans in China." According to the texts which Mr. Déveria quotes, it seems that Manicheism had penetrated into China. This, therefore, accounts for the frequent use of the word "*man*" in these writings, although this term has been interpreted in other ways. Be that as it may, the doctrines professed by these "*manis*" represent a greatly altered Manicheism, or rather a mixture of Manicheism and of Mazdean and Zoroastrian ideas and practices.

*Musulman Section:* Mr. Van Berchem seeks the origin of the ground plan in the form of a cross of the Madrasahs (colleges) of Syria and Palestine; he connected it through the *Qasr Rabbath Ammon* (East of the Jordan) with Persian art.

A long and interesting discussion ensued on the subject, confirming the ideas of Mr. Van Berchem, as to the really Persian origin of the form of the Cross of these Madrasahs, which origin had been hitherto believed to be Greek.

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### CLOSE OF THE CONGRESS.

The meeting of the formal closing of the Congress was held on the morning of Saturday the 11th Sept.

A number of suggestions ("*vœux*") were proposed by the Congress, of which the following are the most important:

1. That an unique system for the transcription of the Chinese language be elaborated.

2. That the French Government takes measures to preserve the invaluable monuments of Indo-China.

3. That the notes left by the eminent and lamented Dillmann be published.

4. That a critical edition of the Talmud be made.

5. That every facility be given to Mr. Erman for the publication of his *Thesaurus of the Egyptian language*.

The place agreed upon for the next Congress is Italy. Note has been taken for future Congresses of the invitations made by the United States and Japan.

#### 11th September.

The Congress was definitely closed by the farewell banquet on the evening of the 11th at the *Hôtel Continental*. About 450 persons attended. Among the replies to the toast of the Congress that by Lord Reay, in the name of England, was the most remarkable from its high-mindedness. It must be noted that this was the sole banquet of the Congress. Receptions were numerous, amongst others, by the Minister of Public Instruction, Prince R. Bonaparte, at the *Hôtel de Ville*, at the *Musée Guimet*, in the *École Coloniale* etc., but these receptions, generally with some music, were simply conversational parties, where the Orientalists and the Parisian notabilities met. In short, the Congress of Paris has been a serious gathering where much work was done and more than 200 papers were prepared or read. I regret that in the notes I have sent daily to your Review, so few of these works could be mentioned, the duties of a Congressist not being always identical with those of a reporter. I can, however, unhesitatingly say, and in this, I believe that I am interpreting the general opinion that a great amount of good and useful work has been done in Paris. The credit of this is due to all the Orientalists present in the capital of France, but, above all, to the organizers of the Congress and more particularly to Messrs. Schefer, Maspero and Cordier.

In conclusion, we express a hope that the next Congress will have a larger number of General Meetings, where general questions can be discussed, or those affecting more than one Section. At the Paris Congress, for instance, speakers, like Mr. Aymonier, had to repeat in two Sections, which it equally concerned, one and the same communication. On the other hand, two different Sections, ("Islam and the Far East,") took up the same subject of Manicheism, (Messrs. Bevan and Déveria). It is a pity that such papers were not communicated at a General Meeting, where they might have tended to elicit further information, or have increased our knowledge of the mysteries of the East. The Congresses of Orientalists are indefinitely capable of improvement; may the next Congress fulfil the wish that we now formulate!

EDOUARD MONTET.

## THE POETS OF THE TAMIL LANDS.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D.

## KAMBAR.

THE first, not by any means the oldest, Tamil poet to be considered is Kambar, the South Indian Virgil. There is a very great amount of literature in the South which is merely translated, with more or less skill and power of adaptation, from the Sanskrit; but these works in general are no more illustrative of real South-Indian thought and feeling than Pope's Homer, Dryden's Virgil, or Gifford's Juvenal are of English ideas. Some Tamil writers, however, have dealt with the mythology and legendary treasures common to all India, just as Browning, Tennyson, Swinburne and Morris have dealt with classical stories. The Tamil poet Kambar has in this way given us the immortal story of Bāma and Sita in an extensive epic, diversified and developed in his own manner, in which the power of the language is exhibited in a way which European poets have scarcely surpassed. When Kambar, who flourished about A.D. eight hundred, presented his great poem to the Cōra king his patron, it was found that every thousandth verse contained a eulogy of the monarch. Now it had been the custom, they said, with courtly bards to introduce the royal name once in every hundred stanzas. The king remarked upon the difference, not without signs of displeasure; but Kambar adroitly replied, "*Others have made your majesty one in a hundred; I have made you one in a thousand.*" It is said that Kambar was walking one evening at sunset on the borders of a tank overlooking the bright green rice-fields, where a labourer, mounted on a *picotta*,\* was in a leisurely way drawing bucket after bucket of water to irrigate the fields below. Now, as he draws the water, the labourer sings out the number of the bucket he is drawing, finishing up with some short fragment of a song. On this occasion it was the 125th bucket, and the last to be drawn for the night, and Kambar heard him sing: *Mūngil-ilai-mūl* = "On leaf of the bambū." "Well," said the poet to himself, "what can be on the leaf of the bambū, the slightest and most feathery of all leaves?" But Kambar knew that when the man began his work next morning he would take up his song where he left it off; so at early dawn the poet was there to listen, and was rewarded by hearing the man commence with: *Tūngum paninir* = "Sleeps the drop of dew." "Ah!" said Kambar, "on the tiny leaf of the bambū sleeps the little drop of dew: he, too, is a poet!" So poetic feeling is not wanting in the Tamil people.

Still, Kambar did not compose much original poetry. He was chiefly a translator and adapter. No absolutely authentic life of him or of any Tamil poet exists, but many of the traditions probably rest upon some foundation.

It seems clear that he was born near the ancient town of Vēṇṇai Nallūr, on the bank of the Kāvēri, and was of the cultivator class.

Among other things regarding Kambar it is said that he translated six

\* An arrangement for irrigating the fields.



only of the Kāṇḍams of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇam, and that the seventh was translated by Oṭṭa-Kūttar, a contemporary and somewhat older poet. It is also said that his son was implicated in some disgraceful affairs connected with the King of the Cōra kingdom, and was impaled; that this so wrought upon the poet's mind that he killed the king's son, and escaped to the south, dying near Ramnad, where he was buried in a sitting position, after the Vaishṇava custom; and that his grave is still to be found there. Tamil scholars should surely investigate thoroughly and set at rest questions of this kind. The time has come for accuracy in facts and dates.

When the student has spent months, and even years, in acquiring the power to read Kambar's great work, as we read Shakespeare, he will be able rightly to estimate its value. To us it appears that it is a magnificent mass of exquisitely elegant versification, not often rising into the regions of pure poetry, and not presenting the ever memorable figures of Rāma, Cītā, and Lakshmana, in quite so vivid a light as the original. It is to *Vālmiki* after all that we turn when we wish to know these great names. It is scarcely possible to select portions of Kambar which are more in value than the best bits of Dryden's translation. He was (it is the utmost we can say) a great artist in words and phrases, and has had a great effect (aided by commentators, and imitators innumerable) on the language, and thought of the Tamil people; but much of his verse is not either clearly understood or valued, it is believed, by any large number of Tamil students. Of the fluency of his versification a proverb in universal use is an evidence; Tamilians everywhere say "*even the fastenings of Kambar's doors uttered poetry!*"

What would any part of India be without the Rāmāyaṇam?

#### AVVAI, THE POETESS.

The greatest Tamil poet is Tiru-Valluvar, of whom much has to be said; but a poetess, called generally Avvai, "The Old Mother," whose real name is unknown, is of great repute wherever Tamil is spoken, and is commonly said to have been a sister of Tiruvalluvar, though much attributed to her clearly belongs to a later period. She composed two school-books, in universal use, in which she has given a series of moral and prudential precepts expressed in elegant and very condensed sentences, each beginning with a different letter of the alphabet. The *Atti-Çūḍi* contains 108 aphorisms full of practical wisdom. Of these Mr. Sugden published a good edition. The *Kondrai-Vēnṭhan* is similar but for bigger children. Besides these, about fifty quatrains of great excellence are, on good grounds, attributed to her. With these writings the European student must begin his study of classical Tamil, and the longer he lives among Tamil people, the more familiar will he become with her phrases. Legends regarding her abound, most of them connected with miracles which she is supposed to have wrought. All ascribe to her a quaint and highly original character. One story about her is amusing. The "wonderful old woman" was sitting one day in the verandah of a small wayside temple, with her feet stretched out straight before her, a position not considered respectful in the presence of a superior. The priest of the temple rushed out with the ques-

tion, "Are you not ashamed to stretch out your feet in the presence of the *Sāmi* (idol or lord)?" To which she replied, "Very true, sir; if you will show me where the *Sāmi* is not, I will stretch out my feet there!"

We cannot give more than one or two of her quatrains. She was asked, it is said, to compose some verses about the four great topics discussed by Hindu authors, "virtue, wealth, pleasure, and heaven;" since Tiru-valluvar had sung his 1,330 couplets on the three former. She replied in a quatrain:—

"Giving is virtue; wealth what's gained eschewing sin;  
And evermore 'tis pleasure when, their hearts at one,  
Two live in love, sustaining and sustain'd. To leave  
All three, heart fix'd on God, is perfect bliss of heaven."

It is by no means certain, however, that these are her lines, though given to her by almost universal tradition. They savour of a later date and of a different school. There is no reason to doubt her authorship of the following:—

"Though worthy men be ruin'd, worthy men are still  
Right worthy men; when worthless men are ruin'd, what  
Are they? If vase of gold be broken, still 'tis gold!  
What is there left, when shatter'd lies the earthen pot?"

One of her works is *Muthurai* (old sayings).

This consists of thirty charming quatrains, and is exceedingly popular. It can hardly be very ancient. The following are from it:—

TREES!

"They that in the forest stand, with forked branch and bough, are not the only TREES. He that stands midst of the assembly, unable to read the scroll presented to him, and who cannot discern its import, is a TREE!"

THE SEA, AND THE BROOKLET.

"The sea is great, but its water is not good even to wash in!  
The little runlet nigh affords sweet water to drink also!"

FRIENDS.

"Those are not FRIENDS who, when you suffer want, withdraw  
like water-birds that straight forsake the tank when'er  
its waters fail; they're friends who faithful stick by you,  
like the water-lilies in that self-same tank."

Another of her works is *nakvari* (the good way).

This consists of forty homely quatrains, and is generally attributed to Avvai.

The following is quite in the style of the "old lady":

"O dwellers on this vast earth! Though ever, from year to year,  
you weep and roll on the ground, will the dead come back?  
Let be! That's our way too. And till we go,  
let us give and enjoy, saying, What's death to us?"

In the *Purra-Nān-nūrru*, or Four Hundred "Lyrics of Life," are preserved thirty-three Songs attributed to this famous poetess; and, though these may not all be genuine, they are for the most part exceedingly beautiful, and harmonise both with her acknowledged writings and with the *Kural*. Though the story that she was the sister of Tiru-Valluvar is so mixed up with legends as to appear altogether unhistorical, it must be told that she had a kindred genius. She is here represented as a wandering

minstrel frequenting the Courts of kings, and obtaining her livelihood from their beneficence. Her chief patron was Athiyamān Neḍumān Añji, whose history is practically unknown. He is represented as being the chief of a district in Mysore, of which the capital was Tagadūr, though this hardly harmonises with the fact that he was the patron of one who was peculiarly a Tamil woman. His ancestors are said to have been very devout worshippers of the gods, from whom they received the gift of the sugar-cane, which was by them introduced into the world. There may be some glimpse of history here, if we can ascertain when this useful plant was first introduced into the South. A poet who celebrated his praises was Paranar, who was thus a contemporary of the poetess. Her first quaint poem in this anthology (No. 87) sounds his praises as a warrior :—

"O foes, shun ye the battlefield !  
A matchless warrior fights for us.  
A workman makes eight chariots in a day ;  
My king is like a chariot wheel that took a month to frame."

The commentator adds that the King's swiftness and irresistible power are thus indicated. In another poem she warns his enemies not to fight till they have seen his prowess in the field. Again she says, that his warriors are like snakes that fear not the thunderbolt, while the sound of the war-drum fills them with eagerness for the fray.

"What," she asks, "can the deer do when they hear the roar of the tiger in the forest on the mountain-side? Can the darkness linger where the sun shines forth? What is hard to the all-enduring bullock that drags the heavily-laden wagon through the mire, crashing its way over impeding stones and through the deep sand? Even so, who can withstand my mighty King?"

The story says that this king found in the almost inaccessible clefts of a mountain rock a fruit of the *Nelli* (*Phyllanthus Emblica*), which had the power to confer immortality upon the eater. This the young king generously gave to her, not disclosing its virtues till she had eaten it. In grateful song she reproaches him for preferring her life to his own. Well, in spite of the ambrosial *Nelli*, they have lain dead both of them these thousand years or more! The king one day praised her voice, and she replied :—

"They make no harmony with the lute, they keep no time,  
They utter no meaning one may guess ; but to the fathers' ear  
The prattle of his children is a grateful sound !  
So is my voice to Thee,  
Destroyer of the strongholds of thy foes !  
O Añji Neḍumān, by reason of thy love."

This reminds one forcibly of Tiru-Valluvar's condensed and most exquisite couplet :—

" 'The pipe is sweet, ' 'the lute is sweet,' by them 'twill be averred,  
Who music of their infants' lisping lips have never heard." (66.)

A number of her songs are concerned with his wars. It seems he had a son born to him, and in her short song commemorating its birth, she tells us that "the eye of the father which on the battlefield glowed with martial fire, glistened more brightly with affection, as on his return he looked upon



his infant son." There are other verses that seem to say that, like others, she found occasionally her dependent and almost mendicant life a burden, and sometimes was in want even.

The following lines are peculiarly her own :—

"O land, be thou well cultured soil, or mountain wild,  
Sink thou in valleys deep, or rise in mountains high ;  
Where worthy men with manly soul are found  
There art Thou good, O land."

Again we are reminded of the Kurral in another little song (188) :—

"Let them heap up their wealth, and eat with many guests.  
Let them have store of riches infinite.  
But, if they have no little ones with pattering feet,  
With little outstretched hands that touch, and grasp, and stroke,  
And mix the rice and ghee, and toss them round,—  
Their days of life are profitless and drear."

Another of her short poems treats of the familiar theme that renown is imperishable. Her friend and patron died, and probably in battle ; she has several verses that refer to this event in a very striking manner :—

"Although the body pass to burning ground  
Where like a log by woodmen left  
It lies as fuel for the funeral pyre ;  
Or tho' he rise to higher spheres of bliss beyond the heavens,  
The praise of Him whose canopy was like the cool-rayed moon,  
Who shone in splendour like the sun, shall never die."

Again :—

"Let change of morn and eve for ever cease,  
And let my days of earthly life be done ! For ah !  
The stone stands there with wreath of flowers and feathers bright.  
Shall He receive libations poured thereon, He wont to give  
To all that ask'd,—and now receives no gift bestowed ?"

To her favourite, King Athiyamān Neḍumān Añji, she addressed many very characteristic verses ; one of these (315) runs as follows :—

"He's great in wealth, knows to enjoy,  
Beyond the liberal men of old he gives,  
Neḍumān Añji, spouse of the simple fair,  
He knows to lie like firesticks hid  
Neath cottage eaves ; in fitting hour appears ;  
Like raging fire he knows his time to blaze."

She seems to have been employed by him on several embassies to neighbouring petty kings, from which we can infer that she was an exceedingly shrewd and clever old lady. On one of these occasions she was asked by the petty chieftain called the Toṇḍaimān if there were warriors in her own country like those he showed her. Her reply was :—

"O King, spouse of the lady bright of eye, with every charm endued,  
you ask me, are there warriors true in yonder land ?  
Warriors there are like snakes that fear not thunderbolts,  
and King, who, when he hears the wind  
urging the boughs against the drums that sound,  
springs up, and hails the summons to the strife." (89.)

As long as "sweet Tamil" lives her songs will be sung, her words of homely wisdom quoted, and the "old mother" revered by young and old.

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 LATED BY MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RETD.)

THIS second instalment of hymns from the Rig Veda contains a selection of those addressed to Agni, the sacrificial fire, with some of the Apri hymns which were addressed to the accessories or concomitants of the sacrifice, such as the sacrificial grass (*barhis*), the divine gates through which the gods were supposed to pass on their way to the sacrifice, the post to which the victim is tied, and the like. It is perhaps unfair to judge of the tone and general character of the whole Rig Veda from this, which is necessarily its most material and least elevated portion. One cannot, however, refrain from thinking how much grace and brightness the Greek, how much depth and majesty the Hebrew, would have infused even into such earthly and visible elements of devotion. Compared with those, or even with the early Babylonian hymns, the Indian productions seem vapid, flat and unpoetical. There is but little trace of lofty feeling in them. The greedy craving for worldly benefits—"give us wealth," "the liberal giver," "thou, rich in gain," "grant us prosperity,"—recurs again and again, and strikes a lower note than we are accustomed to associate with the idea of religion. It may of course be said that we are here in presence of a very primitive form of religion, in which the human mind had not yet risen above the idea of material profits. Nevertheless, the revelation that so much of that highly-revered and widely-celebrated Veda is nothing better than this will strike most European readers with a feeling of disappointment.

It is as well perhaps, if for no other reason than the dissipation of a myth, that the Rig Veda should be translated, but the more it is translated the greater does the wonder grow that so vast a literature should have grown up around it, and that it should have retained its hold upon the Indian mind for so many centuries. The latter fact is undoubtedly due to the circumstance that its real contents were not known to the masses, and are not yet known. The Hindu religion in the present day consists for the learned in philosophical speculations, for the middle classes in ceremonial observances, for the masses in animistic superstitions. All of these, except perhaps the last, are held to be founded upon the Vedas; but by this name is really meant, not the actual hymns of the Rik or either of the other Vedas, but the Upanishads, the Puranas, and a vague traditional idea that everything that is religious must be more or less based upon these hardly known and therefore all the more revered scriptures. Just as the Protestant refers for confirmation of his tenets to the Bible, or the Catholic to



the traditions of the Apostolic See, so every form of belief presented for the acceptance of the Hindu public—even the Brahmo Samaj—must be represented as based upon the Veda. Whether it is so or not is a matter which very few persons either in Europe or India take the trouble to verify by personal examination of the original.

This and similar translations are valuable therefore rather as exposures of an ancient sham than as revelations of anything that is really worth knowing, unless, indeed, it be worth while to confirm by a fresh instance what we pretty well knew already, that the first religious efforts of primitive man were as grovelling as his social arrangements, and that inspiration was needed to lift him to a higher plane. The spectacle of the early Aryan baggling with his god as to how much material blessing he was to have in return for every spoonful of butter thrown on the flame is not an edifying one.

It would be out of place here to enter into a critical discussion as to the correctness of the translation, for which indeed the high reputation for scholarship both of the translator and editor is sufficient guarantee. The language of the Vedas is still not perfectly understood, and there are still many words and phrases which are obscure. But remembering the object of this series of "sacred books," we may fairly ask whether it is not a departure from that object to accompany the translation with notes which very seldom throw any light on the actual meaning of the text, but consist of dissertations on the interpretation of Sanskrit words and sentences. It was announced when this "series" was commenced that it was intended to acquaint the ordinary European public with the real contents of those sacred books concerning which so much mystery prevailed. Clearly, then, the translations were destined for the benefit of those who are not acquainted with Oriental languages, and who have neither the time nor the means of acquiring them. To such readers—and they form a large and intellectual class—there can be no use in notes on knotty points of Sanskrit scholarship and obscure Vedic words. As the Sanskrit text is not printed with the translation, the ordinary reader has no means, even if he understood Sanskrit, of knowing what the notes refer to. It seems as if the professed object of the series had been forgotten, many of the recent volumes being apparently written for, and intelligible by, Sanskrit scholars only. Moreover, it is tantalizing and disappointing to be constantly referred for explanation of difficult passages to works quite beyond the reach of ordinary readers. To refer to such works as Bezzenberger's "*Beiträge*" or Delbrück's "*Altindische Syntax*" may be all very well for scholars, though even for them it is troublesome to have to hunt through half a dozen books for explanations which ought to be given here. But surely it is not expected that the average reader should study this work in a public library surrounded by an army of books of reference, including all the philological journals and reviews published in every corner of Germany. The same objection applies to the bulky index of Vedic words, the proper place for which would be in a critical edition of the text, and which is absolutely useless to the class of readers for whose benefit this valuable series professes to be published. When by unnecessarily large type, unnecessarily thick paper, and many pages of matter out of place, the bulk and cost of these volumes is so much increased, it is not wonderful that

their circulation is not so large as the intrinsic excellence of the work merits. When will English publishers learn that a book costing 18 or 21 shillings, which is at the same time too heavy to be held in the hand, will never attain to a remunerative sale?

Very interesting is the second volume on our list. It contains a selection of the *mantras* or charms contained in that strange book the fourth or Atharva Veda. It is well known that the genuineness of this Veda is disputed by Hindu scholars, and though the arguments in its defence are very strong, it is evident from the very nature of its contents that it must be of later origin than the other three. Its supporters claim that inasmuch as any mistake in reciting the hymns of the Rik or other Vedas or any irregularity in the sacrificial ceremonies would be fraught with the direst consequences, it is necessary to have an Atharva priest at hand to utter spells which may counteract these evils. For a similar reason an Atharva Brahman is necessary as a *purohita* or family priest, because by his charms he can ward off evil and procure prosperity. All these points are discussed with great learning and fulness in the Introduction to the translation.

The belief in the efficacy of spells and charms is as strong in the India of to-day as it was in the earliest times, and in many wild and backward parts of the country, where medical science is unknown, the *mantra* is still the only remedy for diseases of all kinds. The present writer has collected many of those in use in Orissa, and they read like corruptions and amplifications of those of the Atharva Veda, of course with modern additions and allusions to local deities.

The selections in this bulky volume are said to comprise about one-third of the whole Veda, but leaving out of calculation the many repetitions in the original, it may be taken to represent fairly the contents of the whole. The translator has arranged the selections in groups according to the nature of the subjects treated. There are charms to cure diseases, and drive out evil spirits, prayers for long life and health, imprecations against demons, sorcerers, and enchanters, charms relating to women, to kings, to harmony in public assemblies, to secure prosperity in house, business, and kindred matters, expiatory formulæ, imprecations against oppressors of Brahmins, and a few hymns to gods. It will be seen that the list is a comprehensive one, both for public and private interests.

The charms themselves are somewhat tame, and bald as they stand, but it must be remembered that a great portion of their efficiency consists now—and probably always did—in the gestures and ceremonies by which they are accompanied. An important part of the education of the *guniâ* or wizard consists in learning the gestures—*jhâr phânk*, literally "sweeping and blowing"—appropriate to each spell. He waves his hands round and above the patient, close to but never touching the body, and he puffs breath from mouth and nostrils in peculiar ways, uttering the spell slowly and in different tones, now high, now low, accompanied by strange mystic ejaculations as "hum," "hâ," "hoon," and the like. With all these adjuncts even the simplest words acquire an awe and significance which cannot be expressed in a printed text.

The notes, which are perhaps rather too voluminous, explain in many

cases the ceremonies which are to accompany each spell, as laid down by commentators, without which the text would be incomplete and unintelligible. Most of the spells are too long for quotation, but the following short one may be taken as an illustration.

VI. 20. *Charm against takman (fever)* [slightly condensed].

"As if from this fire that burns and flashes fever comes. Let him then too as a babbling drunkard pass away! Let him the impious search out some other person not ourselves! Reverence be to the fever with the burning weapon. Reverence be to Rudra, and to the fever, and to the luminous king Varuna! Reverence to heaven, and to earth, and to the plants! To thee here that burnest through and turnest all bodies yellow, to the red, to the brown, to the fever produced by the forest do I render obeisance."

The commentators explain that before uttering the spell the priest is to give the patient gruel made of roasted grain to drink—this is in the present day the favourite diet in India for fever-patients—and during its recitation to pour the dregs from a copper vessel over his head into a fire kindled from a forest fire. The roasted grain suggests heat, so does the red colour of the copper, and the forest fire being supposed to be caused by lightning has a special connection with the assumed origin of fever.

The love-charms and philtres are, as might be expected, occasionally somewhat too plain-spoken. The following may stand as an example of the better kind:

VI. 139. *Charm to arouse the passionate love of a woman.*

"Clinging to the ground thou didst grow a plant that producest bliss for me, a hundred branches extend from thee, three and thirty grow down from thee. With this plant of a thousand leaves thy heart do I parch. Thy heart shall parch with love of me, and thy mouth likewise. Languish with love for me, with parched mouth pass thy days. Thou that causest affection, kindest love, brown lovely plant draw us together yonder woman and me, our hearts make the same. As the mouth of him that hath not drunk dries up thus languish thou with love for me, with parched mouth pass thy days. As the ichneumon tears the serpent and joins him together again thus O potent plant join together what hath been torn by love."

The commentator explains that the man is to dig up a certain plant with peculiar ceremonies, fasten its white blossoms on his head and recite this spell while entering the village. What the particular plant is seems uncertain, for except in cases where the ancient name has survived till modern times it is exceedingly difficult to identify plants by their Sanskrit names. Even so common a name as *asoka* is applied to five different trees in different parts of India.

Many more extracts might be made, and all would be interesting because of their similarity with customs and superstitions still flourishing in India. Indeed from this point of view the whole book will well repay perusal, and to those who study modern Indian life and customs it is valuable as showing the extreme antiquity, vitality, and consequently deep hold on the popular mind, of these superstitions, grotesque, childish, and even repulsive as so many of them are.



## BUDDHIST LAW.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.,  
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THE phrase "Buddhist Law," if used in jurisprudence, is apt to mislead. The adjectival word points to a system of legal institutions of religious origin, which with the exception of the ecclesiastic canons regulating the monastic orders, is not to be found in the religion of Gaudama Buddha. Indian legislation has however sanctioned the term: the Courts of Burma are required to dispense Buddhist Law to Buddhists; and the Transfer of Property Act, for example, recognizes the rules of Buddhist, as well as Hindu and Muhammadan Law. The Judges of Burma and their Lordships of the Privy Council adopt the term in expounding these rules; while the ready obedience of the Burmese is firmly based on the common opinion which imputes their origin to the founder of their religion: just as the majority of English people accept the prohibited degrees of the Statute of Henry VIII. as being part of "God's law" about marriage. There would now be no advantage in unsettling the legal phrase, but some risk of weakening the sentiment which supports the system and much trouble in finding a better name. I must add too that in several of the native collections of these rules, written on leaves of the palm tree tied together with a string, we find the civil law enforced by the Buddhist theology, explained by the Buddhist equity and lighted up with Buddhist parable and legend, not only in the chapters on marriage and family life, as is natural anywhere, but in matters of property and descent as dry as our own judicial decisions on distribution and dower. The name of these works is Dhammathat, which is the equivalent in the sacred Pali language of Buddhism of the familiar Sanskrit Dharma-shaster or sacred law. Broadly speaking, the arrangement and matter shew them to be recensions of the famous Indian Laws of Manu, more or less varied to suit Buddhist ethics, and in recent centuries much inflated with new matter taken from the holy scriptures of the Buddhist faith. If to these materials we add some statement of antique Burman customs and here and there a ruling of some king or judge of olden time, the result is one of these Dhammathats, a work of authority on this Buddhist law, which technical term may now be defined as meaning the Hindu Law of Manu, modified by Buddhist feeling and interleaved with local customs. We find the like change in the Niti literature or proverbial philosophy of Burma, where the moral maxims found in the Sanskrit Manu of India are trimmed into accordance with Buddhist tenets. But the national vanity of the people keeps these facts in the shade; and they dislike to know or acknowledge the amount they have borrowed from India in law and philosophy, literature, science and art. This debt has however been several times brought to their remembrance by European scholars, whose attention began to be drawn to this obscurest part of learning about a century ago.

To the Church of Rome belongs the honour of first bringing Buddhist law to the notice of Europeans. The Propaganda had under Pope Clement XI. sent Italian missionaries to Ava as long ago as 1720: and these men and their successors in the eventful years that followed, while teaching the natives geography, arithmetic, navigation and other useful arts and sciences, found time to make dictionaries of the native languages and to study native manners and customs. The best known of these clergy is Father Sangermano, a Barnabite missionary who came to Burma in 1783 and dwelt at Ava and Rangoon till 1806 when he left for Italy, where he lived to become President of the Barnabite College at Arpinum, his native city, and died in 1819, leaving in manuscript a Description of the Burmese Empire, which was edited in 1833 by Dr. Tandy and Cardinal Wiseman. In this work is found a translation of a Burmese Code or Dhammathat, called the Golden Rule: the same doubtless as what the priest shewed to Major Michael Symes of H.M. 76th Regiment, who came to Rangoon in 1795 as our Envoy to the King of Burma. Symes reports that Vincentius Sangermano came to pay his respects, and pays high tribute to his talents. "He seemed a very respectable and intelligent man, spoke and wrote the Burmese language fluently, and was held in high estimation by the natives for his exemplary life and inoffensive manners. His congregation consisted of the descendants of former Portuguese colonists, who, though numerous, are in general very poor: they however had erected a neat chapel, and purchased for their pastor a piece of ground a mile from the town, on which a neat comfortable dwelling was built and a garden enclosed. He is indebted for his subsistence to voluntary contributions of his flock: in return for their charity he educates their children, instructs them in the tenets of the Romish faith, and performs mass twice a day at the chapel." We learn elsewhere that the Burmese Governor's wife sometimes attended in full state, and that our Government of India gave the versatile priest a pension for making a chart of the port of Rangoon. Symes learned a great deal from him; and having got him to translate parts of the Burmese Code into Latin was struck by its likeness to the Hindu Manu of which he had a Persian copy. In 1796 Captain Hiram Cox, another Envoy, came to Rangoon: and he takes occasion to sneer at the King of Burma who had in 1795 got some Armenian to make a Burmese translation of Sir William Jones' "Institutes of Manu." Cox says this was a useless labour as in the Burmese Dhammathats, they had the famous Manu already. In 1852 Dr. R. Rost, the late librarian of the India Office, brought one of these codes to the notice of European scholars, and pointed out the resemblance to Hindu Law. About 1878 the Commissioner of Pegu, Colonel Horace Browne, made the work of later scholars much easier by printing in the Burmese character from the palm-leaf manuscripts a number of the principal Pali and Burmese versions. In his preface to the Manu Wonnana he indicates his belief that the origin is Indian: and as after inquiry no trace of such literature could be found in Ceylon, he went on to say that this law must have been received through the Talain nation, adding that the national vanity of the Burmans prevents them from admitting this indebtedness to the conquered race. The inquiry,

so begun and carried on by fits and starts, was at last taken up seriously by a distinguished philologist from the German Switzerland, Dr. Emile Forchhammer, whose early death was due to hard study in the depressing climate of the delta of the River Irrawadi. It was he who lifted these matters out of the mists of surmise and suggestion into the light of evidence and proof. In his report for the year 1879 on Burmese and Pali literature he set forth the view that these codes of law, though developed in Buddhist Burma, had their origin in India. A key was thus supplied for a reasonable understanding of them; and so far Dr. Forchhammer's opinion has been adopted by those few but illustrious scholars in the Universities of Germany and Holland who have given their learned attention to this law. The course of events during the years I was Judicial Commissioner of Burma brought Forchhammer's discoveries and interpretations into the Courts of Law as guides and helps to the Judges: while the increased interest in all learning and the revival of letters that followed the erection of the Educational Syndicate, the great School Board of Burma and its University to be, soon led up to careful editing in the English language of the Dhammathats of most importance, and so the reproach was removed, that only one single translation had been made during the century that has passed since Sangermano's maiden effort, edited as we have seen in 1833. In 1847 the Code of Alompura called the Menu Kyay saw the light in Burmese with an English translation interleaved: and this was the only guide to the local law used by the Courts for above 30 years. It was due to the labour of Dr. Richardson, an Assistant Commissioner, who died of fever in the Amherst District. The work, then unpublished, was carried through the press by Captain Latter, another civil officer, learned in the Burmese language.

When in 1878 I left the duties of a Secretary to Sir Richard Temple at Bombay to hold a Commission from Lord Lytton as Chief Justiciary in Burma, I found that an Act of 1875 required me and all the lower Judges to deal out Buddhist Law to the people of that faith in "questions regarding succession, inheritance, marriage or caste, or any religious usage or institution." I looked naturally for some text-book such as Mayne on Hindu Law or Williams on Property but found none: and the reported decisions were few and curt. The safe rule had been enacted for Burma as for India that the existing customs of the country were to prevail over the religious law, but there was no record of customary law. There were many persons able to tell the stranger about manners and habits and practices, but it was not easy to find out what happened when a *paterfamilias* died, I mean what estates and shares the widow and children took in the real and personal property. I often had the following sort of dialogue with the Native Judges: "Q. What is the custom of your people in the present times about such and such a matter (of inheritance or marriage or divorce)? A. It is such and such. Q. How do you know that such a custom exists? Did you ever hear of an instance? A. No. But I say it is the custom, because it is stated as a rule in the Dhammathat." So my hunt for the common custom of to-day was evaded by the Judge referring me to the written rule of law found in a Code revised a century or two ago. It took



me a long time to see my way, to solve the puzzle. I got at length to believe, what one would readily infer from their ignorance of any instances of custom as opposed to written rule of law, that there was no custom, and that the rule of law was their only standard when the parties were at arm's-length. But while it was the standard, and binding on the Courts much like a Statute, it was little known to the people and less observed. This result is caused as much by the good temper and fair dealing of the people as by the events of history. They are not greedy but ready to compromise, and, in family quarrels more especially, kind and reasonable, ready to give a poor widow or a father with several little children more than the fraction stated in the written law. They have like other Oriental folk deep respect for parents, aged relations and the village elders: so instead of going to law, they used to, and I believe still do, call in some of these to settle disputes. Now as the family needs are unlike in every case, the awards are special and defy uniformity or attempts to make out of them any unvarying rule, like ours about dower, or any widespread customs like those about copyhold or freebench. Conduct like this prevents customs growing up: and it is only correct to say that the Burmans have a practice of getting compromises made, to which the parties give consent, through the conciliation of the relation or neighbour in whom they trust. My impression is that the Burman laity have yet hardly acquired the desire and respect for fixed laws which our old English Barons shewed with such power when endeavours were made, contrary to the custom of England, to legitimate the *ante-natus* by later marriage. Captain Cox writing in 1796 says in plain terms that the Dhammathat was little attended to, every prince framing a new code when he came to the throne and every petty magistrate innovating at will. Sangermano's words are—"All causes and suits should be decided conformably to the Code entitled Dammasat: but gold too often prevails in procuring a contrary sentence." Our Envoy Mr. John Crawford in 1826 says—"Their authority is not appealed to in the Courts; and if they are read, it is only through curiosity." The violence and corruption of the rulers, the frequent wars, the repeal of the code by a new dynasty or king led even at times to a written rule that certain rights should be extinguished when the crown changed; and of course it suited many of these princes to revoke grants and estates made in the old time before them. So grievous a state of things must have left the people to settle their own affairs, and added to the power and value of religion as the cement of society, while creating a pious sentiment in favour of the Dhammathats, because they are on the whole in harmony with the deepest doctrines and feelings of Buddhists, and often set these forth in plain terms, even at the risk of giving offence to savage monarchs whose wicked and cruel behaviour is strikingly contrasted with the rules of duty that flowed from the sacred lips of Gandama. It matters little that the standard of earthly life is seldom read or consulted: this may be said of other standard works: the ignorance does not diminish the reverence. After the British conquests and the downfall of King Theebaw, the cherished religion has been lowered from its established rank, but the people regard with stronger affection such memorials as remain.

Since the days of the Scribes and Pharisees, probably no nation has written of its civil law such enraptured strains as came from the Burmese lawyers in 1872, when a Statute about Wills was in contemplation. Several judges wrote that no new law was needed, the Dhammathat based on the Vinaya or religious law being all-sufficient. "It is very just, very subtle, very good and very clear, a second sun to this world. Where is there a Buddhist who can renounce it?" The Buddhist equity, like our own, favours equality: and they resented unlimited testamentary power, and insisted on equal division of inheritance. I cite *verbatim* the argument of the Judge of Papoon—"1. What the Buddhists believe in is the Pitagat and the rules in the Dhammathat made in accordance therewith. 2. According to the religious opinions of the Buddhists, man and every creature and thing is ephemeral. 3. So when a man dies, his property should be disposed of not by the terms of his will, but according to the Dhammathat, among blood-relations." We are used to emotion about religion and virtue: and Bishop Bigandet tells us that in speaking with fervour and love of the gospel of Buddha, the Burmans are often melted to tears. The fact of this emotion finding food in rules about bequests and devises is significant, if strange; and amply justifies our own prudent policy of leaving these Dhammathats intact as the law about property and status, in spite of the fact that the Burmese are usually ignorant of what they admire so much. In Christendom one finds that Catullus and Plautus are more studied than Leviticus and Deuteronomy: and perhaps we ought not to be surprised at the ignorance even of the Burman Judges of the legal rules, however much they praise these collections as religious classics. But as the controlling Judge whose *dicta* even became precedents I found the variety of opinions extremely troublesome. In the Law Reports there is one leading case which illustrates much of what I have said above. The facts were the commonest and simplest in the life of man. A man died, leaving a widow and children. The question was how to divide the estate. The decision was to rule thousands of such cases as they arose; and to help me in so solemn an appeal I called in four native gentlemen of judicial experience as Assessors, but their opinions differed. One said the children took a fourth share amongst them: another that the eldest son took this fourth himself alone, while the third Judge wished the widow to keep all. One told me he had never disposed of such a case: another that he had, but only once, while the third venerable lawyer on being asked the meaning of the texts compared himself to a man waking in a dream of antique time. As my experience enlarged, I found that what such persons averred to be customs had no support in instances or the facts of life, but were merely their own opinions about the meaning of particular texts, the same or similar to those which in the Hindu commentators are cited from Yajñavalkya and other sages. I resolved therefore to let customs and opinions alone, and try to ascertain the exact and full meaning of the Dhammathats, the admitted and only standard measures of civil right and wrong, in such matters as Buddhist Law governs. This endeavour was made easier by Dr. Forchhammer who helped with his stores of historical and linguistic learning; and the chief

credit of what success was achieved is justly due to him. The years 1882 to 1884 saw a variety of works on history, archeology, and law issue from the Government Press at Rangoon. This literature was stimulated by some sceptics who thought the Recorder of Rangoon was wrong in the meaning he placed on a mysterious sentence found in one of the Buddhist codes, which that learned Judge took as requiring him to pass a decree of divorce against a faultless husband or wife, at the mere wish or caprice of the other married partner, at any moment the decree might be claimed and without assigning any cause except mere wish or caprice. The text gave some appearance of plausibility in cases "where their destinies are not cast together"; but as our Courts use no judicial astrologers, and have no means of consulting the Fates, these puzzling words were taken to include the case of a husband or wife getting tired of a blameless mate, and so the bond of wedlock was made as brittle as glass by the action of the Court. The sceptics averred that an interpretation which placed marriage at the mercy of caprice, was quite at variance with the whole high morality of the Buddhist teaching; and they quoted many legal texts, which in the plainest Burmese and Pali words forbade husbands and wives to desert each other, except for certain grave faults and misbehaviours, contained in a list which in every important detail resembles those found in the ancient law books of India. They urged that any reasonable school of interpretation must therefore make ample research in the Indian Sanskrit texts. The sceptics were not however allowed to have their own way. European and Burmese lawyers and laymen took the matter up in the press: and while ignoring the Recorder's reasons which were confined to interpretation of the one text, they asserted that his decrees were justified by what they called a custom. A later inquiry showed, however, that no such custom of the country was known, but that in some parts the practice of the Recorder's Court had created a feeling unfavourable to the moral and contractual view of matrimony, the view that where all society is so seriously affected by the fate of the children, neither party to the solemn bond should in bad faith or caprice be allowed to break it, in spite of the outcry of the other. In the course of years the doctrine of the Recorder was over-ruled by a superior Bench, and the views of the sceptics were affirmed as sound law. They were those shared by Dr. Forchhammer who used his cool learning in the heat of the dispute. It was then he began to startle the ignorant world of Burma with the story of the Hindu colonists who fleeing from the persecution of Buddhism in Southern India came to the coasts of Burma and brought with them as their birthright some version of the famous Manu Shaster, a law which in after times was accepted by the Talain kings, and later still taken from these by the Burman Emperors to be the chief rule of life among all their subjects; although as always happens some common habits and superstitions secured recognition, and of course Buddhism gave its own complexion to the law. The text about destinies in the code of the Emperor Alompra is a case in point, and will always now be extremely interesting to jurists in assigning its proper place to judge-made law. Forchhammer gives its literal translation thus: "If the stars or the influence of his former deeds be unpropitious to



him." The mention in the Buddhist Emperor's edict of the constellations as causes of disaster is because of the hardness of the people's hearts, for although astrology has always been practised in Burma, it is a trade left to Brahmans, and forbidden to the Buddhist priesthood. Gaudama himself classed it with palmistry and magic among lying practices. But *karma* or the influence of former deeds is one of the deep things of Buddhism; while the allusion to it in the text is not to be understood except by scholars of the Forchhammer type; hence, doubtless, no Burman ever unveiled it to the Recorder, nor would its meaning readily appear to a Judge like myself, freshly brought to a Buddhist country after years spent among Brahman institutions. I must now quote Forchhammer's own words, explaining his view that the text which had given mere caprice a *locus standi* in the Rangoon Court applied only, exactly as in Hindu Law, when some special evil act had been done by the husband or wife. In such matters the Judges have often to lean upon the scholars. Forchhammer says—"What the sins are that admit of divorce is plain from the Dhammathats. A woman will not be made to pine for Kotis of years because she prides herself upon her wealth, beauty or relations, or because she loves food, comfort or sight-seeing: the Dhammathat forbids divorce or separation. But a man may put away a woman and take all the property, who without regard to the credit of her family and without the knowledge of her husband steals and conceals his property. In this instance she is not only punished for licentious conduct and theft, but because she has deprived her husband of the means to earn merit accruing from charity." It is not mere vanity or laziness or ill-temper which thwart the pious Buddhist husband, in his anxiety to reach the golden city of Nirvana by means of a *karma* balanced in his favour and bringing transmigration of his soul to an end at last. A wife or husband with these little failings may be cured: at all events such a house-mate must be endured. But the pious Buddhist may lawfully urge to the Recorder his plaint as follows:

"Heresy, murder, adultery on the part of a wife hamper a husband in making his calling and election sure. I complain of one of these crimes, and as our *karman* or ultimate destinies are in collision, I seek to prove the crime and to claim a divorce therefor." In passing we are tempted to compare the earlier judicial opinion with that misinterpretation of a Sanskrit text in India which for centuries was used as authority for the burning of widows. But our Dhammathat text bristles with the threefold cord of difficulty which in many other places still requires much unraveling by scholars and judges. Local custom, often antique but lingering among wild tribes like the Chins, the civil rule of Hindu Sanskrit law, and the morality and equity of Buddhist thought, combine to make up a peculiar amalgam. Something has however been done to help the scholar. Dr. Forchhammer printed and translated from a palm-leaf manuscript dated A.D. 1707 the code of King Wagaru of Martaban, whose reign began about A.D. 1280: the manuscript is itself a translation by the Talain jurist Buddhaghosa into Burmese from the Talain language. It is a law-book of the modern type. The rules of civil law are given; and though Buddhism is assumed as true, the reasons for the rules are rather those of

equity and policy than religious. The codes of later centuries bring in religious reasons out of the Buddhist scriptures; and we find that Alompra's Law Commissioners sitting about the year when our George the Third began his long reign, had no scruple in importing long extracts, e.g. the characters of the seven kinds of wives, namely, those like an executioner, a thief, a ruler, a mother, a sister, a friend and a slave. These are taken from the sacred canon out of the dying discourse of Yasodhara, the wife of Gaudama. In another code, dated A.D. 1832, the Hindu Manu, the sage from whom the civil law proceeded, is left out altogether, and his place is boldly assigned to Gaudama Buddha. Large parts of some of these codes have been edited in English by Forchhammer and myself in the eight tracts called *Notes on Buddhist Law*, issued by the Judicial Commissioner, where we cite the corresponding Hindu texts and explain obscure points. The only full account of the origins and the changes in this system of law is however Dr. Forchhammer's *Jardine Prize Essay*, which I think is his greatest work. In the preface by Bishop Bigandet, it is praised as done by a masterly hand: and that learned prelate was himself convinced that these Burmese laws are based upon more ancient records imported from Southern India. But a slight study shows how greatly the legal view of persons and things is changed by the influence of Buddhism. The sacramental ideas of Hinduism have disappeared: and so has the religious duty of begetting a son. For the same reasons as among the Jains, the succession does not follow any duty about performing the funeral, or offering the funeral cake. In King Wagaru's code there is no mention of Brahma or the Vedas or the sacerdotal class and its rites and privileges. In the Emperor Alompra's code a story is told about Gaudama Buddha being in one of his lives a miserable scavenger and yet a successful wooer of some grand lady. This illustrates the maxim of the Buddhist compilers that "all men whatever, even of the most degraded class, are worthy to be raised to rank and station if their habits are good." The teaching is like that of Chaucer in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, where she cites Seneca, Boethius and Dante to prove that virtue and not ancestry makes the gentleman. In Burma the equity which loves equality and dislikes primogeniture, which protects marriage and in matters of property awards great privileges to women, is due to strong moral notions, the offspring of Buddha's life and teaching. This phase of human nature is finely portrayed by Bishop Bigandet. "The comprehensiveness of Buddhism, its tendency to bring all men to the same level and allow of no difference between man and man but that which is established by superiority in virtue, its expansive properties, all those striking characteristics have mightily worked in elevating the character of the woman and raising it to a level with that of man. Who could think of looking on a woman as a somewhat inferior being, when we see her ranking, according to the degrees of her spiritual attainments, among the perfect and foremost followers of Buddha? Hence in those countries where Buddhism has struck a deep root and exercised a great influence over the manners of nations, the condition of the woman has been much improved and placed on a footing

far superior to what she occupies in those countries where that religious system is not the prevalent one or where it has not formed or considerably influenced the customs and habits of the people." Again "Buddha opened the door of his society to all men, without any distinction or exemption, implicitly pulling down the barriers raised by the prejudices of caste. Did he in the beginning of his public career lay down the plan of destroying all vestiges of caste and proclaiming the principle of equality amongst men? It is, to say the least, very doubtful. The equalizing principle itself was never mentioned in his discourses. But he had sown all the elements constitutive of that principle in his discourses." Thus the pious jurists of Martaban and Ava came under the sway of a moral philosophy, as did the Prætors in Rome; and thus the refined and gentle principles we have mentioned are found in the edicts of warriors and despots. The law of Burma can no longer be understood without regard to Buddhist ethics. They are in as close touch with it as the Roman Law was with the Stoic philosophy and the law of nature during the reigns of the Antonine Cæsars. I may venture also on another analogy for the guidance of the jurisconsults of Burma. The Judges there must feel the same perplexity as weighed on me when I encountered, not alone long passages from the sacred Buddhist canon which is a living force, but also archaic rules of Hindu law, long ago dead in India, such as the right of an eldest son to a bull, and arbitrary rules about the castes of India which could only have been tolerated in the Brahman colonies which once flourished centuries ago on the coasts of the Golden Chersonese. I account for these by suggesting that the phrase *Ita scriptum est* appealed strongly to the Burman law-makers. Take an instance well-known to the law of England. We find Bracton in the time of Henry III. palming off as pure English law a treatise of which at least one-third part is taken directly from the Corpus Juris. All legal history proclaims the danger of laying down the meaning of a very ancient law without learned acquaintance with the several ancient sources and the divers tributaries which, as Time rolls along, have mingled with the stream. The chief service which a review of Buddhist Law can do to aid the practical work of the Courts of Justice is to warn the profession against the construction of a text piecemeal, ignoring the general tenor, and against the ignorant views of charlatans who have never even started on the straight and narrow road which Emile Forchhammer travelled and lighted up as he marched along. It is an abuse of language to speak of customs of which no instance is known; and the vicious results of the unguarded dogmatism about the law of marriage discussed in this article ought like a warning beacon, to lead those who steer the ship of law through the rocks ahead to hoist the lamps of learning without delay.



## TWO RETROSPECTS OF EGYPT.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I.

I.—IN A.D. 1672-3: OR A CENTURY AND A HALF AFTER THE  
OTTOMAN CONQUEST.

WHEN we look at Egypt of the present day, and take into account the character of her mixed population; her foreign residents and tourists; her revenue officers and police; her tribunals of justice and administrative *bureaux*; her ancient monuments and modern associations to preserve and interpret them; her *bazars* and hotels—last, not least, her armies under capable leaders—and reflect on what she was a few generations ago, when her current history was as nothing to her Past—it should surely need more than the bark of discontent and jealousy to prevent us from expressing satisfaction (and, let us add, thankfulness and hopefulness) at the change effected. Even during the past generation or two, or within the memory of many now living, remarkable instances of misrule and oppression on the part of Turkish or Egyptian Pashas might be cited, and the existence of other evils shown, to prove the want of that broom of civilization which has lately been in operation, and is still in operation under British superintendence. It is now proposed to make two brief retrospects of Egypt as presented to us during the last two hundred and twenty-five years, one supplied by a little known report, or guide-book printed in 1678, the other by the unpublished manuscript of an English traveller who landed at Alexandria about the close of 1818, when the government of the country was exercised by the universally known Muhammad Ali.

Selim I., it will be remembered, though a Sultan with a short reign, was a conqueror of the old Muslim type, cruel, vindictive, and ambitious. Not the least brilliant of his triumphs was that which he achieved over the Mamluks of Egypt, to whom he showed himself a hard and relentless enemy. These same Mamluks had been rulers of the land for nearly six centuries and, notwithstanding that they were slaves and descendants of slaves, had earned for themselves the distinguished title of "the military aristocracy of the East." To have broken and subjected their power, after defeating the troops of Ismail, the Sufi Shah of Persia, was, indeed, a notable feat of arms, and one which established for Selim a reputation such as attained by few of his predecessors or successors at Constantinople. Had he not been a blood-stained and unscrupulous tyrant as well as a great military leader, his memory might have deserved that high regard in Egypt which it secured on the banks of the Bosphorus. In any case, credit must be assigned to him not only for keen political appreciation and foresight, but for a refined literary taste, which, if cultivated, might have soared beyond the restricted range of its actual exercise, viz: the domain

of the Persian Ghazal. His assumption of the Khalāfat was a bold and able stroke, the outcome of which, while far from conclusive in legality, is likely to remain undisturbed so long as backed by a sufficient force to command the consent of the faithful in Islam and, less directly, by the existence of divisions in Europe.

A hundred and fifty odd years after the Turkish conquest of Egypt, we come upon something akin to the Murray and Baedeker of the present day—a sort of European guide-book to the Land of the Pharaohs. The one now before us\* is curious enough to be interesting in spite of its crudity. It explains how its compiler, Dr. Vansleb, or Father Vanslebius—called by M. Gabriel Charmes “*curé de Fontainebleau*”—started from Marseilles in May 1671 with the intention of visiting or, as it appears, re-visiting Egypt, but, owing to sickness and diversions of route to Cyprus and Syria, did not effect his purpose until landing at Damietta in February 1672. At the time of his arrival the governing Pasha was Ibrahim, sixty-sixth in succession from Shir Bey, Selim’s own nominee and first in order of the Imperial Turkish rulers. Of the whole number, the average period of government exercised by each individual Pasha appears to have been little more than two years. Twenty-five are described as having been “cashiered”; thirteen “discharged”; and three “put out”—an expression which we do not attempt to interpret; there is mention also of a “removal,” a “murder,” and a “sudden death.” But the statement, whatever value it may have had in making local history, is manifestly imperfect and inaccurate in detail. Besides the Pasha, there was the “Sanjak Bey,” or provincial governor, of whom there were sixteen in Dr. Vansleb’s time, all acknowledging, or supposed to acknowledge, the paramount authority at Cairo.

The Turks, according to our somewhat mediæval “Guide-Book,” did in those days “govern the country, defend it, and act in all offices of state.” On the other hand, the “Copties” are called its “natural inhabitants,” and the rest of the population is included under “Moors, Arabians, Greeks, Jews, and Franks,” with “other strange nations,” which “as they are not numerous, deserve not to be mentioned.” In giving a character to the Egyptians generally, our author is not complimentary. He writes:—

“Their ordinary Vices are Idleness and Cowardise, which is so natural to them, that they are all toucht with them, whether they be *Mores* or *Copties*: Their ordinary employment every day is to smoak *Tobacco*, and drink *Coffee*, to sleep, or lye in a place idle, or sit talking together. They are very ignorant in all manner of Sciences and Knowledges; they are very proud and vain-glorious; and though they all know that they have lost their Nobility, their Country, all knowledge and exercise of Arms, their Language, their chief Books, and public Histories, and that instead of a famous and vallant Nation that they were heretofore, they are become meer slaves, an odious and a contemptible people; nevertheless they are so proud, as to think that they have need of nothing. They are displeased when we *Franks* advise them to send their Children into our Country to learn the Arts

\* The Present State of Egypt; or a new Relation of a late voyage into that kingdom. Performed in the years 1672 and 1673, by F. Vansleb, B.D. wherein you have an exact and true account of many rare and wonderful particulars of that ancient kingdom. Eng-lished by M. D., B.D. (London: printed by R. E. for John Starkey, at the Miter in Fleet Street, near Temple-Bar. 1678.)

and Sciences, and to understand how we live and behave ourselves. The common people are Thieves, Lyars, treacherous, and so greedy of gain, that for the love of a *Maidin* they would kill their own Fathers. They are very negligent of their business, and changeable, troublesome in discourse, so unconstant in their promises, that there is no heed to be taken of their words, nor of their Oaths. In a word, they are very proper to be employed in all evil actions; my Conversation with men of that Nation of all sorts, hath caused me to discover them to the bottom. The Women of the Country are usually of a low stature, of a brown Complexion, all their Beauty consists in a lively eye; their discourses are troublesome, and their cloathing is not handsom. The Wives of the better sort, brought from all parts of *Turkie*, are better bred, and more pleasing in all respects."

The condition of the Copts, under their Muslim conquerors, was far from enviable. Father Vansleb, who professed to be on the most friendly terms with their Patriarch, could not prevail upon that dignitary to come and dine at his quarters. His refusal was explained by his complaint that whereas all the "Patriarchs of the other Sects had the liberty to go about the Town, without fear of being disturb'd by any, to visit whom they pleas'd, and to travel whither they listed," he only was so "narrowly observed by the *Turks*, that he could not so much as go out of his house, nor talk with any of other Nations openly." Personal testimony is further given to the effect that the Copts were a long-suffering and much-afflicted people, possessing no leader whose guidance could be relied on, and no advocate whose influence or eloquence could be of any real avail on their behalf. "All that were rich and wealthy," we are told, "are destroyed by the cruelty of the *Mahometans*: therefore the rest are now looked upon as the scum of the World, and worse than the *Jews*. The *Turks* abuse them at their pleasure; "they shut up their Churches, and the doors of their houses . . . upon light occasions, altogether unjust, to draw from them some sums of Money." One recorded instance of the tyranny practised shows that when certain Janissaries had cut the throat of a prostitute, and thrown her body into the Ezbekia lake, the doors of all Coptic houses in the vicinity were nailed up, and a fine of 2,000 piastres exacted from their owners before they could be re-opened. As for the ruling Pasha, Ibrahim, he had made himself more hateful than his predecessors by levying a uniform high tribute on the Christian population, contrary to the theretofore prevailing system, based upon the circumstances of the taxed persons. Elsewhere, in the little volume under notice, we have incidentally more particulars of this Pasha, who can hardly be charged with injustice to the Copts on the simple ground of religious fanaticism. The "sort of man" that he was, may be inferred from the statement that besides being cashiered by his master, the Sultan, he was excommunicated by the Muftis representing the four chief sects of Muhammadanism. Sentence to this effect was pronounced upon him, "because he offered to take away some of the Gifts and Rents, belonging to the *Mosques* of Cairo; and by that means they hindered him from executing his sacrilegious design."

We have no space to quote freely the many adventures of Father Vansleb in the course of his Egyptian experiences. It is quite clear that some of these would be impossible of occurrence under the régime now instituted. A glance at two or three of the instances given may suffice to mark the contrast between the periods.



On his first arrival at Damietta, our traveller was detained in the neighbourhood of that place, because the vessel in which he had sailed thither was laden with wine for the Consul and French merchants of Cairo, and the Pasha's permit was requisite to warrant the landing of the forbidden liquor. Having been placed during the voyage under certain unspecified obligations to the Consul's servant (a fellow-passenger), and out of respect for the Consul's nationality, Vansleb had volunteered to act as interpreter to the former, and only considered himself relieved from his self-imposed functions when the wine had been transferred to two river-boats, in charge of a Janissary, for conveyance to Boulak. By old-established practice, every Frank landing at Boulak, had to pay a fee of one crown at the Custom-House.

Some days later, when proceeding from Cairo in an ordinary Nile-boat, to visit the desert monasteries of St. Macarius, he had hired a little boat in which to deposit his clothes and provisions on occasions of disembarkation. Into this he relates that, one day, three Turks "cast themselves furiously," taking his box with intent to throw it into the river. Naturally indignant at this procedure, he writes:—"I snatch'd it from them, and ran to my Musquet as if I intended to shoot at them: my *Blacka-moor* likewise, who was courageous, took one by the Neck, and cast him into the River, and with his sword in his hand put himself in a posture of defence. When," he adds, "they saw that they had to do with Men of courage that were not afraid of them, they went back into the Barque, and assaulted the *Ra'is* with their Fists; besides they accus'd him, as he himself told me afterwards, at his return to *Cairo*, before his *Aga*, to have drunk Wine with a *Franc*, making him pay, as a punishment, ten *Piastres*."

The box of which mention is above made, was, avowedly, one containing wine, and was destined to bring trouble upon its owner. After leaving the river bank, the Arab who carried it, taking into his head that it enclosed a money treasure, imparted his suspicions to as many of his fellows as were within call. That a wealthy Frank was carrying about his riches to an out of the way spot was soon accepted as fact; the stranger was further invested with the Consular dignity, and declared to be travelling *incognito*. It so chanced that the party put up for the night in a Coptic village, where the state of things was made known to the intended victim, who appealed to the *Kashif*, or local authority, for a guard to escort him to the monasteries. For more effectual persuasions, this worthy was presented with some "pounds of coffee and loaves of sugar." The result is thus described: "The *Cascief* having heard what report went of me, answer'd me that a small Guard would do me but little good, because the *Arabians* had formed a design to wait for me in the way, and to cut my Throat, and that it was needful that he should Guard me himself; which he promis'd to do within a few days, after that he had finish'd some business of importance." Denial of Consulship was of no avail, and a letter addressed to the Abbot of a monastery having met with no reply, Father Vansleb resolved upon returning to Cairo as soon as possible, without further official aid, or even the knowledge of his quasi protector. As it happened, his purpose was effected sooner than anticipated; for

during the night he was startled by a visit from the Kashif's servant, who informed him that his master meant to murder him for his money, and he could only save his life by immediate and secret departure. His advice was taken : a night escape from the village ensued, and at dawn the traveller had embarked in a strange boat. We then read :

"As soon as we were launch'd into the River from Land, I saw the *Cascif* gallopping towards us with about thirty Men on Horseback to catch me ; but he miss'd of his intent, for I was out of his reach."

Headed "a Journey to the City of Fium," and "a Voyage to the Monastery of St. Anthony the Great" respectively, are two chapters which are not only interesting in the abstract narrative, but also in the occasional lights thrown upon the research of the present day. But we must take leave of the adventurous Father, in whose memory it is only fair to repeat the following estimate of his English translator : "The Author is well known to be a Man of Integrity, and one that scorns to impose upon the World an untruth ; of which, in this occasion, nothing can tempt him to be guilty."

## II.—IN A.D. 1818 : OR THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

We now come to the early part of the century in which we live ; the time when Muhammad (or, as his name is affectedly pronounced by the Turks, Mehmet) Ali was governing Egypt, as Pasha of the Province. In 1818—some seven years after the terrible slaughter of the *Mamluks*—this exceptionally powerful chief had nearly accomplished the suppression of the *Wahdbis*, together with the recovery of the holy cities. But he had in contemplation greater gains than these. Backed by a local army, trained and officered by Europeans on a European model, he was straining every nerve to give to the valley of the Nile that importance among territories which a patient vassalage would render impossible of attainment. History has recorded how far he succeeded. Apart from History, it will doubtless be conceded that his *role* was a remarkable one, and that the region in which it was enacted has become one of high political significance to the whole civilized world. In the following extracts from the unpublished and incomplete manuscript of an English traveller, long since deceased, some new light may be thrown on the place and period which will have its interest for many readers :

"I was residing at Milan in the year 1818, when some of the young Egyptians sent by the Pasha to learn mechanics were studying there. Knowing something of Arabic, I formed their acquaintance, and sought by association with them to improve myself in the language. I had a hankering for the East, as for a new world ; and not having, at that time, much reason to be in love with the old, I resolved to carry my plan into execution at as early a date as practicable. On the 20th November, I started for Genoa in a *vetturino*, in company with an Egyptian Effendi, who was agent for the Pasha at that port, Signor Z—— and a Capitano F——, both of whom turned out, as I had anticipated on our first introduction at Milan, soldiers of fortune. I do not disown that I was also, to a great extent, in the same category. Having always had the idea that

the Arabs, and more especially the negroes, might be disciplined, as they have since been, my principal object was to endeavour to persuade the Pasha to let me attempt it. There was an advantage, moreover, in having the assistance of two Europeans, and especially of F—— who was really a man of considerable ability, and, above all, a perfect linguist. Letters of introduction to Muhammad Ali and his Ministers, Mr. Salt, and other European Consuls, made me further confident of success. On arrival at Genoa, my first object was to provide myself and companions with a ship. We fortunately fell in with a superb one built in the Gulf, of Adriatic oak, commanded by Captain K—— and bearing the Austrian flag. I paid for a cabin, for three of us, 40 Spanish dollars, with a dollar a day for each person's board, during the voyage. Shortly before we set sail, two additional travellers made their appearance. My mother, who was residing at Milan, had induced an Englishman, Captain B—— of the Dragoons, to join me in the proposed expedition. Had her beating up for recruits ended here, I should have had no reason to regret the procedure, but with a less happy discrimination she also forwarded to me a certain Colonel M——, one of Napoleon's ancient Mamelukes and *Chevalier de plusieurs ordres*, who was to be provided for at Captain B.'s expense as far as Alexandria, from which place he was to be recognised as 'Dragoman.'

"On the 1st December, our vessel got under weigh, and on the 3rd we were off the Southern end of Sardinia. Here we were buffeted about by contrary winds till the 9th id: when a favourable breeze brought us, in the course of the night, off Palermo. Continuing our voyage along the coast of Sicily during the day of the 8th, on the evening of the 9th we made Cape Solyman the most Western end of Candia.\* From this time till arrival at Alexandria on the eve of the 24th, we had constant stormy weather, and were in some danger from *trombas*, or water spouts, of which we saw four on one morning only. These are not uncommon in the Mediterranean and Adriatic, and each petty coast district has its particular charm, to avert their ill effects. Our captain, a Brazzaman, when he saw one approaching—as it once did within forty or fifty yards from our stern—fell on his knees and began to recite the first verse in St. John's Gospel backwards. On my remarking, afterwards, to the mate how strange this conduct appeared, the latter exclaimed: 'You are perfectly right; he ought to have made the sign of Solomon's seal!' I thought the pair fit companions in their respective official capacities.

"On the morning of the 24th we came in sight of two white specks, the first of which proved to be Pompey's pillar, and the second the Pasha's new palace. In the evening we made the port with considerable difficulty. It was here I had the first opportunity of utilising my knowledge of Arabic. One of the Pasha's *kavasses* came on board with a pilot and half a dozen attendant ragamuffins. The pilot spoke *lingua Franca*, but the *kavass* Turkish and some little Arabic only. To our first question, 'e la peste, c'è o no?' the pilot's reply was 'tu' sta ben,' after which he relapsed into silence. The *kavass* was more communicative, and told me that though

\* Probably Cape Salmone East of Crete.



the plague was not raging, three or four suspicious cases had occurred a day or two before. It was so late when we were fairly moored within the port, that we did not go on shore until the next morning. It was fortunate for us, however, that we got in when we did; for two vessels which had remained outside were lost in the course of the night, and a Maltese brig, which was only three or four hours astern of us, was obliged to beat up towards Cyprus, and only made the harbour in which we had safely anchored five days later."

Alexandria is now so well known to travelled Englishmen from personal experience, and to the untravelled from frequent book descriptions, that the following account of a visit to the maritime capital of Muhammad Ali, will be intelligible without the aid of any elaborate background of scenery. The writer's early impressions of Egyptian manners and customs will, however, give gratifying evidence that the spread of European influence in the land of the Pharaohs has, to a great extent, in recent years, notwithstanding the strife of European nations, been healthy and prosperous:—

"At the gate of the town, sat the porter with his pipe in his mouth: he asked for a small *bakhshish* to allow our luggage to pass. We continued our route through lanes full of mud and filth till we came to a small square in which was the Governor's house. It happened to be the time of day when the band saluted this great personage. About a dozen men, squatted down on the ground, were making the most abominable noises on purely national instruments, without throwing out the least *souffron* of melody, though we waited in expectation of such result for about a quarter of an hour. Passing several pipe-stalls, which appear to be as common in this country as those of cobblers are in Europe, and requiring about the same amount of capital to begin business, the next object which specially attracted our attention was a man at the corner of a street, praying over some forty ducks and fowls with a quasi-parental affection. The next moment he began cutting off their heads, one by one, depositing the mutilated birds on the ground in separate lots. It was explained to us that this man was a licensed killer, of whom there were several in every city; and as it is considered sinful for a true Muslim to spill the blood of domesticated animals, the Mufti grants to certain persons a diploma of dispensation on the plea of necessity: for it seems to be argued that so long as the human race has a predilection for poultry, fowls and ducks will come to their end legally or illegally."

Here is a description of the mid-day *table d'hôte* of the inn at which our travellers alighted:—"Our dinner consisted of immense lumps of stewed and roasted beef and mutton, poultry in abundance as well as vegetables, but all badly cooked and of a wholesale character. The dining party consisted of about 24. Much of the conversation, which was in Italian, turned upon the heavy storm then raging; and the general drift of it proved that I had fallen into a den of vagabonds—men without visible means of subsistence. Ostensibly, all officers expatriated for political opinions, necessity had driven a great number to the profession of wreckers. Though I could not but pity their fate, I soon made up my mind to deliver my letters to the Pasha, who chanced to be residing at his

new palace, and get free from such a hot-bed of questionable associations. My intention was to push on to Cairo, trusting that it would present a better specimen of Egyptian civilization than a city subject to the evil influences of a large sea-port in the Levant. Rising from the table, accordingly, I moved into the billiard-room (which, by the way, was my bed-room), and passed an hour or two over a Turkish pipe and some delicious coffee; then proceeded to take a stroll in the streets before arranging for departure."

Unwittingly, he reached the place of public execution:—

"Eleven peasants were kneeling with their hands tied behind their backs, and, shortly after my coming, a soldier stepped forward, took up some dust, and threw it into the eyes of the first. This act causing a depression of the head forward, the soldier took advantage of the movement to separate the head from the body by a stroke of his scimitar. I did not await a repetition of the operation, but have no doubt that the performer was equally dexterous along the line. They tell me that this is their common and mild way of execution, and that a soldier who missed his blow would be reckoned dishonoured from clumsiness."

Adverting to Muhammad Ali's system of punishment for the repression of robbery, and other acts of violence, which the writer states "were as common in Egypt as they are now scarce," our traveller notes:—

"For the first theft or robbery, the Pasha directed that the culprit should have his right hand cut off, the hand being suspended in a little iron network locket round his neck for a year. In case of a second offence, death invariably ensued; but most professors of the art of plunder were cured by the first punishment; for they might well have been considered incorrigible had they continued, after such an example, to carry on their evil practices. In fact, it had been found, by experience, that, by the action of the iron hand of Muhammad Ali, travelling in Egypt had been rendered proverbially secure; and even the Arabs of the neighbouring deserts stood in so much awe of their ruler—tendering such good hostages for their behaviour—that the *Ben Harâm*, or sons of thieves, as they were called, were brought to regard travellers, provided with his *buyullâ*, as no longer legitimate game."

Perhaps the most interesting extract will be that which supplies an original sketch of Muhammad Ali himself, to whom the writer of the manuscript was presented, in company with his fellow-traveller and fellow-countryman Captain B—, and Colonel M—, who had been duly prepared to officiate as interpreter:—

"On our arrival in the Courtyard, we were ushered up a flight of wooden stairs, open to the air, and into a large square room—one of four large buildings within the walls of the palace—surrounded, as usual, with cushions and carpets. His Highness—or 'la sua Altezza,' as he is styled by those of his subjects who affect the *lingua franca*—is a short, sturdy, and (as far as can be certified of a Turk at first sight) well-made man. He has a fine countenance, with a long and handsome black beard, of which he is very vain. His reception of us was cordial; and his manners were such as became his high position. He said he was always

happy to see the English—more especially any friend of the distinguished naval officer whose letter I had been commissioned to give him. Smoking, himself, incessantly, from the most magnificent *nargila* I had ever beheld, he begged us to be seated, and ordered coffee to be brought. Suddenly—pending the interview, we were almost startled from our seats by hearing, close to our ears, a roar like the loudest roar of a lion. In response to our expressions of surprise, we were informed that this phenomenon was the result of a bodily infirmity with which His Highness was afflicted; our informant, a confidential attendant, taking occasion to add that the Pasha was like a lion in all things—‘noble, generous, brave,’ and so forth. If this was the correct explanation of his involuntary ‘roar,’ I could not but revert to his massacre of the 24 Mamluk Beys as a proof that he had this animal’s thirst for blood and vindictiveness as well as his higher qualities. The Pasha desired Monsieur B——, his Prime Minister, a clever, cunning Armenian, rich in that peculiar craft, the possession of which, is so common a characteristic of his countrymen, to furnish us with every necessary paper or passport, to go where we liked within his territory—in fact, granting us the full privilege of the favoured European traveller. As the only language that Muhammad Ali spoke fluently was Turkish—his knowledge of Arabic and the *lingua franca* being limited—the conversation was carried on through the medium of Monsieur B—— who, in addition to Eastern tongues, speaks Italian, Spanish, and French with fluency, and English in a minor degree. Having taken leave of the great man, we—that is, Captain B—— and I, together with M—— duly equipped as our Interpreter—returned to our inn, distributing, on our way, among the attendants, a liberal *bakhshish*, which caused us to be hailed with loud cries of ‘Bravo, bravo, my Lord Inglese!’ Next morning I sent to the Pasha by the hands of Mons. B—— a pair of double-barrelled detonating pistols made by Contriner of Vienna. His Highness sent me, in return, a Damascus sabre.”

Outside the walls of the town, and in the vicinity of Cleopatra’s needle, the new comers to Alexandria were set upon by some two or three hundred dogs, and were subject to much annoyance in keeping off their unlooked for assailants. The situation was aggravated in the case of two members of the party who, rashly firing at, and killing one or more of the enemy, had the greatest difficulty in making good their retreat to without the borders of the canine territory. Our traveller continues: “We left for Rosetta, or *el-Rashid*, one afternoon about two o’clock, mounted upon donkeys. The route is most uncomfortable and uninteresting, and we as usual did our penance by passing a night in the filthy Turkish shed which is about half way between the two cities, and dignified by the name of a coffee house. Here we were annoyed by Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Italians, and men of other nationalities, huddled together amidst fleas and filth of every sort. The beds were arranged as shelves against the wall, three stories high, and you had only to shove your own feather bed or carpet alongside the person who seemed to you to be occupying the most open space, and share the advantage with him. We reached Rosetta at about four o’clock. The approach to the town is picturesque in the



extreme; but on arriving at the interior, the phantom fades, and the place is infinitely worse than Alexandria."

Space fails us to dwell on more than one passage of our travellers' later experiences in Egypt. So, passing over a strange adventure in which they themselves were the more prominent, and almost the sole actors, we proceed to quote an account of their reception at the large village of Shibbeen or Ishbeen (*sic*), when moving up from Rosetta to Cairo:—

"We sent M—— accompanied by the *Rais* of our boat, to request permission from the *Kashif*, or commandant on shore, to purchase necessary provisions. The latter very politely came down himself, and invited us to pass the night under his roof. Although this hospitality was expensive, we preferred accepting it to being piled up for sleeping purposes in our miserable *canjee*. Taking, therefore, with us such articles as were required for the night—especially a large dressing-case in which we kept our money, we were ushered into the house of our host, who courteously asked us whether we would like these effects to be deposited in the receiving-room with ourselves? This we declined, saying they were sufficiently safe under his care. As for our arms, it was only by dint of much pressure, that he consented to take charge of them until the morning. After a time during which we had squatted round the apartment, drinking coffee and smoking pipes, the *Kashif* ordered supper to be brought. I should state that the rooms consisted of four bare walls and an equally unadorned ceiling from the middle of which was suspended a large tumbler, wherein floated a common wick, now lighted by the slaves. About this time, the *Kashif* desired a few moments for his prayers, which he repeated very devoutly, accompanied by the rest of the Arabs present. The part of the room where our host, several *Sheikhs*, and we ourselves sat, was raised up considerably higher than the floor used by the commonalty. This quasi quarter-deck extended the length of half the room, and was reached by mounting two little steps in the middle. On each side of these steps stood a little, three-legged cane stool, about a foot and a half in height, and on each of these, again, was placed a European green-glass bottle, with a tallow candle inside.

"Having conveyed the preliminary orders, the *Kashif* clapped his hands, and two slaves came in, bearing between them a circular table, about four feet in diameter, without legs, but covered with various dishes. This they placed just under the large tumbler and between the two green bottles. Our host then took his cushion, and we all, following his example, squatted ourselves round the table. I was placed on one side of the *Kashif* and Captain B—— on the other. From information subsequently obtained, I think it probable that the arrangement was due to the statement of our lying interpreter that we were English princes travelling *incog*. After washing our hands, in accordance with Oriental custom, we proceeded to business. The first thing which our hospitable entertainer did was to put his fingers into a great plate of *pillaw*, inviting us all to follow his example: this we did with very good appetite. Then came rice and forced meat balls wrapped up in vine-leaves, stewed fowls, and many etceteras; but the grand dish of all was a lamb roasted whole. Chopping off the head and

splitting it in two, the *Kashif* put his fingers into the brains, and thrust a lump of them into my mouth. The poor lamb was soon torn in pieces and eagerly devoured. Again we washed our hands and, drawing our cushions back to the wall, lighted our pipes, and, after a little, entered into conversation. 'In the first place,' said the *Kashif*, 'I do not wish any flattery; but tell me plainly whether you have any houses as well furnished as this, in your country.' I replied that a comparison would be out of the question. He then talked of Napoleon whom he recollected, and asked if it were true that he was no longer Emperor of France, and that his power had been entirely overturned in a great battle? I answered 'yes,' and mentioned the number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, on that memorable occasion. He remarked that he could not see the use of taking prisoners, who must be fed and guarded, a necessity which did not exist with regard to dead men."

Here the MS. ends. If the picture which it presents is no longer that which is recognised by visitors at the modern Cairo hotels, there still may be holes and corners in the country—even Lower Egypt—in which it would not be wholly obsolete.

Nearly 80 years have passed since the days referred to in the later of the above two retrospects, and Egyptian history could show more than one remarkable phase of transformation and reforms during that particular period. Of such results—where European interference has been exercised—the character is, naturally, political, though in a certain sense effect has been had upon moral and intellectual progress. Neither Muhammad Ali nor Ismail Pasha was insensible to the advantages of literary culture and education (even of the masses), and Taufik himself was comparatively a civilized and accomplished ruler. As for the Army, that powerful instrument for good, when not misapplied, the change has been little short of marvellous within the last few years. If the revolt of Arabi, and its suppression, have not imparted a wholesome lesson to those in authority for future guidance should occasion require, the spirit of loyalty has been so strengthened in the ranks of the Khedive's army by the late campaigns under British officers, that the subordination and discipline of the Egyptian soldier is no longer called in question by critics. What the land of the modern Pharaohs will be, when another century shall have passed, it is impossible to divine; but there is abundant room for hope. One thing is certain: England has already done, and is still doing, much for her welfare. If she has not exercised her power for good to the full extent, it must be remembered that she is working under conditions which are not commonly attended with absolute success. What those conditions are is too self-evident a fact to require definition. As among individuals, so is it with nations. Notwithstanding the Scriptural injunction to be perfect, Christians, as well as others, are prone to disbelieve the existence of those unselfish motives which lead to perfection. We create an impossible standard, and admit of no minor measurement. To be plainer still, we act as though perfection were unattainable, and not only unattainable, but unexpected. Were it otherwise, England might get more universal credit for her labours in Egypt.

## TĀO-ISM.

## WHAT LĀO-TSZE MEANT BY TĀO.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL G. G. ALEXANDER, C.B., M.R.A.S.\*

THERE are few students of the Tāo-tih-King who will be prepared to deny that a clear comprehension of that work mainly depends upon the right appreciation of the meaning of the word with which it commences—"the Tāo."

Yet none the less, the various translators of this ancient Chinese classic, though unanimous in recognising its merits, have been unable to agree upon the proper rendering of this one word, the very crux as it were, of the thoughts which the old Philosopher was so strenuously endeavouring to impart to others.

Now this word Tāo appears sixty times in the short treatise known as the Tāo-tih-King, and with a very few exceptions which are clearly indicated by the context, it is always used in the same sense, and the initial difficulty a translator has to deal with, is the selection of some term which will best transmute that sense—whatever it may be—into his own language. The difficulty most certainly does not proceed from a want of choice, for the character Tāo has so great a variety of uses, that in Mr. Watters's most instructive "Essays on the Chinese Language," the chapter treating of this character, takes up no less than ninety-three closely-printed pages, or nearly one-fifth of the contents of the whole book.

I believe that the chief obstacle which stands in the way of some absolute agreement in this matter, arises from the circumstance that the translators, as a rule, have been unwilling to incur the responsibility belonging to the exercise of an independent judgment, and that they have in consequence either allowed the word "Tāo" to remain untranslated—greatly to the perplexity of their readers—or else they have adopted some rendering in harmony with the views of Chinese commentators, who, no matter whether they belonged to the Tāo-ist or Confucian schools, had, by the very nature of their intellectual training, been rendered quite incapable of rightly understanding the ideas, so foreign to their own line of thought, to which Lāo-tsze had given utterance.

Now, in order that we may understand this subject aright, we cannot do better than allow the several translators to speak for themselves:

Beginning with the Latin translation, said to have been the first into a Western language, presented to the Royal Society in 1788, we find—I quote from Dr. Legge's introduction to the texts of Tāo-ism, Chap. III., p. 12—that "in this version Tāo is taken in the sense of 'Ratio,' or the Supreme Reason of the Divine Being, the Creator and Governor;" and in p. xiii of the preface to the same work, Dr. Legge states with respect to this version, that "the chief object of the translator, or translators, was to show that the Mysteries of the Most Holy Trinity and of the Incarnate God were anciently known to the Chinese nation."

\* The death of this distinguished officer attaches a melancholy interest to his learned and suggestive paper.—*Ed.*



In 1823 a memoir on the life and opinions of Láo-tsze was published in Paris by Abel Remusat. In the translated portions of the Táo-tih-King contained in this work, he is in accordance with the views expressed by les Pères Amiot, Premare, and others of the Jesuit Fathers regarding the Trinity; and hence, although he translates the word Táo by "*La Raison*" (Reason) he remarks of it: "This word seems to me capable of being accurately translated by the word *Logos*, in the three fold sense of Supreme Being, of Reason, and of the Word."

In 1842 Stanislas Julien gave to the world a complete translation of the Táo-tih-King under the title of "*Livre de la voie et de la vertu*," illustrated by copious notes and a list of the several Chinese commentators belonging to the Táoist, Confucian, and Buddhist schools. He translated Táo by "*La Voie*" (the Way) and refused to accept the views expressed by the Jesuit Fathers and Abel Remusat with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity being contained in the Táo-tih-King; though he followed the teaching of the Táoists in describing the Táo of Láo-tsze, as:—"A Being devoid of action, thought, or desires, and that a man who would wish to arrive at the highest point of perfection, must like the Táo, must remain in a state of absolute inertness, and cast off all mental exercise, desires, and even intelligence, all of which, according to Láo-tsze are the elements of disorder. Thus in the Táo-tih-King the word Táo is sometimes used to signify the sublime *Way* through which all created beings arrive at life, and at other times, as that imitation of the Táo which consists in continuing in a state of perfect rest without thought, action, or desires: and it is in this last sense that a man is said, figuratively, 'to walk in the Táo,' 'to progress in the Táo,' 'to approximate to the Táo,' and 'to attain to the Táo.'"

This seems vague enough, and not easy to understand, but it has to be remembered that Stanislas Julien endeavoured to make his translation as literal as possible, and in close accordance with the views of the Chinese commentators. As a help to students his work is invaluable, and it is upon his most carefully selected Chinese text that my conclusions with respect to the Táo-tih-King have been based.

In 1838 a French translation of the first portion of the Táo-tih-King accompanied by the Chinese text—as was Stanislas Julien's—was brought out by M. Panthier which is distinguished by its breadth and depth of insight. He, in accord with Remusat, translates Táo by "*La Raison Suprême*," but when referring to this subject in his work on Ancient China (p. 114), he says: "The God that we have hitherto seen invoked by the Chinese, is the Supreme ruler *Shang Ti*, or Heaven *thien*; the God invoked as described by Láo-tsze is the *Great Way* of the world, the Supreme universal Reason 'Táo,' which naturally identifies itself with the word which is made use of to designate God in the Greek (*Θεός*) and Latin (*Deus*) languages, and in their modern derivatives."

Thirty years later—in 1868—another translation of the Táo-tih-King was published by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers under the title of "*The Speculations on Metaphysics, polity, and morality of THE OLD PHILOSOPHER Láo-tsze*." In this work although he prefers to leave the word Táo untrans-

lated, the definition "Reason" is sometimes interpolated with it in the text, whilst in the introduction (p. 11) something in the nature of an apology is made for this mode of rendering it, for Dr. Chalmers there states: "I have thought it better to leave the word *Tau* untranslated, both because it has given the name to the sect—the Tauists—and because no English word is its exact equivalent. Three terms suggest themselves—the Way, Reason, and the Word; but they are all liable to objection. Were we guided by etymology, 'the Way' would come nearer to the original, and in one or two passages the idea of a *Way* seems to be in the term; but this is too materialistic to serve the purpose of a translation, 'Reason' again seems to be more like a quality or attribute of some conscious being than *Tau* is. I would translate it by 'the Word' in the sense of the Logos, but this would be like settling the question which I wish to leave open, viz.—what amount of resemblance there is between the Logos of the New Testament and this *Tau* which is its nearest representative in Chinese. In our version of the New Testament in Chinese we have in the 1st chapter of John:—'In the beginning was *Tau*, etc.'

Dr. Chalmers in his translation generally follows Stanislas Julien, but there are some singular and important omissions; there are no notes, and it greatly fails as a help to others.

In 1870 two German translations of this work were published in Leipsic, one by Reinhold von Plaenckner, and the other by Victor von Strauss. The first, under the title of "*Der Weg zur Tugend*," is an extremely free rendering of the original. The word *Tao* is again left untranslated except in the few cases in which it is used as a verb, but the author, in his introduction, as well as in his notes to the first chapter, gives its meaning as "the Supreme Being," including in that term all the variants he conceived to be included in it, such as "God," "Providence," "The Creator," "The Preserver," "The Almighty," etc., etc., and states that "it is not from any fear of being profane, that he has refrained from its use."

The translation of Victor von Strauss is much closer to the original, and its value is greatly enhanced by copious notes in which he explains, or justifies, his manner of dealing with difficult or controverted passages. He leaves the title of the book untranslated as he does the word *Tao* in the text. Yet he does not leave us in doubt as to the way in which he thinks it *ought* to be translated, for in his preface—p. xxiv, par. 10—he expresses himself thus with regard to it:—"Tao existed as a perfect but incomprehensible Being, before Heaven and earth were (chap. 25)—immaterial and immeasurable (chap. 4),—invisible and inaudible, mysterious yet manifest, without shape or form (chap. 14),—supersensuous and hidden from our eyes (chaps. 25, 41),—the eternal foundation of all things (chap. 1),—and the universal progenitor of all beings (chap. 4).—Incapable of being named or defined (chaps. 1, 32),—only capable of being named when revealed by his works (chaps. 1, 32).—In his dual capacity the source from which all that is spiritual proceeds (chaps. 1, 6),—for through Him all things have come into existence (chap. 21),—and in like manner all things return again to Him (chap. 16),—and it is through Him that this takes place (chap. 40).—Although He is eternal and absolutely free, has

no wants or desires (chap. 34),—whilst eternally at rest is never idle (chap. 37),—does not grow old (chaps. 30, 55).—Is omnipresent, immutable and self determined (chap. 35),—creates, preserves, perfects, and nourishes all things; hence is glorified for his beneficence, and held in high honour (chap. 51),—for He loves all things and does not act as a mere ruler (chap. 34),—even as though He were powerless (chap. 14).—The spirituality of His nature not to be doubted (chap. 21),—though He only reveals Himself to those who are free from all desires (chap. 1).—He who regulates his actions by Him will become one with Him (chap. 23),—therefore He is the foundation of the highest morality (chap. 38).—He it is who bestows and makes perfect (chap. 41),—and gives peace (chap. 46),—is the universal refuge, the good man's treasure, the bad man's deliverer, and the pardoner of guilt (chap. 62)."

And after this epitome of the attributes of the Tào as conceived by Lao-tsze von Strauss proceeds to say:—"We believe that any impartial person who might be asked, what word in our language would best apply to the Being of whom all this can be said, would be compelled to answer, 'by the word God and by none other.' And how can anyone with a knowledge of the foregoing evidence have the slightest doubt of Láo-tsze having possessed, in a remarkable degree, a great and deep consciousness of God of so sublime and precise a nature, that it almost realizes the idea of God belonging to Revelation, though it is needless to remark that the latter greatly surpasses it in the fulness and profundity of its manifestations." Yet as we have seen even von Strauss preferred to leave the word Tào untranslated.

In 1870 was also published, at Hong Kong, a most valuable and scholarly work entitled "*Lao-Tzü, a Study in Chinese Philosophy*," by a member of the Consular Service, Mr. T. Watters. It is full of research, and the author shows a thorough appreciation of his subject, but when we come to the meaning of the word Tào as used by Láo-tsze—and we must have this condition ever before us—he is obliged to confess he cannot find an exact equivalent for it, and after rejecting the terms used by his predecessors, and summarising the attributes of the Tào as put forward by Láo-tsze, concludes by saying:—"I have accordingly determined to express the word Tào by using it in the widest and most abstract sense—'great creating Nature.' " But then he adds:—"But I do not wish to be understood as implying that this word corresponds exactly to Tào—far from it. I use it simply as in my opinion the nearest approach we can get."

The space at my disposal will not admit of my referring to the writings of all the Chinese scholars who have dealt with this subject; but in the year 1891 a translation of the Tào-tih-King by the Rev. Dr. Legge, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford, formed the 1st part of "the texts of Tao-ism" contained in the 39th vol. of "the Sacred Books of the East," which from the author's high reputation, and exceptional knowledge of Chinese literature, is naturally entitled to great weight. In this work Dr. Legge has also preferred to leave the word Tào untranslated—though he leads us to infer from his treatment of it, and what he says in



his notes, that had he translated it, it would have been by "the Road" or "the Way." He confessedly draws his inspiration from the Tao-ist writers and commentators yet there is a tacit admission which harmonizes with the conclusions, arrived at as we have seen, though not always very willingly, by preceding translators, for in the introduction to the texts of Tao-ism, p. 20, he says:—"Such was the genesis of things; the formation of heaven and earth and all that in them is, under the guidance of the Tao. It was an evolution not a creation. How the Tao itself came—I do not say into existence, but into operation,—neither Láo or Kwang ever thought of saying anything about. We have seen that it is nothing material. It acted spontaneously of itself. Its sudden appearance in the field of non-existence, Producer, Transformer, Beautifier, surpasses my comprehension. To Láo it seemed to be before God. I am compelled to accept the existence of God as the ultimate Fact, bowing before it with reverence, and not attempting to explain it, the one mystery, the sole mystery of the universe."

There is much food for thought in this passage, and much that is scarcely consistent with the textual rendering adopted by its author, as a close examination of his translation will clearly show.

In the autumn of last year I published a work entitled "Láo-tsze the Great Thinker," which embodied a translation of the Tao-tíh-King. The origin of it was this: I had been struck with the all but unanimity of the pronouncement made by previous translators, that the word Tao contained a meaning, which coincided in a remarkable degree with the idea which we entertain, and seek to convey by the term God. Yet in the several translations, in the text, this conception was frequently hidden, smothered as it were, under a tangled mass of inconsistencies, the natural consequence of a too close adherence to the expositions of the Chinese commentators, so that at first I was led to the conclusion that the old Philosopher's work had been greatly overrated. Further consideration, however, showed me that I was mistaken; and I was compelled, as it were against my will, to the conclusion, that it was not Láo-tsze, but his interpreters who were at fault, and that instead of the pure thoughts of the Great Teacher, we had the misconceptions of his followers who from the beginning seem to have been incapable of comprehending him. I had made a close and long-continued study of the text, discarding for a time all else, and it soon became evident to me that even in the first chapter I had found a clue to all I was seeking for. For what can be simpler than Láo-tsze's opening sentences:—*Táo kô táo fei cháng Táo*—"The Tao which can be spoken about, *i.e.*, explained, or defined is not the Eternal Tao."\*

*Míng kô míng fei cháng Míng*—The Name—evidently used here in the same sense as the Tao—which can be uttered or named is not the Eternal Name.

Surely these two sentences tell us at once that the Tao is eternal and can neither be defined nor named.

\* This is translated by Dr. Chalmers:—"The tau (reason) which can be taued (reasoned) is not the Eternal Tau (Reason)," and by Dr. Legge:—"The Tao which can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao."

The next two sentences are even more pregnant of meaning :—

*Wú míng tiên tē ché ché*—The nameless one is the origin of heaven and earth, i.e., the Great First Cause, whilst :—

*Yǐ míng wàn wù ché mǔ*—The one with a name is but the mother—i.e., the creator—of all things—a far more limited conception.

This leads us a step further. We have now learnt that the Tǎo is not only eternal, undefinable and nameless, but the Great First Cause, in a far higher sense, than that which belongs to the mere creator of the objects by which we are surrounded, and of which our senses are cognizant. Therefore—it proceeds to say :—*Ku cháng wú yǐh í kuán Khé meau*—he who is invariably free from earthly desires, will be able to gain an insight into the mysterious spirituality belonging to the Tǎo, but : *yü yǐh í kuán khé keau*—he who gives way to carnal desires will only be able to observe the mysterious manifestations belonging to the operations of Nature. But, it goes on to say, —*tsze leang ché* these two, that is, *meau—keau* the obscure spirituality of the Tǎo and the mysteries belonging to visible operations of Nature—*tung chueh urh í míng*—though they are known by different names issue from the same source, and *tung wei ché heun*—are characterized by the same obscurity, for *heun ché yew heun chung meau ché mun*—deep indeed is the darkness which enshrouds the gates leading to these mysteries.

Such is the First Chapter, and short as it is we have learnt from it, that the Tǎo is the Great, eternal, undefinable, unnameable First Cause, and that we can only gain an insight into the deep mystery of his spiritual nature when entirely free from carnal desires, whilst those who possess such desires will only be able to see the material manifestations, which equally proceed from him.

A more exact knowledge of what “the Tǎo” means must be sought in later chapters. We have not to go far. In Chap. 4 we learn that : *Tǎo ching*—“the Tǎo is empty”—but can this word “empty” mean, when used in conjunction with a character, which as we have seen represents the eternal Originator or First Cause aught else than void of material substance, that is, immaterial or spiritual? So it is we find that the Tǎo is immaterial ; but the concluding part of the sentence tells us much more : *Tǎo ching urh yung ché*—“The Tǎo is immaterial and employs it”—which I can read in no other way than :—The Great First Cause is immaterial, and it is out of the immaterial that all things were created by him, and this view is borne out by the next two sentences—*Hwéi pūh yǐng, yüen fu sse wanwah ché tsung*—“Though it be not in all his fulness, yet with what profundity he stands before us, as the great Universal Progenitor.” Further on in this Chapter he is spoken of as :—*chang ts'un*—“the Eternal Preserver,” and this is followed by the very significant sentence—*Wu pūh ché shawü ché tsze*—“I do not know whose son he is” but :—*seang lé ché sien*—“he was evidently before the Tǎ.”

Now this is the only instance in which a direct reference is made by Lǎo-tsze to “the Tǎ” —the name by which, in his time, the idea of God was commonly expressed, and we are led to ask what object he had in view, when seeking to establish, in opposition to it, this great everlasting, unde-

finable, immaterial, all-creating ever-existing Being—or whatever else it may be thought best to call him—"the Táo."

And we must, in order to answer this question, take into account the circumstances which had led Láo-tsze to the conclusions formulated in the Táo-th-King. In his extreme old age he had withdrawn from public life, deeply impressed with a feeling, almost amounting to despair, produced by what he considered to be the social degeneracy of the time in which he lived, as shown more particularly by the venality and corruption of the ruling classes. He looked upon the schemes for moral and political reformation, put forward by Confucius as utterly insufficient, and he attributed this insufficiency to their want of spirituality. Great importance was attached by both of them to the meaning of the word which is the subject of this paper, but by Confucius it was used in the sense of "the way," "the road," "the course," to or from the vaguely centralized idea of a deity, popularly known as the Té, shang Té, or Tien, for which indeed it was sometimes substituted. Láo-tsze on the contrary took up higher ground. He declared—as we have seen—that "the Táo" was the Eternal, undefinable, unnameable Source or First Cause, and that it was in this sense it had been understood, in those early days, when, as both he and Confucius believed, mankind existed in a state of pristine simplicity and purity. This is, I think, amply confirmed in the 17th chapter, which commences—and here I would remark there is nothing whatever to show that it is a continuation of the preceding one—with:—*tae shang hia ché yü-che*—"In the earliest ages, the people knew that they possessed It," or that "It was." Now I would ask, how is it possible, knowing however present the idea of the Táo was in the mind of Láo-tsze to come to the conclusion that this *it* has any other meaning than the Táo, and this is borne out, not only by the immediate context, but by the contents of the three succeeding chapters. For after the passage I have quoted, "In the earliest ages the people—that is the lower orders—knew of the existence of "the Táo," Láo-tsze proceeded to say:—*ké tszé ts'in cha yu-che*, "succeeding generations loved and admired him;" *ke tsze wei che*, "later ones only feared him;" and then: *ke tszé wóh che*, "later on they despised—or ridiculed him," but:—*sín puh tsóyü puh sín*, "insufficient faith produces no faith," then:—*yew he ke kwei yen*, "Oh! how hypocritical were their fine phrases," and:—*hung ching sse suy*, "even their most meritorious actions," when:—*peh sing keae yuě*, "it was said by everyone," *woise jen*, "I am self existent."

Then in perfect agreement with the view I have put forward the next chapter, the 18th, continues:—*Ta tào foh, yüjin e ché huiy chuk*, "When the great Táo was set aside, virtue and benevolence, wisdom and cleverness arose to take its place;" *yu ta huiy*, "and this led to great delusions;" *ta tsin püeh hó, yu heaou tsue*, so that filial piety and parental affection (were supposed to exist) though there was no harmony in the family relations; and so the belief:—*kuó kha hwanüan, yu chung chin*, "that when the state was in confusion, there could be upright ministers."

The 19th and 20th chapters are but complements of the two preceding ones, and the several pieces of this verbal puzzle seem to fit together so



accurately, in the scheme which I have adopted, that it makes it difficult for me to believe it is not the right one.

But we have other attributes of the Tào set before us, for though Láo-tsze commenced by stating that the Tào was undefineable, he seems gradually, to have found it impossible, to make himself understood if he adhered too closely to what was in itself a definition. Hence in chap. 34 we are told that the Tào is "Omnipresent," for surely that is the literal meaning of:—*Ta tào fan he ke ko tso yu*, "Oh! how all-pervading the Great Tào is—he is both on the left and on the right?" And in chap. 23, which is an extremely striking one, we are given the moral effects which are consequent on a belief in the Tào, for we find, commencing at the 7th sentence:—*ku tsung sue yü tào chay, tung yü tào*, "he whose actions proceed from the tào, will become like unto the tào," and further on we have the remarkable passage:—*tung yü Tào chay, Tào yěh tsh che*, "he who is like unto the Tào, the Tào will also receive."

Then we find in Chap. 62:—*Tào chay wan wüth che gaou, shen jin che paou, puh shen jin che pao*, "the Tào is the universal ingatherer, the good man's treasure, and the bad man's sustainer," and a few sentences further on:—*Ku lei tien tsze che san kung sui yükung peth é sên sue ma, püth jü tso tsin tsze Tào*, "Hence, though the emperor may reign, and the great nobles may be established, yet neither he who grasps the sceptre with both hands or he who takes precedence in a chariot drawn by four horses, can be compared to him who advances, on his knees, to this Tào." And to this is added the question:—*Koo che so é kwei tsze Tào chay ho*, "Wherefore did the ancients hold this Tào in such high honour?" And the answer is: *püth jü kew tsze tsh yew tsy é mên yäy koo wei tshen hsa kwei*, "It was because by daily seeking its help they were able to obtain pardon for their offences." And in order to show that my rendering is not an exceptional one, I give the translation of the same two sentences by Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Legge. The former writes:—"For what did the ancients so much prize their Tào? Was it not because it was found at once without searching; and (by it) those who had sinned might escape (be pardoned)? Therefore it is the most estimable thing in the world."

And Dr. Legge translates:—"Why was it that the ancients prized this Tào so much? Was it not because it could be got by seeking for it, and the guilty could escape (from their guilt) by it? This is the reason all under heaven consider this the most valuable thing."

Again in Chaps. 50 and 52 we have the strongest confirmation of the Tào being the great First Cause, the great Originator of all things. Chap. 51 commences—I follow Dr. Legge's translation—"All things are produced by the Tào, and nourished by its overflowing operation. They receive their former according to the nature of each, and are completed according to the circumstances of their condition. Therefore all things without exception honour the Tào and exalt its out-flowing operation. This honouring of the Tào and exalting of its operation is not the result of any ordination, but always a spontaneous tribute." And there is more to the same effect which it is hardly necessary to quote.

Then chap. 52 begins, *tshen hsa yew ché é wei tshen hsa moo*. Which

Dr. Legge translates :—" (The Tào) which originated all under the sky is to be considered as the mother of them all." And in a note Dr. Legge observes, "For the understanding of paragraph 1 we must refer to the first chapter of the treatise, where the Tào, 'having no name,' appears as 'the *Beginning*' or '*First Cause*' of the world,\* and then, 'having a name,' as its 'Mother.' It is the same thing or conception in both of its phases, the ideal or absolute, and the manifestation of it in its passionless doings."

But LÃO-tsze was not satisfied with showing what the Tào was and what it did, for in chap. 37 he endeavours to set forth the manner in which the Tào acted. Thus the chapter opens with :—*Tào chang woo wei urh woo pih wei*, "The Tào is eternally at rest yet there is nothing that he does not do."

Now it is the phrase—*wei woo wei*, "action without action," or "doing when at rest," so frequently used by LÃO-tsze, which created the belief entertained by Stanislas Julien and others, despite all the evidence to the contrary, that the Tào was a being devoid of action, of thought and of desires; and that a man, in order to become like him, should cast off all activity of mind and body, and extinguish, as far as possible, the natural intelligence with which he had been endowed. But a little consideration might have shown that this "action without action" was simply an expression substituted for the much longer form of words, necessary to convey the ideas connected with the silent processes of nature, such as growth, force, energy, evolution, etc., and the never ceasing consequences which a great First Cause, could not fail to set in motion and produce. A mere phrase this, in fact just like any other phrase, and without anything occult or cabalistic about it, and perhaps most clearly illustrated in chap. 10 under the figure of a *he*, hen bird, or as I have preferred to call it "a brood hen," a most striking passage, strangely omitted by Dr. Chalmers and scarcely made intelligible by other translators.

But surely enough has been said, to enable us, without further investigation or inquiry, to arrive at some definite conclusion on the matter we have before us. It has been, and as I hope and believe clearly established, that the word Tào as we find it in the text, was used by LÃO-tsze in the sense of the Great eternal, undefinable, unnameable First Cause, the origin of all things; the Protector, Preserver, to whom mankind has to look for succour and support; the Source of all good; the Eradicator of evil the Pardoner of guilt; and the Alpha and Omega from which all life proceeds and to which all life returns. And if this be so I would again ask, as von Strauss has already asked, how is it possible for us to render this word Tào, *as used by LÃO-tsze*, by any other term than the one which alone includes within it all the attributes which have been mentioned—the word, God?

It may be objected that such an idea of a divine power, as I have endeavoured to put forward, whilst scrupulously adhering to the text of LÃO-tsze's work, is foreign to the tenor of the whole teaching to be found in Chinese literature, and this to a certain extent is quite true, provided

\* The italics are mine.—G. G. A.

that we except the teaching belonging to the Tão-tih-King. For Láo-tsze stands alone, and it was when seeking to restore to his countrymen a higher conception of the deity, than the one which in his time had become universally accepted; that he focussed, as it were, all the attributes which he conceived to belong to the nature of the Divine Ruler, and proclaimed them to the world in a form which he declared to be far higher, purer, and older, than the existing idea which attached itself to God.

Equally true it is, that he stood isolated and alone in his opinions. Even Confucius could not understand him, and declared that he soared so high that he could not follow him. And he himself was deeply impressed with the estrangement from the world in which he lived produced by his opinions. Thus in chap. 20 we find him after having with bitter irony extolled the superior intelligence of the multitude, and contrasted it with his own stupidity, exclaiming:—"Why do I thus differ from others and stand alone? It is because I honour and revere (God) the great Mother, to whom we owe our being and all that supports life." But if misunderstood whilst living, his views were so distorted and misrepresented after his death, that in a short time the sect which affected to regard him as their founder, became the centre round which every obscure and degrading superstition was made to aggregate, so that it is worse than vain to seek for any enlightenment respecting the pure doctrines of a teacher whose thoughts were so free from puerility and superstition, in the writings of the so-called Tão-ists who found some occult meaning in every word he uttered.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of this Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Monday, July 26th, to hear a paper by Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., on "The Separation of Judicial from Executive Functions in India," and proposals thereon. At first Lord Reay, President of the Association, and, on his leaving, Mr. T. H. Thornton, D.C.L., C.S.I., took the chair. The following, among others, were present:—Sir George Birdwood, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Colonels W. Hughes Hallett and R. Johnson, Lieut.-Col. A. T. Wentle, R.A., Rev. Ch. Dowding, Messrs. W. Coldstream, H. R. Cook, B. H. Elliot, A. L. Hannay, A. Inman, A. J. Lawrence, J. B. Pennington, J. Pollen, A. Rogers, R. Sewell, A. E. Spender, C. L. Tupper and Martin Wood. Mrs. Beecher, Miss Gawthrop, Miss Manning, Mrs. H. Scott and Miss G. Scott. The Honble. M. S. Dass, Syed Nasiruddin Ahmad, Syed Ziauddin Ahmad, Messrs. H. A. Bhogvani, T. M. Chatterjee, A. A. Hasanally, R. K. Kama, Sarat Mullick, M. H. Nazar, P. P. Pillai, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary. Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., then read the above mentioned paper, which will be found elsewhere in this Review.

At its conclusion, DR. T. H. THORNTON, then in the chair, stated that Lord Reay had been unfortunately obliged to leave, having to take part in another place, in the discussion on an important Bill, but before going he left the following note:—"I must ask you to give expression to my regret that I was unable to move a vote of thanks for the very learned and interesting paper, the result of varied experience obtained in important judicial and administrative offices held by Sir Raymond West in India, in so distinguished a manner, which benefited all classes of the subjects of Her Majesty, the Queen Empress in India." All would agree in this proposal of his Lordship, that most hearty thanks were due to Sir Raymond West for his paper, but before putting it to the vote the meeting would, no doubt, be glad to hear any observations to be offered upon the paper.

MR. C. S. TUPPER, C.S.I., said he was sure all would heartily concur in what had fallen from the Chairman on the subject of Sir Raymond West's paper and the great ability and learning with which it had been put together. The parts of the paper which were most interesting to him (Mr. Tupper) were those which related to the history of the subject, and he was most impressed with some remarks made at the close of the first part of the paper on the specialization of functions. Sir Raymond West pointed out that that was really a part of political history and a symbol of progress and that it might pretty safely be looked forward to as a thing which would come about and with regard to which steps need not be taken to hurry it. In that view he entirely concurred. The question had often occurred to him whether, in such a country as India, there ought to be any separation of judicial and executive functions at all. It would be admitted probably by everybody that the institutions of a country should be conformable to

the stage of that country's growth. What was the clue to the stage of the growth which had been reached by Indian society, was a very large question which could be answered variously in different parts of the country, but if the state of the British Provinces, before British rule, were looked at, as well as the state of the surviving Native States, which had not adapted our Laws to themselves, it would be seen that the nearer they got to the ancient Hindoo principality the nearer they would be to the union of all powers in one hand. Several times in the history of India the Government had grasped that principle, and had seen that they ought to go as nearly as possible to that in actual practice. As the present Chairman knew, the principle upon which the Government of the Punjab was first organised was the union of all functions in one hand, but what was found in the course of time? That what Sir Raymond West had told them about the tendency of civilization and the tendency of progress was true, and that gradually the functions had to be separated, and at the time when Mr. Thornton was Secretary to the Government, the Commissioner, who was also a Civil Judge, had often an Additional Commissioner appointed to assist him; the Deputy Commissioner was also a Civil Judge and judicial assistants were appointed to assist him. In 1884 there was a complete separation of the two services. It was unnecessary to dwell on all this administrative history, but the result was this, that there were two conflicting tendencies, one the tendency towards the native system, where all functions of the Government were in a single hand, the other,—the tendency of civilization towards the distribution of all powers of Government in a variety of hands. The moral to be drawn from that was, that nothing ought to be done in any way artificially to hasten a progress and a process both inevitable, because that would produce a certain precocity in the political design, would result, indeed, in institutions which would be dangerous just in proportion as they were premature. Before concluding he would like to make two practical suggestions if his position, that we had to deal with two conflicting forces, were admitted to be right. In the first instance he would say: Do not make too rigid a separation between the judicial and the executive services. Everybody would admit that the executive officer gained, if he had some judicial experience. Evidence was after all what was relied on both by judicial and executive officers and a good judge of evidence would also be, to that extent, a good executive officer; but the converse that the judge should also have training in executive work was not so obvious and was more likely to be overlooked. In India the greatest importance should be attached to that. The theory was that the Judges did not make the Law, but that was one of the legal fictions by which legal progress was accomplished. Judges made the Law by interpretation. If a person had full experience as an executive officer he was more likely to make a better Judge when he had to undertake this onerous duty of making the Law. Further, if there must not be any rigid separation between the services, there must be a simple Law. Simplification of the Law should always be studied. He did not wish to say that many of the great Indian codes were not as simple as such comprehensive Law could be, but he wished to impress upon the meeting that if executive

officers undertook at any period judicial duties the Law should be such that they could grasp and administer it. That was most desirable because the attitude of mind which an executive officer insensibly acquired was just that which would really assist in the exceedingly difficult task of successful administration in India. [Hear, hear, and applause.]

REV. CHARLES DOWDING said that not as a civilian or a native, but as an impartial listener he tendered his thanks to the lecturer for the paper which had taken the taste out of his mouth of Sir Charles Elliot's paper. He was bound to say his small experience went to show that officers in India were so enormously overworked and the service was so undermanned that it was almost impossible for them to get through their work, and if the tendency to separate the judicial functions tended to bring more men into the service in India that would be a thing of inestimable benefit because it was impossible to do the present work with the staff of 20 or 30 years ago.

MR. R. H. ELLIOT said he would like to ask one question, and that was, if the change was carried out, what the cost would be? because the Government of India did not seem to have very much money to deal with at present.

MR. P. P. PILLAI said that the learned lecturer, with his experience as a judicial officer, made a mistake with regard to the combination of executive and judicial functions being accepted in the Madras Presidency. Mr. Ghose's contention was that the head collector or district officer should be deprived of his power over the subordinate officer. In Madras they fought against the combination of powers on the ground that the Magistrate in several instances became both the prosecutor and the judge. He was working so much in conjunction with the Police that he became the prosecutor and as Magistrate sat in judgment on a charge which he was the chief element in prosecuting. That was the chief ground on which the people in the Madras Presidency had taken objection to the combination of these two functions. As far as his humble experience went, it was the fault of the man and not of the system. There was a distinction between the use of power and the abuse of power. The question to be decided was whether the system worked injuriously as a system. He took quite a different view with regard to the power that a district collector should have over his subordinates, because 15 years ago he wrote a letter to a leading Journal in the Madras Presidency contending that the control that the district Magistrate had over the subordinate Magistrates should be more drastic than it was. Then that letter had immediate effect because enquiries were made into the very irregularities which had been so graphically described by the Lecturer. Objection might well be taken to the exercise of the powers of the district Magistrate over the subordinate Magistrate. The system according to the Procedure Code was supervision over supervision, but that should be confined to supervision in the judicial procedure with regard to delays and with regard to the wrong views that were taken upon actions. The subordinate Magistrates sometimes were mere boys, almost in their teens, and they required the control of an experienced officer. All those things were very necessary. After all the Magistrate and the Police went



hand in hand in suppressing and detecting crime. The preamble of Act 24 of 1859 under which the Police force in Madras was re-organised was "that it is expedient to make the Police force throughout the Madras Presidency a more efficient instrument at the disposal of the Magistrates for the prevention and detection of crime." From his experience of the district administration it was quite wrong to say that the Police Department was entirely and directly under the district officer. There was the Superintendent of Police and the district Superintendent of Police and he thought that all that was required was some amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code without making any sweeping appreciable changes. With regard to the suggestion of the Lecturer as to the abolition of the appellate power of the Magistrates and sending appeals to the district Judges, he thought it should be optional with the parties in certain cases to go to the Magistrate who might be a next-door neighbour. With regard to the suggestion that there should be Bench Magistrates, he did not think it would work successfully on the lines proposed by the Lecturer. The introduction of many Bench Magistrates would be required, who must be men well-versed in the Law, and when they were not paid officers they would not be under the control of the district Magistrates or the Official Department which was responsible for the paid officers, and consequently there would be room for so much corruption, injustice and dissatisfaction that he doubted very much whether the proposal made by the Lecturer would realize the amount of success which he aimed at.

THE HONBLE. M. S. DASS (Member of the Bengal Legislative Council) said the question before the meeting was a question which had occupied the attention of people both in India and here. The West and the East were both concerned in it, and he thought Sir Raymond West had hit upon a happy solution of the difficulty, which, to those acquainted with the state of things in India, was not one limited to the union of the judicial and executive functions in the Magistracy, but was a matter of a wider nature and of greater importance. He did not believe that, without detriment to good Government, the Magistrate could be altogether denuded of his executive or his judicial powers, but the real evil of the interference of the executive Government, be it in the person of a Magistrate, or the person of a Police District Superintendent, or a Commissioner, or a Secretary to the Government, arose when some person in executive authority exercised his influence to pervert justice. That was a thing which, in the interests of the people in India, should be reformed as well as in the interests of the servants of the Government because it certainly exercised a demoralizing influence on the officer who was thus interfered with. Without mentioning names, a case occurred to him which illustrated this. The Court of Wards Department of the Government had a minor's right to some property disputed by a lady, and before the case came on for hearing, the District Magistrate received a letter from the Government telling him how to decide it. The Magistrate was a personal friend of his (Mr. Dass'), and he said, "What is the use of hearing a long speech: here is the letter: read it: I must do that." Afterwards the case went up to the High Court and the High Court sat on the District Magistrate, who was thrown over by the

Government, and, though he had some chance of promotion, actually retired on a pension. Nobody could doubt that such a case as that had a demoralizing influence on the official, and therefore it was in the interest of the people and in the interest of the Government servants themselves that this system should be discontinued. With regard to the suggestion of the employment of Bench Magistrates, it seemed a happy suggestion, but at the same time, in order to get a proper set of men who would be equal to the task and command the confidence of the people, the nomination of these men should not be left to the District Magistrate who did not now personally exercise his power but left it to his head clerk. The nomination should be left to certain public bodies, such for instance as municipal bodies or local self-government bodies, the appointment of course resting with the Government. The lecturer seemed to be in favour of enlarging the powers of the Sessions Judges, but at the present time they got Sessions Judges who were sometimes very young men and men who had been in India hardly two years. In past times a civilian had to be in the country for ten or twelve years before he rose to the office of Collector. A man who had had opportunities of studying the customs and feelings of the people and then rose after 21 years to the position of a Judge would certainly command the confidence of the public. It had been alleged in the Houses of Parliament that justice had miscarried in the Privy Council on account of the ignorance on the part of the Judges of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and if gentlemen like Privy Councillors who had had a legal training and who had risen to positions of eminence in India, did not command confidence in England, how was it to be expected that a person who had been in India only 2½ years would command confidence when he sat as a Judge in a Court of Appeal performing the functions of a Sessions Judge?

MR. MARTIN WOOD said that perhaps many of those present might not be aware that this question had been investigated by various men of both English and Indian experience, and recently there had been prepared a complete statement of the whole subject, including evidence and the conclusions of eminent jurists, which was ready for presentation with a memorial to the Secretary of State for India as soon as arrangements could be made for a deputation to present it. He thought the lecturer in his treatment of the subject had scarcely shown a due conception of the urgency of the subject from the practical point of view. He had stated that the chief basis of our authority in India was our judicial control. That was true with some obvious qualifications, and therefore how immensely important it was that those functions should be so arranged for as to be beyond all suspicion as to impartiality and independence. As a principle the judicial authority must be always, to be effective, entirely separate from any control by the executive authority. They should not be antagonistic, but certainly the judicial authority should be free and independent. It had been stated in one of the Bombay Anglo-Indian journals that of late years there had been a tendency to place the exercise of judicial functions in the hands of Revenue officers, and also to appoint Revenue officers to judicial posts. Sir Raymond West had attributed the facility with which the Executive authority acted in this manner to the alterations

which were made in the Criminal Procedure Code of 1882. A question had been put in the House with regard to it, and the Secretary of State treated the matter in a general way and said there had been no change made; but there was the direct statement made in a Bombay paper, which had been repeated quite recently in a more pointed way. That was one of many instances of the depression of judicial authority and judicial functions in India and it was a matter of the most supreme importance for the right control of India that the subject should be dealt with as soon as possible.

SIR RAYMOND WEST in reply said it had been pointed out in connection with the specialization of functions that institutions must always correspond to the state of growth of the community in which they are planted, which was obviously a correct statement, but the difficulty lay in determining what stage had been reached and what institutions were suitable. He agreed that executive experience, if not necessary, was certainly extremely useful to a Judge. On one occasion, on emerging from the Court after the trial of perhaps the most difficult case that ever came before him, Sir Michael Westropp said he thought that no man was fit to try a case of that sort who had not had some revenue experience. Fortunately having had some service in the district from which that case came, he (Sir Raymond West) was able to assist his colleague. As to the question put by Mr. Elliot with reference to what the change would cost, it was not possible to answer that, but he had pointed out how the cost might be minimised by reserving the change proposed for those districts and towns which were prepared themselves, in consideration of the very great and obvious advantages they would derive from the change, to bear a portion at least of the burden which would follow on the institution of a better administration of justice. With reference to Mr. Pillai's very generous observation that the evils which had come to his notice were much less evils of the system than evils of the individual, the evils of individuals could never be got rid of so long as they remained human beings subject to faults and defects which were so obvious. As Milton observed long ago, "It is enough if the law provides a remedy for abuses, for to prevent their growing up in man's degenerate nature is what no law can provide." Mr. Pillai observed also that the control of the District Magistrate was very necessary, but when considering the evils which arose from the Magistrate's interference and control, it should be borne in mind that the Magistrate was invited by the weakness of character of those with whom he had to deal to interfere a good deal more in India than he would ever have to interfere in England—and a great deal more among the comparatively morally weak races of Bengal than among the sturdier races of Bombay. But the control which a Magistrate exercised ought never to be a control extending to the exercise of judgment on the facts of the case or the application of the law. Directly a District Magistrate took up that rôle, he was depriving the Magistrate, who was responsible to God and his country for the performance of his duty, of the capacity to perform that duty well and properly. Then it had been said that the Government should establish stationary Magistrates. They were establishing in some places stationary Magistrates



who devoted themselves to magisterial work, and so far as that was done the Government were carrying out a very excellent policy; but to do such a thing generally would cost perhaps 10 times as much as to establish the Benches he proposed with a perambulating Magistrate at liberty to go, at any day, on to that Bench which most required his assistance, and in a position to know which really required his assistance, vested with the requisite authority and experience for keeping his Bench in control and able, if necessary, should the Bench not sit, to sit himself, and deal as a first class Magistrate with any cases which came up for disposal. With these qualifications he thought the extension of Benches most desirable, because by degrees it would bring the intelligent classes of the community in India into intimate contact with the Law and enlist their sympathies with it, because they themselves would take a part in its administration. The universally diffused respect for the Law in England was attributable first to the fact that there were Benches of Magistrates all over the country composed of the leading members of society, and also to the fact that in the administration of justice in criminal cases, jurors assisted, who, having taken part in the administration of justice in particular cases, were able to go amongst their fellows and say, "Well, the prisoner had a bad time of it, but at any rate he had a fair trial." Thus respect by the mass of the people for the Law and its administration got widely diffused, and it became an instinct on the part of every member of this great community not to cavil at the Law, but to support and maintain it as the pride of his country and one of the greatest blessings which this country had to confer upon those dependencies which, by degrees, fell under the administration of the great British Empire. The interference of the executive with the judicial authority was denounced as most mischievous by Mr. Dass, and, no doubt, all would sympathise with his views. He (Sir Raymond West) had dealt with the subject at greater length in his written paper than in his oral observations, but one thing he had almost entirely omitted in addressing the meeting, namely, that to prevent undue interference of the executive with the judicial authority the judicial branch of the public service must be thoroughly well represented in the Government. If the executive authority required representation in the Government of Bengal or the North-West Provinces as well as Madras and Bombay, so the judicial authority required just as strong and complete representation there. Until there was that representation, no matter how able the man at the head of the administration of the Province, the judicial aspect of affairs and the importance which attached to it would never be properly recognised. The nomination of Magistrates was touched upon by Mr. Dass, who thought that they should be nominated by local bodies, but he (Sir Raymond West) did not agree with Mr. Dass there. He did not think experience in America and other countries, where the principle of election had been used, with regard to the nomination of Judges or people in analogous positions, had been in any case really successful. They did not want Tammany Hall and the election of Judges in New York repeated in India—it had evils enough of its own, poor country, without having a moral plague imposed upon it. If Justices were nominated by local bodies the Government would either accept or

refuse their nomination, and if it accepted the nominations and anything went wrong it could always excuse itself by saying, "These men were nominated by the local body, and what sort of justice can you expect under an administration of that kind?" As to the statement that District and Sessions Judges of two years' standing had been appointed, he must confess that that was an entire novelty to him. When he was first made a District Sessions Judge, after between 9 and 10 years' service, it was thought almost a miracle in the Presidency of Bombay. He was the youngest member of the Mofussil Bench at that time, and his experience was that since then no one had ever been appointed a District and Sessions Judge in the Bombay Presidency with less than 14 or 15 years' service. In conclusion, he thanked those present for the kind expressions they had used with regard to his paper, and trusted it would be taken into consideration by those who had the Government of India in their hands.

THE CHAIRMAN said although he heartily agreed generally in the view of the case taken by his learned friend, he did not entirely agree in all that he had suggested, his opinions being generally more in accord with those of Mr. Tupper. He would not however detain the meeting with any further remarks, but would simply propose a cordial vote of thanks to Sir Raymond West for his very excellent paper. [Applause.]

The meeting then separated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

## INDIA BEFORE THE ENGLISH.

MR. R. SEWELL'S paper is not only most interesting but is absolutely true, and should be a crushing answer to those European and native politicians who talk so glibly of England's spoliation of India, and most of whom, as for example some of the witnesses examined by the Finance Committee, are profoundly ignorant of the very first principles of subjects regarding which they pose as experts. One cannot help being reminded of Hans Andersen's charming story of the wishing clogs, which were invested with the power of granting to whoever wore them, whatever he wished for. By accident, the clogs were put on by an enthusiastic admirer of former times, who casually wishing that he had been born in the middle ages, suddenly finds himself surrounded by all the conditions of that period. He retains however the memory of the civilization of the 19th century, and it is not long before he curses the rudeness of the age into which he finds himself transported, and bemoans the absence of those luxuries and comforts which in real life he had failed to appreciate. I should like to suggest to Mr. Sewell another paper in which he transports Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrajie and Mr. Soobramaniam Iyer into the middle, say, of the 17th century and sends them travelling on a pilgrimage from Madras to Benares. Mr. Sewell's paper comes very aptly after the discussion in the last two numbers of the *Asiatic Quarterly* regarding the "neglected literary field." It is owing no doubt to ignorance of Indian history that so many rash assertions are made regarding the evil effects of British as compared with Native rule. Instead of teaching Indian boys and graduates what their country was, and what it is now, we confine our course of training to European history of ancient and modern times, and when a practical scholar like Mr. Sewell suggests a special Indian historical subject for the M.A. degree, the University fixes for the special study "The Italian Republics of the Middle Ages."

Mr. Sewell gives only a few instances of the various taxes which were levied under Native Rule. He enumerates 61 which were in force in Coimbatore in 1799, and 13 which had survived until 1835 in the Bellamy District. Of course he might have extensively added to his list had space permitted him. For instance in the Mysore Administration Report of 1872 it is stated that when we assumed the Government of that kingdom from the Maharajah in 1830 we found—in order to abolish—no less than *seven hundred and sixty nine* petty items of taxation! "Among these were such whimsical taxes as those on marriage, on incontinency, on a child being born, on its being given a name, and on its head being shaved. In one village the inhabitants had to pay a tax because their ancestors had failed to find the stray horse of a Poligar, and any one passing a particular spot in Nagar without keeping his hands close to his side had to pay a tax." It was the same in Hyderabad, where fifty years ago the revenues were farmed out to the highest bidders, who in addition had to pay a



nuzzerana to the officials, which was found to form so pleasant a source of income that the farmers were replaced as often as possible, so much so that the local wits said that when a tax-farmer started for his new district, he was in the habit of riding with his face to the horse's tail in order to see if his successor was not following him! Of course all these nuzzeranas had eventually to be paid—with interest—by the people.

My own experience of S. India is contemporaneous with Mr. Sewell's, and extends to the same or neighbouring districts. I am therefore in a position to fully endorse what he says of the increase in prosperity. The real reason of the poverty of the lower classes—of the submerged tenth—lies not in over taxation, but in the natural indolence and apathy of the people. Blessed with a climate in which clothes are more or less an irksome encumbrance; with a soil which, in ordinary years, only requires "tickling with a hoe to laugh with" a crop of grain; where his house can be run up in a couple of days, and the wages of three days will buy him sufficient food for the rest of the week, the Indian labourer has no incentive to work. He has not to undergo the same struggle for existence as the native of a cold northern climate, who requires nourishing and expensive food, warm clothes, fuel and comfortable house room. The Indian labourer thinks of little more than to-day, and as long as his belly is full he is content. It is a remarkable thing that in my revenue experience, which dates back for nearly 35 years, I have generally found that highly assessed lands were better cultivated and the holders were more prosperous than was the case with exactly similar lands, subject to the same conditions, but carrying often a nominal assessment. The reason was that on land carrying a light assessment but little labour was required to pay the Government due and raise a crop; whereas on the highly rated lands careful farming was required, with manure and constant work, in order to raise the required rent, with the result that the farmer himself benefited by the extra yield of the land.

There are, however, two points which should always be borne in mind in comparing the present condition of India with that of former times. The first is the enormous increase of population. Mr. Sewell says rightly that this is generally accepted as a proof of prosperity, but it is questionable whether this can be asserted in reference to a country like India where the people are so indolent and apathetic, and where the tradition everywhere is of self-indulgence rather than of self-restraint. And here again the peculiar indolent characteristic of the people asserts itself for their own evil. Take for instance a fertile country like Behar. Prosperity has brought on over population until the districts have become so congested that the lower classes have difficulty in finding labour or food. But still their natural apathy prevents them from seeking labour elsewhere, or in settling down in sparsely populated districts where they could easily obtain land and employment. I came across a striking example of this national failing only a few weeks ago. Sir John Muir is now opening out extensively on the Travancore hills. There is some difficulty in obtaining labour, although wages run as high as 5 as. a day. He accordingly offered to employ a gang of 500 famine coolies from the district of Cuddapah

about 250 miles distant. The offer was accepted and a gang (hitherto paid a famine dole which is only just calculated so as to keep body and soul together) was sent to work in a cool climate, with liberal wages. But no sooner had they arrived at their destination than the greater number ran away and returned as best they could to their own famine-stricken country. But this trait of apathy and indolence cannot form the subject of reproach to the British Government. We cannot help it that the people will not help themselves. We cannot regulate the procreation of children by acts of the Viceroy in Council; all that we can do is, when famine occurs to give the people work. Under native rule wars and famines acted as wholesome checks upon population. Not only do we give the people peace and safety of life, but we feed or employ the overgrown population in a way that no native ruler ever dreamt of. If we were to alter this policy and allow the natural checks to run their course, the survivors would probably benefit in the end, but there would be justly a cause of reproach against us.

Another point that requires to be remembered is that probably the only way that the people under Native rule were enabled to pay the enormous taxes was by systematic fraud. As there was no scientific land survey, and no efficient revenue officials, the Government had no means of knowing the exact amount of land under cultivation. As the village officials and the cultivators were all more or less in the same boat, their accounts invariably concealed the exact amount of land cultivated by each. For instance if the rate was Rs. 50 per acre, and the ryot was entered as cultivating 50 acres only, the probabilities are that he really cultivated 100, thus reducing the average rent to Rs. 25 per acre. Besides the cattle were allowed free pasture in the forests and in the uncultivated lands; forest produce and timber was also free. Now, under our system of survey and assessment every inch of ground is known and its rate entered in the accounts, the forests are very largely reserved and owing to the increase of population in many districts there is little or no unoccupied land. Although the assessment has everywhere been greatly reduced, the ryot has now no chance of evading the Government dues; whatever he holds he must pay for. Here, in the congested district especially, the people have no doubt a grievance, but it is a grievance for which the Government is not to blame, and for which no remedy can be applied unless the ryots do so themselves, by migration to other districts, by increased labour, and by self-restraint in the matter of marriage. Of course it is quite true that under native rule, all the money spent, was spent in the country. There were no home charges. But these home charges are paid out of the taxes, of which there are fewer. A great deal comes back to the country in the shape of manufactures, &c., and adds to the prosperity. The one crumpled rose-leaf is that *all* the money raised in the country is not spent in it.

The truth is that as regards the general condition of the country and of the people it is infinitely better under British than it was under Native rule; there are fewer and lighter taxes; peace instead of anarchy and misrule, and justice instead of tyranny and extortion. The present generation does not know—and we neglect to teach it—what the conditions were

under which their grandfathers lived, but if we go to some of the more recently acquired provinces—say for instance to the Berars which we took over from the Nizam in 1853—and ask the people if they would like to revert to Native Government, the answer would be a universal and indignant, No! I do not mean to imply that if transferred to native rule the prosperity of the people would suffer, but the tradition of what the country was 45 years ago still exists. It is to be sincerely hoped that this important branch of an Indian boy's education will not be neglected in future, and to Mr. Sewell is due the credit of having drawn attention to what the real facts to be taught are.

J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

I do not mean to enter into an elaborate criticism on the long and valuable paper read by Mr. Sewell on the above subject. During my study of ancient Sanskrit works, I have critically noted down every particular about the extent of the territories of "Chakravarti" Rulers of India like Rama and Yudhishtira. Making due allowance for poetical exaggeration, I cannot agree with Mr. Sewell when he says "Ancient Indian Empires—a Myth." Of course, the Empire of Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress, is far more extensive than that of Akbar or of Aurangzebe; but, if the territories under the Mahomedan rulers were large enough to be called Empires, had not the Hindoos also, at any time, formed an Empire equally large? The native states have always existed—either under the Mahomedans or under the English. The same would have been the case under Chakravarti Sovereigns of Ancient India. Now the question is whether "Asvamedha" Sacrifices and "Chakravarti" Sovereigns were a Fact or a Myth? Indian and European scholars of Sanskrit can alone finally settle this question.

TRIMBAKRAI J. DESAI

The "Friend of India" has two long articles on the subject, in which the conclusion arrived at is that "With the exception, indeed, of the broad fact, which appears to be quite irrelevant to the main question, that India in ancient times was never a single great Empire, there is hardly one of Mr. Sewell's facts that does not appear to us to be more or less open to doubt; while, even if his facts were all indisputable, the inferences he draws from them would still be highly disputable." I propose to discuss the able arguments of the "Friend," as also the facts referred to by that paper, in another issue of the Review, contenting myself, in the meanwhile, with saying that, history for history, the records of India compared with those of England for the last 1,000 years show greater accuracy. The "Friend" affirms that, had the half of the produce left to the agriculturists under Hindu rule, not been larger than the three-fourth or even five-sixth now left to him by the British, there would be no Hindu cultivator now in existence, for the "money-lender, who is practically the product of our administration, absorbs all the difference," and the agriculturist, at present, has only enough to "maintain himself and family in moderate physical health." As for the liberties enjoyed by him, he has never cared for those political luxuries which we offer to the educated classes, whom Mr. Sewell appears to admit to be dissatisfied, though these liberties also seem to be on the



point of being largely curtailed, if the recent measures against native politicians and newspapers are any indication of our future policy in India.

CALCUTTA.

### THE BOMBAY PRESS PROSECUTIONS.

We have been under a Government by panic. I do not refer to Lord Elgin sending 59,000 disciplined troops to chastise hordes of ill-armed tribesmen, who dare to defend their independence, but to the amiable Lord Sandhurst who always protests his love for the natives. Yet, under him, they are losing, at least temporarily, liberties previously enjoyed, and of which they are proud, under British rule. Is it because his natural goodness is over-ridden by orders from Home? At any rate, after swallowing the camels of Tilak's alleged seditiousness in articles that appeared in April, he drops down on a less offending one in June, and allows it to be made the object of a *cause célèbre*. The articles being in Mahratti, the case is tried in Bombay where neither the Judge nor half the Jury understood that language, but if the case has a tendency to increase the accuracy of Government translations or to promote the acquisition of Indian languages by Viceroy's and Governors, it will be one of the mercies, amidst most unfortunate occurrences, for which we ought to be grateful. Greater care will also be, presumably, taken in publications used in Schools or sold in Government Depôts, for some of them, under apparent official sanction, attack the British and their rule far more recklessly than the impugned articles. We now feel what it would be to live under Russia, for there, one is told, that exile to Siberia is the usual fate of Editors not in official favour, whereas here we have had only to record one sentence by the Satara Judge, of transportation for life on an obscure offender of that class, which is not likely to be upheld on appeal. [The Assessors took the view that the article, which was based on some Canadian demand for independence, was not seditious.] Nor are other provinces in a more serene frame of mind—e.g. an Editor is said to have been sentenced at Lahore to three years' imprisonment for stating that the British were less moral than the natives of India, a rejoinder to the more sweeping assertion of a Member of Council, who, however, has not been punished, that Indians did not look at their *demi-monde* as a class to be ashamed of. When will all this senseless excitement cease? We are ashamed at the number of Press prosecutions, but not surprised, for our excellent Governor has no judicial adviser; nobody who knows the State trials of Eldon and Ellenborough's time; no one who tells him that it is not a sign of a strong Government to lose the sense of proportion and to appear vindictive against, comparatively, small offenders. Lord Sandhurst had full cognizance of Tilak's antecedents, when he appointed him to the Council even after his April Press escapades. This hampered the prosecution, as it could not want to expose Lord Sandhurst, though our Governor was quite right in looking more to Tilak's abilities and to his general loyalty than to his pen occasionally running away with him. The defence, however, naturally used the argument that Tilak must be a law-abiding man and not

seditions, or else Lord Sandhurst could not lawfully have appointed him to the Council, as honours and offices may only be conferred on law-abiding men, however outspoken.

BOMBAYITE.

### TILAK'S SENTENCE.

The sentence on Tilak is either too lenient if he really instigated his readers to active disaffection or too severe if anything short of the above offence was committed. The reasoning of the Judge seems to be rather sophistical than independent and almost as if a *parti pris* had to be justified. Whether there are still Judges in Israel or Bombay remains to be seen on a careful perusal of the full reports of the Bombay Press prosecutions, when they reach us. In the meanwhile, it is an open question whether Tilak's punishment will be a deterrent or an incentive to disaffection. I should think that, with the baser class of newspaper writers or agitators, it will be the former, but that by frightening well-meaning, if too outspoken, critics of our Government it will be the latter, in so far as reducing them to silence and thus depriving Government of information and suggestions, without which it is impossible for foreigners to rule in India. That this silence is more dangerous than agitation is obvious from the fact that our Government Schools have for years taught disaffection without official serenity having been disturbed. Perhaps, it is from these books that Tilak was first taught the disaffection for which he is now punished and so, as a product of our own training, he deserved, perhaps, as gentle a treatment, as the authors of the seditious School-books, prepared, possibly, as a "job" under official patronage or want of supervision. The persons responsible for an "oversight" that has been continued for years should, certainly, be punished. Reverting to Tilak's sentence it is difficult to approve of a judge who so emphasizes the duty of the jury to take the Law from him and then seems to explain the legal definition of "disaffection," which is obviously active, as "*want of affection*." One would have thought that the latter, was rather a passive, sentiment and one that could not be punishable by law.

PLEADER.

Among the *gravamina* pressed by the Judge against Tilak appears to be that he had objected to soldiers being employed in the plague house-to-house visitations. Perhaps, His Lordship had left Europe too early for his Indian career to know much about the conduct of soldiers in Great Britain or, for that matter, on the Continent, although they are recruited there from all classes of the population, including the higher, which is not the case in England. Young soldiers, surrounded by temptations, succumb to them even here. To make out that Tommy Atkins is a pattern of self-restraint abroad, where he is less controlled than at home, is self-deception or hypocrisy, and especially is this the case when, in the same breath, protection is sought for him, by a Contagious Disease Act in a modified form, from the consequences of a vice which are stated to exceed ten to twenty times, in the British, those of any Continental, army. That outrages, or, at least, horseplay, took place at the inspection of native homes,

is not, at all, impossible. That it is a false policy to hush anything up is beyond doubt to all who know the native character, which hitherto appreciated the administration of justice above everything else in our Government. To alter this feeling by convictions, speeches and official notifications in which passion, panic or an *esprit de corps* is traceable, is injuring our rule in India. The withdrawal by Prof. Gokhlé of statements furnished to him by others who had either misled him or were afraid, in the present official feeling at Bombay, to support him, is not in point, but the accusations brought by the learned and philanthropic lady, Rama Bai, of what occurred within her personal knowledge, should be carefully and dispassionately examined and a just punishment, after full exposure, be awarded to any that may be in fault, free from that bias of race or "prestige," which so often converts individual questions in India into elements of discord between the rulers and the ruled.

DOCTOR.

### THE PLAGUE ADMINISTRATION.

The following extract from the *Amrita Basar Patrika* contains the substance of the accusations brought by Pandita Rama Bai against the plague administration. They ought to be investigated and the guilty, if any, punished, irrespective of race, rank or official position. It is a mistake to imagine that such a course would injure British prestige in India, where the most revered Muhammedan and Hindu traditions inculcate that impartial justice is the only lasting basis of rule. Kings and saints alike must give way to the lowest who have been oppressed. The fining of a whole population like that of respectable Poona for the non-discovery of the murderers of two officials is a blunder, as is also the attempt to fix the dastardly deed on the Brahmins, the most educated portion of the community. It would be equally just to charge the clergy and merchants of the City with the murders of Jack Ripper. In sedate Poona where every inhabitant is known, far more so than in cosmopolitan and restless Bombay, it should be easy to trace criminals, but to bully its population for not discharging a duty of the police can scarcely be expedient. England's ascendancy in the world, and certainly in India, is due to her reputation for truth, humanity and justice, and the impression caused by a half-informed Government in a panic is injurious to it. Outspoken criticism is better than the silent alienation of an entire people brooding over a sense of wrongs that it dare not express. All the Press prosecutions and other nibblings have not yet discovered the murderers of Messrs. Rand and Ayerst, for the obvious reason that murderers do not, as a rule, belong to the educated class that reads newspapers however seditious, or even joins national Congresses. It is, indeed, possible that the inability of Government to discover the murderers is partly due to the unwilling silence of native papers, which are afraid to make suggestions for their discovery, lest they should be had up as *participes criminis*. Whatever the failings of the native Press, it has often helped and informed Government, though the fasciculi of "official Press Reports" merely contain the passages abusing Government and not those supporting it, surely a one-sided way of arriving at a correct judgment on the opinions of native newspapers. Be that as it may, the expres-



sion of native views is a check on intrigues that would otherwise escape our attention and India is certainly not a monarchy like that of Russia which was once defined to be "a tyranny tempered by assassination." Far better to punish a guilty white soldier or official, if so there be, than claim for offenders of any class or race, a never-failing virtue or an infallibility in which nobody believes. As for Rama Bai we not only heard of her at the Delhi Imperial Assemblage in 1877 as contributing Sanscrit verses to the polyglot Journal there started in honour of Her Majesty's Imperial title, but also during her English studentship at Lahore, and we quite believe that she is incapable of a wilful misrepresentation. She says what follows in an interview with the *Hindu* of which we have only space for an extract :

Q. "May I ask whether the melancholy account of one of your girls, contained in your letter, can be substantiated?"

A. "Well, I am sure I am right. I am ready to depose to that effect before any authority, if I am summoned, which I have been expecting every moment. The girl is in my charge and can be produced to tell the story of her shame, if necessary. There is also Mr. Gangadharant Gadre who knows all particulars of the scandalous affair, as he was then with me. I do not know if the men in the hospital who know this thing will come forward and speak the truth."

Q. "How can the authorities of the hospital be held responsible if it can be said that the girl was seduced after she was discharged from the hospital?"

A. "No, but the women at the hospital told me that what should not have been, had been in the hospital before her discharge."

Q. "How did you come to know the fate of the girl?"

A. "I was told at the Sassoon Hospital by the Sister in charge of the nursing department, and this information was given—I understand—by the Surgeon that she was dead, but having had to go to the plague hospital, I naturally made inquiries, and was told by Dr. Krishnaswami that the girl was living and not dead, and may be seen by me next morning. I was glad to wait till the next day if I could but get a sight of my lost girl; but I could not see her the next day, and had to do a great deal to find her out. I was told by ward women that she was not to be found in the hospital and had been living with one Khushalchand. She was so connected with the man before she was discharged."

Q. "How old is she?"

A. "She may be sixteen or seventeen. I cannot be certain. She is one of my famine girls from the Central Provinces."

Speaking about the hospital arrangements, she said that she was in the hospital for two days, and that she had to complain against the arrangement for women. The hospital was a general hospital for all classes; except the Europeans who were taken to the Sassoon Hospital, all were liable to be taken to that hospital. She should have had to go there if she had been attacked by the plague, as her unfortunate girl was. Beyond seven feet by nine, no more space was available. No place could be found where a woman could find herself free from the gaze of men. No care was taken for the accommodation of women in attendance upon the sick.

Q. "How were you treated yourself?"

A. "Well, I must thank them for taking special care of me. They allowed me to sit in the corner of a very large secluded shed; unfortunately it turned out to have been a plague ward. I am much obliged to Dr. Barry for not confining me in the segregation camp and keeping me in ignorance about the arrangements there. I wish I had some experience of them too!"

Q. "Did you speak about the mismanagement to somebody there?"

A. "Of course I did. I spoke to Dr. Krishnaswami, the Hospital Assistant who seemed to be in charge there, but I was told that it was not any of his concern to look to them."

Q. "Yesterday's *Champion* says that the hospital arrangements of the Arthur Road Hospital in Bombay were said to be unsatisfactory until Mrs. Dr. Phipson visited the

hospital and exposed many defects which were afterwards set right, though Dr. Phipson was called a busybody for her troubles."

Q. "But, you forget," said the Pandita, pinching her arm and looking at her skin, "that she has a white skin which I have not. That is why perhaps His Excellency characterised my letter as 'grossly inaccurate and misleading.' His Excellency speaks from what he is told and perhaps has seen; but I speak from what I have experienced and undergone. If he had been in my position and had gone through my experiences, he should have had a different tale to tell. Well, you see if a person never suffered from, say, headache, it is impossible for him to imagine and feel what that pain was like."

### A BIOGRAPHY OF THE LATE HON<sup>BLE</sup> RAJA BIRBAR, SIR SAHIB DYAL, K.C.S.I., OF KISHAN KOT.

Thakur Mahan Chand, of Amritsar, has undertaken to write a life of his grandfather—the late Hon<sup>ble</sup> Raja Birbar Sir Sahib Dyal, K.C.S.I., of Kishan Kot. From the collection of private letters, official documents, and other records that we have seen we have, in common with all who have known that illustrious man, not only a very high regard for the merits and character of the late Raja, but we consider that the projected biography will, if thoroughly elaborated, be an important contribution to Panjab history, in which Sir Sahib Dyal bore an important part. He was one of the most trusted advisers of the British Government, yet, withal, thoroughly national in his aims and deservedly popular. Two of the many anecdotes regarding him, which his numerous friends would do well, as asked in a circular which we have received, to communicate to his biographer, are from our personal knowledge. When in 1865 there was a great doubt as to the existence of a special character and of the language of manuscripts alleged to have been thrown into, and to have perished in, the Kashmir rivers, he produced to me one written on the bark of a birch-tree in the SHARDs character, in which I discovered an inscription on stone the year after, saying "tell only scholars in Europe," for he was afraid that local search, without such a preliminary precaution, would cause suspicion among owners of these rare manuscripts and thus defeat *a priori* the object of a truly scientific enquiry. He used to have his grandson (perhaps this very biographer) on the bench with him as one of the magistrates at Amritsar and, on one occasion, when it seemed to be impossible to identify the accused, who had claimed an *alibi*, the Raja turned to the grandson and asked him what *he* thought. The boy, 7 years old, asked at once the complainant: "Did the accused smoke with you just before you missed the jewel?" "Yes." "I do not smoke, I am good Sikh," angrily rejoined the accused. "Then show me your hands," replied the infant-Judge, who then pointed out the coloured mark in the accused's palm which results from kneading tobacco before putting it in the Huka. So the case was decided in accordance with the unanswerable discovery made by the young Solomon.

G. W. L.

### THE LATE SIR DONALD MACLEOD AND THE MACLEOD CLANS.

In response to our invitation to forward particulars regarding the clan Assynt and Geanis, of which the late Sir Donald McLeod, Lieutenant

Governor of the Panjab, was the distinguished head, Mr. A. Macdonald of Portree, the great expert in all matters connected with Skye, sends us the first of the following accounts. Another which embraces all the Macleods is from "Johnstone's Clans and Tartans," and reminds us of the old dispute as to the supremacy of the McLeods between the Chiefs of Skye and him of Assynt and Geanis, which is recorded by Dr. Johnson in his "Tour in the Hebrides," who first awarded the palm to Assynt and, in a subsequent edition of the work, inclines to Dunvegan in still partly feudal Skye. Norman Macleod of Macleod, the present distinguished owner of the historical castle at Dunvegan, perhaps the oldest in Great Britain, was also, we believe, a distinguished member of the Indian and Colonial Military services and is now the uncontested chief of the Macleods, whilst George Edmonstone Macleod, a Civilian in Assam, is that of the Assynts. The former dispenses a noble hospitality at his Castle, and appreciates the effort made in the Commemoration Gallery, founded by the Oriental University Institute, to perpetuate the memory of his illustrious rival of Assynt by a bust, the preparation of which has been entrusted to Mr. John Adams Acton, the eminent sculptor, whose connexions are also in the Highlands. No man, more than Sir Donald, understood and could rightly guide the natives of the Panjab, or settled the differences with the tribes on its frontier with greater ease, thoroughness and economy. His capacity for dealing with different races and castes was largely aided by his own Highland reminiscences and traditions and, like other officers in India of Highland origin, he managed them, in consequence, with exceptional success. He was a strict Puritan, but his sympathy for Oriental religions and languages was great and his appeal to the Educational Department to promote the cultivation of the vernaculars elicited the response for an Anglo-Oriental University from the Chiefs, gentry and priesthood of the province. His own scholarship was great and he promoted the mission for the discovery of Kailās, which resulted in that of the races and languages of Dardistan. On his return to England he continued to take part in philanthropic and learned undertakings, and it was in order to attend a missionary gathering that he met with the accident on the London Underground Railway which, severing both his arms and legs, cost him his life after a week of great suffering. Yet not a sigh or complaint escaped him, and so earnest was his solicitude for others that, asked whether he was in pain, he only answered "peace, peace," which, indeed, was the high reward of his good deeds and conscience, alike during his life and in his death. Great Britain has never had a more noble-minded or devoted servant and it is only fitting that in an Oriental Commemoration of Her Majesty's 60th year of reign his bust should be prepared among those who have, during her rule, promoted the sacred Oriental learning of Her Indian subjects.

#### ORIGIN OF THE MACLEODS OF GEANIES.

The Clan MacLeod is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in the North of Scotland, and in point of fact their origin is really lost in the mists of antiquity. They are generally said to be of Norwegian origin and descended from the Royal Family of Denmark through the Kings of the Isle of Man. They are said to have taken possession of their Island Kingdom in 1065, or even before then, the date being uncertain. At an early date



they are said to have divided into two branches viz : the MacLeods of Dunvegan in Skye and the MacLeods of Lewis. The MacLeods of Geanies are descended from the MacLeods of Assynt who sprang from the MacLeods of Lewis, and it is from this branch i.e. MacLeods of Assynt, that the "MacLeods of Geanies" are descended.

Sir Donald MacLeod belonged to the Family of Geanies.

The following is the account given in Mackenzie's "History of the MacLeods" published by Messrs. A. and W. Mackenzie, Inverness, 1889, commencing with Duncan MacLeod 5th of Geanies. The history proceeds as follows viz :

XVII. Duncan MacLeod, fifth of Geanies, a Lieutenant General in the Bengal Engineers. He married Henrietta Friel with issue

- (1.) Duncan Craufurd MacLeod of the Bengal Civil Service. He died in India unmarried.
- (2.) Sir Donald Friel MacLeod K.C.S. and C.B. of the Bengal Civil Service, who afterwards became the male representative of the family.
- (3.) George Forbes, who died before his father, but married Anna Butter with issue—an only son George Edmonstone MacLeod, now head of the House.
- (4.) Jane Alicia who married Dr. James Innes of the H.E.I.C.S. with issue—James John MacLeod Innes, Lieutenant-General R.E.—V.C. who served in the defence of Lucknow and throughout the Mutiny in 1857. He married Lucy Jane daughter of Dr. Hugh Macpherson, Professor of Greek and Sub Principal of Kings College, Aberdeen, with issue

- (1.) James Edgeworth Innes. He was in the Indian Civil Service and died in India.
- (2.) Hugh MacLeod Innes.
- (3.) Arthur Donald Innes, and
- (4.) Alicia Sibella Innes.

Dr. Innes had also three daughters—Henrietta Georgina Forbes who married the Revd. Alex. Luke with issue; Margaret Clunes who died unmarried, and Elinor Carolina Pemberton who married Dr. Barclay Scriven without issue.

- (5.) Henrietta Peach who married Captain Robert B. Pemberton with issue. Col. Robert Charles B. Pemberton, Royal Engineers, who served at the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow and has been twice married with issue,—two sons and three daughters, John MacLeod Pemberton, who died in India unmarried; Duncan Scott Pemberton, Colonel Royal Artillery, married and died in India with issue; Sholto Edmonstone Pemberton, Lieutenant Colonel Royal Artillery, married with issue, and a daughter, Henrietta Peach Pemberton, who married Sir George Udny Yule K.C.S.I. with issue.
- (6.) Margaret who married John Abraham Francis Hawkins with issue—two sons, John who died young, and Robert MacLeod married with issue.

Duncan MacLeod was succeeded as a representative of the family by his only surviving son.

XVIII. SIR DONALD FRIEL MACLEOD K.C.S.I. and C.B. of the Bengal Civil Service. He was Financial Commissioner of the Punjab during the Indian Mutiny in 1857 and afterwards Lieutenant General of the Punjab. He married Frances, daughter of Sir Robert Montgomery, without issue. He was killed in a railway accident in London in 1872, when he was succeeded as head of the house of Assynt and Geanies by his nephew, the only son of his deceased brother, George Forbes.

XIX. GEORGE EDMONSTONE MACLEOD, sixth and present representative of the family. He was born in 1850, and is in the Indian Civil Service, being a Deputy

Commissioner in Assam, Bengal. He married Cara, daughter of Admiral Walcott, with issue two sons and one daughter

(1.) Donald, George Sholto, Mona.

#### THE CLAN OF MACLEOD.

"This clan is divided into two tribes—the MacLeods of Lewis, called the branch of Torquill; and the MacLeods of Harris, called the branch of Tormod. Both were powerful, and both were independent of each other, though both are descended from the son of Leod, who gave his name to the entire sept, and whose pedigree goes to a very remote ancestor called 'Laird the Strong.' The chief of the Harris branch has been variously designated 'MacLeod of MacLeod, MacLeod of that Ilk and of Harris.'

"There were other branches—Rasay in Inverness-shire, and Cadboll and Geanies in Ross-shire, besides Dunvegan in the West.

"About 1344 David II. granted a charter to 'Malcolm filio Turmode Macleode' for the lands of Glenelg, for which he was to render service to the King, with a ship of twenty-six oars. Another charter grants Tormod the lands of Assint. From these and other circumstances, it is supposed that the Harris tribe was the senior, though Lewis was the oldest cadet. While the Lords of the Isles existed both families held their lands under them. After their forfeiture the MacLeods became independent. The Harris MacLeods had also large possessions in Skye.

"Alaster Crotach (or the Humpbacked) MacLeod of that Ilk (or Dunvegan), who lived in the time of James V., was the chief, who, in a quarrel with the people of Eigg, smoked scores of them to death in the *Uamh Fhrainc*, or cave of St. Francis. So lately as 1814, Sir Walter Scott found the floor of the cavern strewn with the bones of 200 men, women, and children of the MacDonald clan. The tomb of Alaster Crotach still remains in the Church of St. Clement in Harris. He got a gift of the lands of Ardmannach in 1498. He is called the son of William MacLeod of Dunvegan.

"In the Roll of the Clans in 1587, we find Torquill MacLeod of Coggach, eldest son of Roderick of the Lewis, which title and estate he claimed on his father's death, and which were disputed.

"William MacLeod of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg appears at the same date as chief of the Siol Tormaid; also Malcolm MacLeod of Rasay, nearest heir male of the MacLeods of Lewis, after the descendants of the body of Roderick MacLeod of Lewis, Coggach, and Assint, chief of the *Siol Torcuill*.

"Some time towards the close of the fourteenth century, Angus MacKay of Strathnaver married a sister of MacLeod of Lewis; and as he used her ill, the latter marched into his country, ravaged it, and fought a pitched battle in 1406 at a place Tuttumtarwigh, where he was slain with many of his clan.

"On the forfeiture of MacLeod of Lewis, a life-rent grant of Assynt was given to Y. MacKay of Strathnaver.

"In the Island of Handa, off the Sutherland coast, there lived in the reign of James VI. John M'Dhoil-vic-Huishdon, a branch of the *Siol Torquill*, a man of low stature, but matchless strength. 'By him it was that Judge Morrison was slain. This judge had James VI.'s commission to maintain good order in the country; and though he was murdered by this MacLeod, it was for no injury done to himself, but in revenge for his being instrumental in putting to death one of that family who acted as Laird of Lewis.'

"In 1605 Tormod MacLeod of Lewis, for resisting the Duke of Lennox, to whom James VI. had gifted his ancient patrimony, was committed a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, with Isla, and several other chiefs. After ten years captivity he was released, and went to Holland to serve under Maurice, Prince of Orange, as a soldier of fortune, and died in the ranks of the Scots Brigade.

"About 1660 the superiority of Assint passed to the Earl of Seaforth after there had been fourteen successive lairds born there of that name.

"'The rival family of Lewis became extinct' says Robinson 'but their heir male is Rasay.'

"The MacLeods of Lewis and Harris 'are both utterly extinct' wrote the Lord President in 1745. 'The present Laird of MacLeod is chief of the name. He can bring out 700 men.'

"From some information given by 'the Chevalier de Macleot' at Lisle in 1787, there would seem to have been a considerable branch of the clan settled in France since 1530, descended from David MacLeod, Gendarme of the Scottish Guard.

"The present head of the family (1794) is Jean Nicolas de Macleot, Seigneur de Terraigne Pierreville, before the Revolution, *gentilhomme ordinaire du Roi*."

"The stately and picturesque Castle of Dunvegan, on the west coast of Skye, is still the seat of MacLeod of that Ilk."—*Johnstone's Clans and Tartans*.

#### CERTAIN ORIENTAL ANALOGIES IN GAELIC.

If theoretical Orientalists in this country were to study British audiences less and British dialects more, they might find that some of the latter throw light on those very Oriental investigations of which the public believes them to be authorities. A great drawback in some savants is that they would rather talk to a prince than to a peasant and that, in any case, they infinitely prefer talking and writing in English *about* Oriental languages than to speak or write *in* them. The modesty with which one leader of Orientalists leaves to another the chance of conversing with a native Indian or Persian or Turk or Arab, say, at an Oriental Congress, almost approaches self-effacement. Welsh, Irish and Gaelic to them are, perhaps, not far enough to lend enchantment to the view or to gain a reputation for learning; yet there is no doubt that these branches of a Celtic tongue throw infinitely more light on a living knowledge of Sanscrit and on the Science of Language than a hundred sun-myths or even a fifth edition of a well-known text of a Veda. Even the Gaelic scholar does not always appreciate the treasures within his reach which he could acquire, not from manuscripts or books with varying and distressing modes of spelling, but from the mouths of crofters, cotters, gillies, fishermen *et hoc genus omne*, who have preserved Sanscrit modes of pronunciation as also explanations of words that recall a still older state of human Society than when that literary language was "perfected" for gods and Brahmins out of a spoken Prakrit. I heard, for instance, the distinct diacritic pronunciation of the aspirate after various consonants in Skye, Stromeferry and from natives of intervening islands, which even Gaelic scholars—from having always heard English spoken—could not catch or discriminate, but which to one who has studied an Indian language in India is unmistakable. The expression, for instance, of "Thank you" or "Thap liv" is, so far as the "th" is concerned, neither a *θ* or a "th" in "thing," nor a simple "t," but is the aspirate "h" following quickly, but still diacritically, the dental "t." Similarly "b" is often pronounced with "h," and one day I heard a "bhalá" from a Rona boatman that reminded me of a similar vociferation by his fellow-craftsman on the Ganges. Indeed, it is not from the inconsistent and varied spelling of Gaelic books that Gaelic should be studied for linguistic or comparative purposes, but from sentences taken from the mouths of what is called the common people, though they are far more cultured in thought and sentiment than the rich upstarts who have driven them from their homes for the sake of deer and grouse. I also found them to be possessed of a wonderful insight into the mysteries of their own language (provided they had learnt English late in life). For instance, a Gaelic-speaking young lady at Stromeferry, who had been taught French



and Latin, when I asked her the Gaelic for "father," said that there was no such word by itself, but there was "my father," "thy father," "his" or "her" father, for "father" was impossible without being somebody's father. In other words, the pronoun is so connected with the words indicating the relations of father, mother, sister, etc., as to make the separate substantive confusing, for it was only gradually that "*his* father" became the word for "father" generally. This is precisely what I was told by more than one Hunza or Nagyri from the slopes of the Pamir and it was the study of such prehistoric fragments that led me to a "new departure in the science of language" which finds the rules of grammar in customs, in the surrounding natural phenomena, in local history and in the organization of the race in whose speech they exist. Thus, in Hunza and Nagyri, the pronominal fusion, which still exists in a few words in uncontaminated *spoken* Gaelic, is connected with almost everything personal and the fact that one cannot say "father" but only "my," "thy," "his" "father," is a linguistic fragment of their prehistoric state when all the adult males were the fathers and all the adult females the mothers of the tribe. In a Braemar village, a Gael admitted the pronominal fusion in father, mother, sister, etc., but not in "brother," for, he said, "brother" was every member of the clan, though, of course, one could also say "my," "thy," "his" brother for those that stood in that special relation. I see that Professor Mackinnon in an article in the "Highland News" of the 11th Sept., mentions that Gaelic lost "p" very early, and that *pater*, e.g. became "athair," "father," or, as I heard it pronounced, "áhir" = "his father." Now, when I asked what is "hir" there was no reply as it was unintelligible for the reason already above given, but I venture to submit another, or rather a parallel, explanation to Professor Mackinnon. It is the tendency of an initial labial, passing, say, from Sanscrit to Armenian, to become "h," and of a medial dental to be elided, so that it goes without saying that "father" must be "háir" in Armenian. The same is the case with the Gaelic "áhir" for "father," and the unintelligible "hir" is simply the eternal masculine "vir," *āp* from which *Āpys* or Mars, the German "er." Compare also "Herr," "her," "Sir," the initial aspirate changing in some derivative languages into either "v" or "s" as "sus" from "ṡs," and "vinum" from "oīvos," in Latin and Greek respectively. In writing Gaelic the aspirate is often written with other consonants, but these are sometimes not pronounced at all, so that they do not aid my argument, unless Professor Mackinnon could trace the reason and the period of that plethora in spelling and prove that, as in Sanscrit writing, the vernacular or Prakrit pronunciation of them preceded, as it still follows, their transliteration. This, however important to philology, is a small matter compared with the revival of Gaelic as a language taught in schools and not to be ashamed of, as is the case, I fear, with some English-knowing Highlanders. First and foremost put Gaelic down phonetically as it is pronounced *now* by those who speak it. Then teach it in schools and you will find that the boys will turn out better men than they do now. I have noticed that now they only know the English of the subjects which their master has taught them, but, out of school, when they wish to talk of their

fields or despatch a telegram in English, they cannot do so intelligibly or express it even in Gaelic as they are forgetting it—so they are growing up to be a sort of Highland Babus, whereas if they were taught Gaelic and English simultaneously they would not confound the substance with the sound that expresses it in either one or the other language; they would become better thinkers and more practical men, and they would hold their own against encroachments on their rights and their proud position as the most loyal subjects of the Queen. Alas! for the destruction of those fine nurseries for our warriors, who, from the Isle of Skye alone, contributed 10,000 soldiers to our Napoleonic wars, and who now, driven from home, thrive in distant America and elsewhere, where alone, at present, prospers their language and Gaelic newspapers are issued. All the more honour then to those Highland journals that still consecrate a column or so of their pages to the preservation of their ancient and expressive language.

G. W. LEITNER.

#### THE MOPLA LEGEND REGARDING TRAVANCORE.

When the last Perumal (Emperor, Ruler) of the South Western Coast of India, decided to forsake Hinduism and adopt Islām, he divided up his kingdom, and the present Maharajah of Travancore is the descendant (in the female line) of the individual to whom was given that Province. It seems the various provinces were given as a sort of trust, the Perumal himself sailing to Arabia (in A.D. 825) to examine for himself the new faith at its source, so to speak, and no doubt intending to return and resume the Government of the Western Coast. He died in Arabia after he had become a Muhommedan, yet the Hindu rulers hold their throne only *until the uncle (the last Perumal) returns from Mecca.*

It was on the occasion of this subdivision of territory that the ancestor of the Zamorin (not then entitled Zamorin, only a small chieftain) was given as his share a sword only; on it inscribed "To get, to hold, to preserve"—or some such legend. The sword is still in existence.

The present Zamorin has not undergone the ceremony referred to, partly on the score of expense, partly on account of the consequences; he cannot therefore appear in state; he cannot "go in procession." F. F.

#### AFGHAN PUBLICATIONS.

In the present condition of affairs on the Panjāb frontier, no Civil or Military officer, or intelligent student of the subject should be without the invaluable Thesaurus of the races of Afghānistān and their manifold subdivisions which was published by the greatest authority on the subject, the late Surgeon-General Dr. H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., under the title of "*An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghānistān.*" The work was brought out under the auspices of the International Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1891, by the Oriental University Institute at Woking.

Similarly, an Afghan anthology of poetry and other extracts in the original, and an English translation from Khūshhāl Khān Khatak, compiled by C. E. Biddulph, M.A., which also contains a good grammar, and

idiomatic expressions in the Pakhtu language should now, be in demand by all interested on, and in, the Panjāb Frontier. We consider that it is a patriotic, as well as a literary, duty to draw public attention, especially at this conjuncture, to the above important and useful productions.

#### BRITISH TRADE IN ORIENTAL COUNTRIES AND THE COLONIES.

The replies to Mr. Chamberlain's Circular Questions of November 1895, addressed to the Colonies as also, indirectly, to India, asking whether, in what respects and why, foreign competition displaced British trade, have just been embodied in a Bluebook of nearly 600 pages which has been most carefully reviewed in the *Times* of the 15th ultimo. Although we propose to give the subject early and detailed attention from Oriental and Colonial standpoints, we cannot forbear from stating at once that British trade is only absolutely, or relatively, declining in those markets, as regards its natural status, in *new* customers or *new* articles for sale, especially of a fancy or artistic kind, but that, on the whole, British goods still retain their hold for quality when in competition with foreign goods of the same kind—or, in short, that the bulk of the world's trade is still in British hands. At the same time, the general lesson to be derived from the replies to Mr. Chamberlain's pertinent Circular is that, if English Capitalists and workmen will not take the trouble to study the tastes of Oriental and Colonial customers, they must eventually lose them. The time that all classes in this country spend on amusement, dignified into being an almost sacerdotal physical improvement, of which, by the way, there is no striking evidence among the male population, instead of devoting it to mental work, is a sign of degeneracy and downfall, sooner or later, in one or the other branch of Commerce as also in general fitness for "the struggle of existence." The reluctance to learn foreign languages, the superciliousness to native retail-dealers, the impatience with Oriental patterns, tastes and demands; above all, the greed to make a fortune immediately by exorbitant prices and by short cuts, instead of by steady application, must eventually have their effect. At the Oriental Congress of 1891 certain Chambers of Commerce and large Merchants co-operated with Orientalists in the newly-added Section which dealt with the reasons why Chinamen and other Orientals preferred this or that colour, this or that shape and there can be no doubt that the comparative decline in the China trade, when the growing increase of customers in that country is taken into account, is largely due to the slow and prejudiced methods of the British manufacturer or merchant. Greater cheapness and finish also is what the Oriental world requires, not merely quality. Moreover the Briton's foreign rival is "*coutant*" or pliable and gives credit easier, for he makes friends with the native or Colonial and so learns more quickly whom he can trust. That in musical instruments, for instance, Germany should be first in certain markets; that in silks and perfumery France for Europe and Persia for Asia may attract more purchasers, that other countries supply their own indigenous commodities is not only not a subject for alarm, but one for our congratulation, because this is the very reason why the world should, internationally, promote British com-



merce. Unless, however, Englishmen will soon set their house in order it will be too late to retain what is legitimately theirs. The English workmen should learn rather from, than complain of, the foreigner's competition—for with a more subdued animal exuberance, he would find it possible to work longer, to improve the taste and "finish" of his task, to attend better to the wants of his family, than by continuing in his present sullen independence, in politics and beer and the selfishness that spends one's all on one's self under the excuse of British manliness and sport. *Inter alia*, the Imperial Institute also, we hope, may yet do more than exhibit Tasmanian apples and holding smoking concerts, if it is to be worthy of its high patronage and of the liberality of the Colonial, Indian, and other Donors that called it into existence on the strength of promises that it would largely promote the commercial and other welfare of the contributing countries, as a centre of information, of the exhibition of the natural and industrial products of the Empire and as a commercial Cosmopolitan University. Armed, among other peaceful weapons, with the Bluebook on the "Trade of the British Empire" under notice, it may yet aid towards the material, mental and moral development of British Commerce in friendly rivalry with "foreign competition."

#### THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

Few movements so commend themselves to the believing Protestant Christian, apart from any intention of proselytism, as the agitation which has for its object the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land. In Great Britain and the New England States especially, the generation that is brought up by the Bible, looks forward to this fulfilment of prophecy as an anchor of its own faith and the realization of its own dearest hopes. Indeed, it may be said that English thought is still very largely moulded on Scriptural phraseology, and that the use of Biblical language, especially by the middle and rural classes, is still very striking in English-speaking countries. There can, therefore, be no doubt that if the Zionist movement had, or were to have, a practical basis and a common-sense organization, it would strongly appeal to the moral and pecuniary support of Christians, quite irrespective, as we have said before, of any *arrière-pensée* of ultimately converting the Jews resettled in Palestine. There, of course, remains the question whether the Zionists would accept such aid from mere "friends of Israel," who are not Jews, but that such aid would be enthusiastically forthcoming, had the movement a reasonable chance of success, there can be no doubt whatever.

In some respects, indeed, the common-sense of its promoters has already avoided some dangerous pitfalls. In proposing the *sole* protectorate of Turkey, to which the new Jewish State is to be tributary, they do not invite the concert, or discord, of the Great Powers which has been so disastrous to the Armenians, once the special protégés of the Turk as the "*millet-ı-sâdika*," "*the sincerely friendly nation*," before English and French education affected them, and a London Committee caused their ruin. To the Jew the Turk has perhaps been only superciliously tolerant, but he had saved him from Spanish persecution and Jewish loyalty to the ruler

of the country, in Turkey as elsewhere, was as much a part of his religion as his charity and his love of Zion. The Sultan is quite willing to give them favourable terms for the *colonization* of Palestine, but a Jewish State is a more difficult matter, unless guarantees are given for the protection of the Muhammadan population, including not only the Arab Fellahin, but also the Bedouins, with whom, after all, it is most easy to come to terms for the cultivation of the fertile portions of the land over which they roam. All the races inhabiting Syria are of the same stock, and have no real dislike for one another, whether they are Christians, Muhammadans, or Jews; they all speak Arabic and, however commendable is the Zionist advocacy of the study of Hebrew as a, practically, still living language for the Jewish settlers, their acquisition of the cognate Arabic is of primary importance for their comfort and safety. We, therefore, look with disfavour on any "Zionist" suggestion, having for its object the displacement, say of the Arabs or Druses of the Hauran or the transplanting of the Polish or other State systems of the Continent to a country of Republics and Theocracies. Admitting even a Jewish Governor, the Vice-Governors and officials generally should, certainly, represent the various religions of the community and, *inter alia*, the guard at the Holy Sepulchre should either remain in Turkish hands, or else, be changed to Catholic, Greek orthodox, Muhammadan or Jewish ones on the days respectively of the gatherings or festivals of the various creeds.

Many of the published ideas of the Zionists are unsuitable to the possible future surroundings, being modern and ill-digested. It is easy enough to move masses of *believing* Jews of the old type, whether well or badly off, by promises of Zion and the military and comfortable Gugerati "Beni-Israel," the industrial black Jew of Cochin, the respected trader of Abyssinia, not to speak of the Pariahs of Rumania and Bulgaria, can be induced by the eloquence of the Zionist propagandists to start for Palestine, but, unless practical-minded Jewish financiers take the movement in hand, it will be like one of the crusades stimulated by Peter the Hermit, leading hundreds of thousands of believers, by promises that cannot be kept, to perish from hunger, disease, or as captives of Bedouins, on whom the Zionists seem almost desirous to encroach. Whether the movement can be brought to a successful conclusion in being led by men of sense, piety and wealth, or whether it is to be the means of a calamity, unparalleled even in the annals of the Jewish history of troubles, by being in the hands of *doctrinaires*, unacquainted with the conduct of State-business and the exigencies of life in the East, may form the subject of discussion in future issues, in which we hope that Muhammadans also may join, for to them too Jerusalem is a sacred centre of pilgrimage. In the meanwhile, it is a significant and disturbing fact that the accepted leaders of the Jewish community throughout Europe are, as a rule, opposed to the Zionist movement, and it is to be regretted that men of the type of Sir Moses Montefiore are now so rare, for they alone combine religious sentiment with the required secular qualifications that can bring such a movement to a successful issue. Cautious and gradual *colonization* should certainly precede a Jewish Republic. France has claims to protect Syria,

or, at least, the Maronites; England looks after the Druses, and the Pope and the Christian world generally have an interest in the Holy Places. So the more warily and unambitiously the Zionists proceed, the better for the success of their movement.

#### MR. TILAK'S APPEAL TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

There is an unconscious irony in Lord Sandhurst's statement in the Bombay Legislative Council that in spite of all that he is doing and that they have done, his affection for the natives is as ardent as it was two and a half years ago. For after indulging them in the notion that the plague was nothing very dreadful, he was obliged, after thousands had died in Bombay and the disease had spread to Karachi, Poona and many another town, to adopt measures terrifying and offensive to the people, and in Bombay to allow the whole Civil Service to be superseded in this work of sanitation by a General of British troops. Then after appointing Mr. Tilak to an office of high honour and trust, carrying great precedence like membership of the Privy Council, he proceeds to have him indicted on the grave charge of seditious writing in his newspaper. We understand that this conduct hampered the prosecution, it being pleaded for the prisoner that Lord Sandhurst must have thought the articles harmless or, at least, consistent with loyal intentions; and so the Advocate General stated that the sanction for the criminal proceedings was given by Lord George Hamilton, as if Lord Sandhurst had been over-ruled, as in the Bombay plague, and severity had been forced upon him. It was said also that more than one Governor of Bombay had (very properly, I think, to cement good feeling between natives and Europeans) given money towards a memorial of Sivaji, the Mahratta Prince, in whose mouth Mr. Tilak had by a not uncommon literary trick, put the sentences on which the conviction chiefly rests. In so far as the different political bias of the Secretary of State and the Governor is concerned, there would be an advantage in the interests of justice, if the law allows, in having the trial reviewed by the Privy Council, which is the proper Court to interpret a new and important law, but in a criminal case it is not easy to get an appeal admitted. All lawyers know the cases, where books and sermons which inferior tribunals have denounced as heresy, have been held by that high and dispassionate tribunal to be strictly within the law of the land and the doctrines of the Church of England.

There is yet another and weightier reason impelling the legal advisers of the convicted editor to seek review in the Privy Council. There have been hardly any rulings of the High Courts on the meaning of the language of that new Section of the Indian Penal Code on which the charge and conviction are based; and if Mr. Justice Strachey really interpreted "disaffection" as meaning the opposite of affection, we believe both the great political parties will approve of the matter coming to the Privy Council. There is no legal duty requiring any subject to feel or profess affection for the Government. Several perfectly loyal statesmen have, even in Parliament, avowed their preference of a Republic to the Monarchical form; and in our system of party government, there never can be any "affection" between the Outs and the Ins. We recall the profound remark of that experienced Viceroy, the Marquis of Dufferin, that the loyalty of the peoples



of India to their foreign rulers is not based on sentiment but merely on self-interest. So closely are the ruling race in India identified with the Government that attacks upon Europeans and their ways in the Native Press might conceivably be followed by crimes evincing dislike. This would not, however, be the "disaffection" at which the Penal Code strikes: and yet a European juror might confound the two things. We all know that when Lord Bute was Prime Minister, both he and other Scotsmen to whom he gave salaried offices and indeed the whole Scotch nation were bitterly abused by such writers as Churchill and Dr. Johnson. Yet although the endeavour was to bring the Government into contempt and make it hated by the English place-hunters, nobody suggested prosecution for treason. It may be that the clash of interests is now in India producing the same ill-feeling as Lord Bute evoked when Scotsmen were foreigners to the English. If such is the case, the review of the trial by the Judicial Committee might have the same cooling, peacemaking result as usually follows its decisions on the doctrines and ritual of the Church of England.\*

PRAETOR.

#### A RENEWED SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN INDIA.

The Hindu Society, called "The Pusta Kunnati Sabha," for the revival of Sanscrit Literature, has just sent us an appeal, to be submitted to the Paris Oriental Congress, for which it has come too late, to move the Indian Government to prosecute the work of collecting Sanscrit Manuscripts, which it so admirably began 27 years ago, with renewed vigour. It offers several suggestions for their better collection and cataloguing, in which the help of the Society cannot fail to be useful. It appears to have already a sufficiently large preliminary Depot for their reception at its Headquarters at Etawa (its branches being at Lahore, Ludhiana and Faridkot), but it proposes that the Manuscripts be the property of Government, subject, we hope, to free access, under certain rules, to the public interested in Sanscrit. The co-operation of a Society of Hindus, especially if orthodox, should do much to allay the suspicions of owners of Manuscripts in having them transcribed or in parting with them to Government. We personally know that great difficulties had to be surmounted at the beginning in searching for Sanscrit Manuscripts, and we should prefer that, say, a great Sanscrit Library, under merely the guardianship of Government, possessed rather authenticated transcripts of Sanscrit Manuscripts (which would also give occupation to learned, but impecunious, Pandits) than the originals themselves, which have been so religiously preserved for generations in the family of owners, who consider them a sacred heritage, with which the history of their family, or of the locality in which it resides, or resided, is often connected. Whatever be the ultimate resting-place of these literary treasures, the Society will aid in every way in its power. It is already collecting subscriptions for the expenses of the search and cataloguing, so that the Government will be the gainer, in any case, by its aid for an admirable purpose which is well deserving of the expenditure on it of public funds. Well-worked, the movement would strengthen the affection

\* Since above was written, Mr. Tilak's application for an appeal to the Privy Council has been rejected by the Supreme Court at Bombay.—*Ed.*

of the Hindus for the Government, besides evoking the gratitude of Sanscrit scholars in India and Europe for our enlightened rule. Some Theosophists in Europe seem to have already helped the Society, but, whilst thankfully accepting aid from all quarters, it, naturally, cannot identify itself with any, for its aims, of which we hope to publish further details in our next issue, are, as appears, purely for the promotion of Sanscrit learning on its own merits, and irrespective of the class, race, or religion of its supporters.

### RANDOM ACCUSATIONS.

An impression prevails among some Madras officials that the Moplas were partly stirred up to their last rising by their belief that the "Rûmi" Sultan, or the Sultan of Turkey, would, in a not distant future, succeed to British rule in India. Equally incorrectly, the tribal Mullahs of the Frontier are supposed to have originated the resistance to our advance, whereas, with few exceptions, they are an element of peace and examples of good conduct in wild communities. Finally, the Brahmins, who are the salt of Hindu society, have been pitched upon, *faute de mieux*, to bear the insinuation of some sort of complicity, direct or indirect, in the undiscovered Poona murders, which they regard with as great abhorrence as Europeans. There appears to be almost a wish that the murderers should turn out to be Brahmins, in order to justify the preconception on the subject.

This is, however, no reason for the inability of the Police to discover the murderers or for the failure of the official plague arrangements, that had been so much praised, to prevent the revival of the fell disease in Poona or its literal increase in the number of deaths in already depopulated Bombay, even after the Press prosecutions and the persecution of the Brahmins. The discovery also of the Municipal mismanagement at Poona, in which a few Brahmins may be concerned, should have been made many years ago by the higher authorities and the European residents, whose sight and olfactory nerves were so long offended, or, at least, *before*, not *after*, the introduction of the plague arrangements, that have given rise to all the present trouble, precisely because, in our ignorance of local requirements, we sought to do, at last, by violence and in a hurry what it was *our duty to do thoroughly before any outbreak of an epidemic*.

A letter appears in the "Times" of the 21st ultimo, signed "Hindustani," in which the writer goes so far as to actually accuse the Deccan Brahmins, as a class, of the crime to which Rand fell a victim. His words are: "What led the Brahmins of the Deccan to finally consummate the assassination, in cold blood, of the one man (because poor Ayerst's murder was evidently not intended) . . . ?" The words in the place of which dots are put are not required to formulate the accusation to which we specially refer. The origin of the crime is attributed "to the educational mould and mental formation of the men, who are beyond all doubts responsible for the tragedy," and it would appear that it was to be sought in their "constitutional temperament." A more baseless statement, regarding

an entire class we do not remember to have read, and whilst we must leave the outraged community to resent it as it deserves, we are not surprised that its fanciful author should attribute, among the causes of the "educational mould and mental formation" of that class, the appearance 9 years ago of an article on "The Mahratta Plough" by "his friend," Sir George Birdwood, in a "Quarterly" written by, and for, officials and Orientalists like this Review. This article, which, incidentally, contained an explanation of what its author termed "Sivaji's damnable deed," is supposed to have gone "straight to the darkened, festering souls of the Poona disinherited Brahmins," none of whom subscribe to the Review and, probably, have never seen it. "Save me from my friends," may Sir George indeed exclaim, though he would, probably, equally with ourselves, agree with "Hindustani's" stricture on the want of due care in the selection of books "in the official series of educational publications," though that description is scarcely exact. That English education may have a subversive effect on minds, untrained in their own Oriental classics and alienated from their own best sacred associations of loyalty and veneration, without acquiring any other in their stead, we have always maintained, but we do not extend that contention to the elimination of passages from British classics, such as "Hindustani" objects to in Byron. "Let us not keep India in ignorance in order to govern it long" was Macaulay's warning. To omit appeals to freedom from the works of the poets and prose-writers of a free country, like England, would not be a proceeding worthy of an enlightened Government, which, indeed, has often professed, as the best justification for its existence, an earnest desire to train India for self-government. "Hindustani," who does not seem to be either a Muhammadan or a Hindu, if a native of Hindustan at all, adds, however, another laurel to the many that Sir George already wears, and that is the attribution to him of "Sivaji day," a celebration to which enlightened Governors and scholars, like Lord Reay, gave official or private support, by doing which they identified the natives with our Government and made them feel that they were not aliens, but that in all legitimate patriotic movements they had our sympathy. These noble-minded Englishmen have thus greatly strengthened the foundations of our rule in India.

A consummation which is not altogether impossible in a country like India, if Macaulay is to be trusted, is that some low-caste native might bring a false accusation against a Brahmin for the Poona murders, as Brahmins are supposed for the moment not to enjoy official favour. The following may illustrate the difficulty for ordinary Englishmen in tracing crime in India. When the Kukas murdered the butchers at Amritsar for defiling its sacred tank, and then travelled down the line to Raikot, there to kill some more butchers, 13 innocent natives of Amritsar were arrested and, after manipulation by the native Police, confessed themselves guilty. Before the trial came on, an excellent native Magistrate of Amritsar called on a Lahore official, and on being asked what had been discovered in the butcher-murder case, he gravely, and without the least wish to be ironical, replied, "the Government have appointed thirteen men to be the murderers"—"Sirkār-



ne téra ademi qâtil muqarrar kia." Fortunately, however, the Kuka murderers were caught red-handed near Raikot and the Amritsar natives, who had been condemned to death, were released just in the nick of time before the day fixed for their execution.

CIVILIAN.

### TRANSVAAL AFFAIRS.

Johannesburg will try to set up an antagonist to Krüger, and spend much money on a candidate, who they believe will do as they like. Look at the report of the Industrial Committee which had to investigate the position of the gold industry. According to it, there was no over-capitalisation; no gambling, cheating, paying of enormous salaries for little work, or even dabbling in shares! Government, however, has to lower the railway tariff, do away with the dynamite manufactory, procure Kaffirs, even if they are not to be had by the farmers themselves, and so on. Of course, the mine-owners do not want real improvements—only something to make people in England believe that a millennium is now coming, and thus, to *make shares go up*.

BOER.

### OUR POSITION ON THE PANJAB FRONTIER.

The promoters of "the Forward Policy," who are posing in the *Times* and elsewhere as impartial surveyors of the complications which they have created, are now, so far changing their tactics, as to suggest changes in the staff and other arrangements on a frontier, that without the faintest political or other necessity, or any real provocation, they alone have thrown into confusion. There seems to be no way out of the difficulty except a complete return to the state of things before the tribes were driven into opposition by our breach of pledges to retire after punishing Umra Khan. Frontier affairs might then be again entrusted to the Panjab Government, which had for so many decades managed them with economy and efficiency. Almost the same advantages would accrue from the establishment, once advocated even by Imperialists, of a Chief Commissionership, composed of the districts adjoining the Frontier, which would be even more under the guidance of local knowledge and requirements. The counterplan of annexing the country of the tribes and administering it would involve a serious increase in the army, and would weaken our military position in the defence of India, whilst leading to further entanglements. We should, thereby, probably be also led into an awkward and precarious position towards, if not in, Afghanistan, whilst to hold down the conquered tribes would add to the unpopularity and difficulties of our administration. Nothing, therefore, short of retirement after the destruction of life and property that we have already, so *à propos des bottes*, inflicted on the tribes, will save the situation.

EX-FRONTIER OFFICIAL.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK; LONDON, 1897.

1. *The Assumption of Moses. Translated from the Latin sixth century M.S., the unemended text of which is published herewith, together with the text in its restored and critically emended form. Edited with introduction, notes, and indicas, by R. H. CHARLES, M.A.* The Rev. R. H. Charles has produced, in a complete form, the interesting MS. discovered by Ceriani, entitled the "Assumption of Moses" in the Ambrosian Library in Milan. It will be found most interesting to Biblical scholars. The edition differs from previous ones, in a full and more critical treatment of the Latin text, and in an exegesis both comprehensive and detailed. He produces valuable proofs that the original was in Hebrew, known to Jude and other writers of the books of the New Testament, and is a portion of a work, entitled the "Testament of Moses," probably written between 7—30 A.D. The introduction contains an enumeration of the various Apocryphal books of Moses, which have appeared in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic literature, and a valuable criticism of the linguistic character of the Latin version. He shows by his minute and able criticism that the author was a Pharisaic Quietist, of the old type, differing from the Pharisee of his time, and was not a Sadducee, a zealot, or an Essene, writing to repel the notions of the militant, or political, portion of his sect. The translation, as well as the original text, are accompanied with copious notes, critical and expository, of great value and interest.

NEVILLE BEEMAN; LONDON.

2. *"Indian Gup": Untold Stories of the Indian Mutiny*, by the Rev. J. R. BALDWIN. The author has done well to publish these stories of his life in India, as they will not only be of interest to his friends, but will also be welcomed by a larger audience. The title which he has given to his book, means "Indian gossip." It is, however, not that alone, but also a description of the country, its peoples and their ways, its difficulties and advantages, which evinces a good amount of diligent investigation and judicial accuracy. The Indian Mutiny is only referred to in the first part of the 2nd chapter, where among some interesting suggestions as to its real causes, he expresses the view that it is impossible for a European to fathom or understand natives, and that even to one to whom they could talk quite confidently, they would, when questioned, not say what they really think, but what they think the questioner would like to hear. We may remark here, however, that the study of Oriental human nature requires much more patience than most Europeans generally possess. During his 20 years of chaplaincy, he had the good fortune to be sent to many different parts of India, and his experiences of Missionary work, the difficulties with the educated natives, the European loafer element, the Eurasians, etc., are interesting reading. We would altogether recommend the perusal of the book, not only to those who have been in, or are going to, India, but to the reading public generally.

CATHOLIC ORPHAN PRESS; CALCUTTA.

3. *Text-Book of Official Procedure: A complete practical Treatise on the Working of the Secretariats of the Government of India*, by C. P. HOGAN, of the Indian Foreign Office. From the manner in which the author has treated the subject, it will be apparent that the book will be particularly useful for ministerial and administrative officers. So far as the former are concerned it would no doubt be well adapted not only for those already in the service of the Government, but also for the training of those who are desirous of competing for Government clerkships, and it would, therefore, serve as an appropriate text-book in public schools and colleges in India. In respect of the latter, the official expert will find it a handy manual of reference on any point connected with the administration of a Secretariat, and the inexperienced will derive from it the knowledge necessary for the routine conduct of official business. Hence it would be well if young civilians going out to India and destined for Secretariat duties could be induced to study its contents; they would then be better prepared for the discharge of those duties, by mastering details which are now learnt only after years of experience and then, perhaps, imperfectly. The book may claim to be a fairly complete practical treatise on the subject, the scope of which is fully laid down in the preface.

#### MOHAMMEDAN CONTROVERSY.

T. AND T. CLARK; EDINBURGH.

4. *The Mohammedan Controversy and other Indian Articles*, by SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.L., &c. This volume contains five articles on the Muhammadan Controversy, the Biographies of Muhammad, the Original Sources of Tradition, the Indian Liturgy, and the Psalter with special reference to the Minatory Psalms. The first four articles originally appeared in the Calcutta Review in 1845, 1852, 1868, and 1850 respectively; and the fifth in a London Journal in 1887. The first article gives an account of the controversy carried on, from 1824 to 1845, by certain Christian clergymen and their Muhammadan opponents upon the validity of the claims of these two religions upon the belief of candid and intelligent minds. The second article, after discussing some modern biographies of the Prophet, principally with reference to their treatment of the vexed question of the miracles said to have been wrought by him, recurs to the subject of the first article, and continues the account of the controversy down to the year 1852. For missionaries and other persons interested in religious disputation, Sir William Muir's elaborate exposition of the arguments advanced by the doughty champions on each side cannot but possess great value. The unpolemical scholar, however, will probably be more attracted by the third article, which gives an interesting summary of the essay prefixed by Dr. Sprenger to the third volume of his *Life and Doctrine of Muhammad*, and devoted by that great scholar to a critical examination of the materials available in the *Kur'an* and its Commentaries, in ancient Biographies of Muhammad, in Traditions, and in Genealogies, for the construction of a fair and truthful account of that Prophet's life and teaching. A few inaccuracies are observable in this article. Thus



the Imām Ibn Hanbal is said (p. 117) to have died in 234; but the date given by authorities on Tradition and History, such as An Nawawi, Adh Dhahabi, Ibn Hajar, Ibn Kballikān, Al Mas'ūdī, Ibn Al Athīr, Abu-l-Fidā, etc., is 241. Again the only date given by Ad Diyārbakrī, and the date approved by Ibn Al Athīr and Ibn Hajar, for the death of Abū Huraira is 57, not 58 (p. 110). "Nasar" (p. 118) should be "Nasai," the author of the great *Sunan*; and "each" (p. 143, l. 8) should be "such." These, however, are trifling blemishes, in no way detracting from the merits of Sir William Muir's treatment of this important subject. The fourth article discusses the modifications desirable in adapting the Anglican Liturgy to the needs of the Native Churches in India; and contains a noteworthy suggestion for the appointment of natives as "subordinate Bishops" or "Superintendents" for such Churches. And the fifth article advocates the use of "Selections of Psalms," at the discretion of the Minister, instead of the Psalms for the day, in order to secure greater variety, and to avoid offending tender consciences by the denunciations in the "vindictive psalms."

M. S. H.

THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD.

5. *Sources for Greek History*, B.C. 478-431, by G. F. HILL. For the student of Greek History Mr. Hill's book supplies a long-felt want. The period it embraces is by far the most interesting and glorious in Greek history: it is the great period of Athenian supremacy, when the fleets of Athens patrolled the whole Eastern basin of the Mediterranean, when her armies fought in Asia Minor, in Thrace, in Cyprus and in Egypt, when Athens was the centre of one of the freshest and most spontaneous outbursts of intellectual and artistic activity known to history. Unfortunately much of that splendid age has been lost to us "caret quia vate sacro." Few periods are so troublesome to get up for those who wish to consult original, or at any rate Hellenic sources: we have no great historian to fill up the gap between Herodotus and Thucydides, and have to piece together our knowledge from inscriptions, from casual references and short summaries, or from the dubious records of later historians. This laborious task is much lightened by the present work. Mr. Hill assumes his reader to have with him Thucydides, Herodotus and the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*; all the other sources, the looking up of which was once so laborious a task, are supplied by him in a single volume. One might pick out a few omissions here and there, cavil at some insertions which say but little, but on the whole all that is wanted is supplied. The book will be a great boon to students at the Universities.

A.

A. CONSTABLE AND CO.; LONDON.

6. *His Majesty's Greatest Subject*, by S. S. THORBURN. There is a decidedly growing demand for Anglo-Indian literature, if we are to judge from the number and variety of books that constantly appear in this category. The author of "Asiatic Neighbours," which we reviewed in our January 1895 No., has presented the public with another book—this time a charming Indian romance—which is not, however, wanting in many useful hints as to men and matters in India. There is much local colour-

ing and the lively incidents and spirited descriptions render the book very interesting. The book is in a sense a forecast; as a novel it necessarily presents in this respect some obvious impossibilities, which, however, enhance the liveliness of the story; but in this forecast all is not made merely subservient to the plot and much should be taken with more seriousness than the ordinary reader may think: so, though Mr. Thorburn's novel is essentially a light and entertaining story, it has the additional merit of instructive suggestiveness on a variety of burning Indian questions.

7. *The Nations Awakening. Essays towards a British policy*, by SPENSER WILKINSON. These essays, sharp, concise and comprehensive ought to be studied by statesmen, teachers of the rising generation, and the leaders of our political life. They embrace a large field, carrying the reader through the various aspirations and intentions of the States of Europe, our alliances with foreign countries, and the outcome of treaties, past and present. With great ability the author has proved to a demonstration, the responsibilities of our insular position, our duty to have a strong navy and a well equipped army, in order to maintain our Empire, and to promote the unity of the British race, with the supreme and paramount aim of spreading the principles of civil and religious liberty and securing the rights and liberties of men. In order to fulfil this high mission, the author, with great force, points to the absolute necessity of our statesmen being well informed as to the movements of the Great Powers, to form alliances, so as to counteract encroachments that might impede national progress, throughout the world, or bring about unjust war. With these aims in view, the unity of the British Empire will be secured, trade and commerce promoted, and good will to men advanced in all parts of the globe. As a means to this end, the supremacy of the sea must be maintained. The able author concludes as follows: "If Great Britain is to keep her place, she must fulfil her duties. Her Empire, which is the government of no inconsiderable portion of the human race, must be in truth a government, distinguished above others, by justice and equity. Her naval power must be actively used in the defence of right. In holding, as she must, the balance of Europe, and probably in future of the world, she must take care that her interests are identified with just causes, and that her action shall be for the prevention of wrong, never the outcome of the lust for power, or the thirst for glory. No fear of any combination ought to induce her to wander from the path of right."

8. *The Game of Polo*, by T. F. DALE, M.A. This fascinating game, which is a modern modification of the ancient Persian "Chaghān," or horse shinty, is here, very ably and exhaustively explained by the author, who for many years has been a brilliant player and an authority on the subject. We are initiated into its rise and development, the training of the player, the education of the pony, the game itself, and also the management of clubs and ponies, dress and equipment of the player, besides its expense and danger. There are many illustrations and sepia plates of celebrated polo ponies, and also the rules of Polo, the names of some winners of tournaments, and a list of clubs all over the world.

JOHN HADDON AND CO.; LONDON, 1897.

9. *British South Africa*, by COLIN T. CAMPBELL. This book gives a history of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope from its conquest from the Dutch in 1795 to the settlement of Albany by the British emigration of 1819 and is accompanied by a map of the Zuurveld, which is described as possessing the most fertile soil in the most healthy and temperate climate in the universe. Biographies are given of some of the principal British settlers and pioneers, who rose to distinction in the Colony, and amongst whom are, Colonel Graham, Duncan Campell, Hougham Hudson, Walter Currie and many others. There is also a list of the British settlers, numbering 3,475 of both sexes, who arrived during the year 1820. It is another useful book adding to our knowledge of the Colony as it was in the early years of this century.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

10. *The New Africa: a record of exploration and sport*, by A. SCHULZ, M.D., and A. HAMMAR, C.E. The joint authors of this work give an interesting account of their journey up the Chobe and down the Okovanga rivers. They describe some hitherto unexplored portions of the interior of South Africa. The volume is accompanied by a map of their route and 70 well executed illustrations from original drawings by the authors and photographs. Starting in March 1884, they passed through what are now called the Rand Gold Fields and Pretoria, where they received good advice from Mr. Joubert, regarding their intercourse with the natives— forbearance and calmness. They passed through King Khama's territory, who not only gave them permission, but also provided them with guides to the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, 400 miles away. After 80 days of exciting travel they reach Panda Matenga, a great trading place about 58 miles distant from the falls. These truly grand falls, to which Livingstone gave the name Victoria, are described as possessing four times the volume of water, and three times the height, of the Niagara Falls. Thence they start for the Chobe, or Linyanti river and graphically describe their adventures with lions, crocodiles, hippopotami, and other big game; their dealings with the different tribes in Moheni's and Matambanja's country and especially the Mosaro and the Bushmen. They consider the country of Lake Ngami would prove excellent for settlers. After describing the Makololo, the Matabele, and the Baros tribes, and relating other adventures, the reader is brought back again, after a journey of about ten months, to the Transvaal, reaching finally Dundee in Natal early in 1885.

11. *Rhodesia, Past and Present*, by S. J. DU TOIT. The travelled author describes his trip to Rhodesia in 1894, giving a very impartial and interesting account of that country in 19 readable chapters, accompanied by 16 capital photographs. He is very enthusiastic with the labours of the Dutch in opening up the country by ox-waggons, followed by the English railroad. To quote his words "for the opening and development of South Africa, the slow but sure ox-waggon has done more than camel, horse, and railway combined; not only was it the means of transport, but also the habitation, the tent, the altar, and the fort of the



emigrant, and what would now the railway do without it, which has to transport produce and goods to and from the nearest station?" His description of the gold mines is interesting, as is also the history of the Matabeles and the tragical death of Wilson and his comrades.

SAMPSON LOW AND CO.; LONDON.

12. *Journeys among the gentle Japs*, by the REV. J. LL. THOMAS, M.A. This is an interesting book, which the author commences with an account of his journey from the Atlantic to Vancouver on the Pacific, via the C. P. R. Railway, and thence across the Pacific to Yokohama. Chapter III. is devoted to life in Japan, jinrickshas (which he says were originally introduced by a Yankee), railways, the truly, innate politeness and never-failing courtesy of the people. In Chapter IV. he describes the temple of Hachiman at Kamakura and its Buddhist image over 49 feet high, the circumference of the thumb being three feet; the temple of Kwannon with its gilt figure over 30 feet high. Chapter V. is devoted to earthquakes, railway travelling, hot baths, etc. Chapters VI. and VII. tell us of Yedo and Tokyo, the park of Uyeno, which is the Hyde Park, Zoological Gardens, and South Kensington Museum of Tokyo. Chapter VIII. explains all about the "Hara-Kiri" or compulsory suicide. IX. and X. bring us to Nikko, the famous city of temples, Kobé, Osaka, with its Imperial mint and Kyoto, with its grand palace. Chapters XI. to XIV. speak of Osaka's innumerable temples, the commercial morality, and the Geisha girls. The last chapters review the religions of Japan: Shintô, Buddhism, and Christianity. The volume is altogether very instructive reading and possesses a clear map with a frontispiece of the author.

#### A SURVEY OF GREEK CIVILIZATION.

MACMILLAN AND CO.

13. *A Survey of Greek Civilisation*, by J. P. MAHAFFY. The best account of this book is to be found in the author's own postscript—the real preface apparently to the work. Professor Mahaffy acknowledges that by "survey" he does not mean a methodical summary; nothing can be farther removed from a text-book than the present volume. What he has done, on his own confession, is to cast his eyes down the centuries of the existence of the Greek nation and note the points that possess the greatest interest for him in politics, literature or art. His treatment is most frankly subjective, he gives his own pet theories, airs his own personal likes or dislikes, with scarce a hint of the existence of other theories, or other predilections. The result is a work eminently readable, entertaining and suggestive: full of Dr. Mahaffy's vigorous personality and his intimate sympathy with every aspect of Greek life, full also of paradox, of exaggerated and often unfair views, of little displays of personal egotism. There are few surely who will agree with the author when he says that "we should willingly give away all the speeches of Thucydides to have some account of the studios of Phidias and Ictinus": there are some even who would declare those speeches to be worth more than all the statues and temples of Greece together. He calls Aristotle "the great outsider" the one Greek to whom beauty and style were terms without meaning. It

is hard to see how this judgment is supported even by the bald lecture-notes that constitute our present Aristotle. And did not Cicero, a not incapable judge of style, describe the language of Aristotle's finished works as "a golden river of eloquence"? The descriptions again of Milton's *Areopagitica* as clumsy and ponderous, and of Mr. George Meredith's style as composed of platitudes veiled in unintelligibility, will scarcely find universal consent: the second of these, whether true or not, sins against the canons of good taste, for it is in no way necessary to the subject of Greek civilization. We might quote other instances, but, after all, these are minor criticisms. A more serious question is whether the whole plan of the work, according to the author's own description of it, is justifiable? Is the omission of important aspects of Greek history and Greek life, or the dismissal of them in a single paradox sufficiently warranted by the fact that Dr. Mahaffy is not particularly interested? Dr. Mahaffy's attitude seems to lack seriousness. Is it not his duty as a teacher to be interested in every part of his subject, to give to the reader some notion of the relative importance of the various elements? To one who has studied Greece with care this is a little matter. He can separate the wheat from the chaff, the weighty conclusion from the flippant paradox, and is not led to suppose that a point is of exceptional importance because several pages are devoted to it. But the book professes to be written for those who are not familiar with the Greek language or Greek literature—for a class (of Americans apparently) who as the somewhat curious preface would lead us to imagine have some qualms of conscience as to whether Greek civilization is not altogether too heathen and worldly a subject to be studied at all. Such readers will miss a great deal of what is best in this book, and derive but a dubiously clear conception of the subject as a whole.

The best chapters of the book are those dealing with the very earliest dawn of Greek civilization, and with Professor Mahaffy's special domain, the Alexandrian and Hellenistic period. The personal sketch of Xenophon is drawn with much skill and sympathy. A.

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JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

14. *Later Gleanings. A new series of gleanings of past years*, by the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

This volume contains a reprint of articles by Mr. Gladstone, which he had contributed to *Reviews*, on Theological and Ecclesiastical subjects during ten years from 1885. They will be read with interest in this handy form, as a fresh contribution to certain controversies, which have sprung up in connection with the Church of England. It contains a valuable testimony to the unspeakable value of the Bible, and Mr. Gladstone aspires to the idea that all sections of the Christian Church may yet be united into one fold on the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation. His hope that the Vatican would recognise Anglican orders has already been frustrated.

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S. W. PARTRIDGE AND CO., LONDON.

15. *Eye Gate—or the value of Native Art in the Mission Field, with special reference to the Evangelisation of China*, by W. WILSON, M.B.C.M.,

of the *China Inland Mission*. This is an interesting and unique production, conveying the truths of the Bible to the population of China, through the medium of the eye, thus hoping to gain entrance to the heart. Dr. Wilson has constructed a series of representations by a Chinese artist, beautifully coloured, of the various incidents of the "Prodigal Son," "Noah and the Flood," "The Horrible Pit and Miry Clay," "The Good Samaritan," and "The Burden and its removal." The whole of the illustrations are in conformity with native ideas and customs, thereby concentrating attention to the truths intended to be taught without dissipating the mind on dresses or customs foreign to the natives of China. This principle might be indefinitely extended to many other truths of Scripture, and to other countries. It opens up a new, interesting and wide field to the devoted missionary.

GRANT RICHARDS, LONDON, 1897.

16. *In Court and Kampong, being Tales and Sketches of Native Life in the Malay Peninsula*, by HUGH CLIFFORD. This interesting volume gives a graphic account of, and insight into, a rich and lovely part of the world, the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula. There are ten different States in close proximity with each other, and we are told that their inhabitants greatly differ in appearance, in the dialects they speak, in their manners and customs, in short, in almost everything. The author gives the principal characteristics of each. His tales of native life, whether of the peasants in their "Kampongs,"\* the fisher-folk on the seashore, or the dwellers in the Courts of Kings, are all written in a spirit of deep sympathy with the Malay, and, as he says in his preface, he has striven throughout to appreciate the native point of view and to judge the people and their actions by their own standards, rather than by those of a European in their midst. The conditions of life of which he writes are rapidly passing away and he very truly says: "The boot of the ubiquitous white man leaves its marks on all the fair places of the earth. . . . It crushes down the forests, beats out roads, strides across the rivers, kicks down native institutions and generally tramples on the growths of nature and the works of primitive man, reducing all things to that dead level of conventionality, which we call civilization." There is no doubt that the book will find many admirers.

BLISS SANDS AND CO.; LONDON.

17. *Lord Cromer. A Biography*, by H. D. TRAILL. Illustrated. Mr. Traill has rendered very valuable service to the State in producing this work. While he gives a concise and an interesting sketch of the history of the Barings, he so interweaves the career of Sir Evelyn Baring in India and Egypt, as to give a graphic and faithful account of our occupation of Egypt and the benefits we have rendered to that country. The tragic story of the Soudan and of Gordon, and the vacillating policy of our Statesmen of the time, are well and accurately told. The difficulties of our protectorate of Egypt are traced step by step, exhibiting the remarkable tact and ability by which they were all successfully tackled and over-

\* Villages; perhaps the origin of the Indian "compound."



come by Lord Cromer and his staff. The unusual performance of a country in the state of insolvency, borrowing a million of money, and by that means recuperating its position, so as not only to satisfy its bondholders and other creditors, but to bring it into a prosperous financial position is all due to the genius of Lord Cromer, as well as establishing a system of judicial administration, in the face of great opposition, whereby the rights of property are protected and the freedom of the people secured. The perusal of this work must satisfy politicians of both sides of the House that our Foreign Office on the whole has maintained its honesty of purpose, and has rendered to Egypt, as no other nation could have done, services which, in course of time, may restore to that interesting country some of its ancient opulence, and utility to the other nations of the earth.

The author sums up his narrative of the splendid success of our occupation and administration of Egypt in the following eloquent and remarkable words:—

"Whatever be the ultimate issue of that undertaking, its record, let us be sure, will retain a lasting place in history, as its memories will abide in the tradition of the Egyptian people. If England concentrating her strength for self-defence were forced to-morrow to retire from Egypt,—even as Rome, our prototype in history, withdrew her legions from our own shores when her enemies gathered on her frontier,—the last two decades of the nineteenth century would still be remembered on the Nile Valley as a period when for the first time for countless generations law and order and security reigned under the ægis of a power which has spread these blessings over half the world; when the stream of justice flowed pure from its fount, and the rich man could no more deflect its course than he could divert the waters of the Nile from the plot of the poorest cultivator; when the hand of the oppressor was stayed over the people and the extortions of the tax-gatherer were made to cease, and the lash was wrested from the task-master, and the peasant everywhere ate of the fruit of his labour, no man making him afraid. The recollection of these things will not soon pass away in Egypt; the experience is too sadly strange, too pathetically novel for that. It will be engraven on the hearts of the people as upon a stela, as enduring as the sepulchres of their kings. And whenever the tale of this great and beneficent work is told, the name of the English administrator who guided its whole course from commencement to completion, whose unconquerable patience overcame one by one all the obstacles that impeded it, whose sagacity foresaw and whose firmness averted all the dangers that threatened it, will claim a place at the head of every chapter of the noble narrative, and be recalled with honour on every page."

HODDER AND STOUGHTON, LONDON, 1897.

18. *Impressions of Turkey, during twelve years' wanderings*, by W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D.

The learned author, a disciple of Sir C. Wilson, has made himself personally and minutely acquainted with the habits, customs, social condition, and religious opinions of the various races and peoples in Central Anatolia in his explorations, during twelve years, in search of objects

interesting to archaeologists. His descriptions are graphic and interesting, throwing much light on the present and past condition of the various races which now inhabit that portion of Asia Minor, and their relation to the Turkish power.

The author does not agree with the intentions, policy and action of Lord Salisbury, in connection with the Berlin Treaty, and recent political developments. With regard to the Missionaries there, he thinks that one of the best means of elevating the people is the one adopted by the American Missionaries, when he says,—“their aim has been to produce an educated middle-class in the Turkish lands, and they have done it with a success that implies both good method in their work and good raw material to work upon.” “I have everywhere been struck with the marvellous way in which a certain uniform type, direct, simple, honest and lofty in tone, had been impressed on them,” “and it is diametrically opposite to the type produced by growth under the ordinary conditions of Turkish life.” Prof. Ramsay’s work will be useful to the statesman, to the philanthropist, and to the archaeologist, as well as to the ordinary traveller in Asiatic Turkey.

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BOMBAY GAZETTE STEAM PRESS, BOMBAY; AND STREET AND CO.,  
LONDON.

19. *Maclean's Guide to Bombay, historical, statistical, and descriptive*, by J. M. MACLEAN, M.P., 22nd Edition.

This book commences with the geography and history of Bombay, affording complete information as to its population, trade, government and revenue. It then gives a long description of the city, the climate and mode of life, native festivals, principal residents, the distribution of the Bombay army and a host of other details, besides a large map of India, showing the lines of railways and telegraphs as also a plan of the city. This guide will be found extremely useful and interesting, and should be in the hands of all travellers to, and residents in, Bombay.

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“NIPPON.”

LEO WOERL, WÜRZBURG AND LEIPZIG.

20. “*Nippon*,” by PH. FR. VON SIEBOLD, 2nd edition, edited by his sons. Since the appearance of our short notice in April 1897 of the I. volume of this magnificent work, Volume II. has come to light, the two together forming an unique record on the history of Japan and its adjoining countries and protectorates. The work begins with a biography of the distinguished author, who has rendered great services in the fields of geography, ethnography and natural sciences. His many-sided culture, more than anything else, attracted Japanese thirst for knowledge, and his affability, combined with the great regard he showed for everything that the Japanese consider holy, are qualities which were sure to command success. He first gives an account of his travel from Batavia to Japan in 1833, with a geographical and statistical description of Banka and an Appendix on the conquest of Formosa (Taiwan) by the Chinese Koxsenia in the year 1662. He then relates in detail his journeys to the Court of the Sjögun, to Nagasaki, Kokura, Simonoseki, Mito, Osaka, Kioto and

Jedo, and has two chapters on the name, position, size and division of Japan and its discovery through Europeans with their relations to it till the beginning of the XIX. century. He further gives an historical survey of the geographical researches of the Japanese in their own country and its protectorates, with remarks on their maps. The end of the first volume deals with the descent of the Japanese and has an interesting discussion on the obliquity of their eyes and the Mongolian races generally. This volume also has a comparative table of words in Chinese, Korean, Mandshu, Sachalin, Japanese, and Liukiu.

In the second volume the reader finds interesting chapters on the mythology of the Japanese, their clocks and sundials, their calendars, the so-called calendar of the blind\* and the flower-calendar†—all very curious and original information. The tea-plant and the preparation of tea is mentioned in connection with an important paper on Japanese commerce with the Dutch and the Chinese and the development of its industries. There are instructive chapters on the religions of Japan, entering at length into the particulars of the Sintō worship, the old cult of the inhabitants of the Japanese islands and on the Ainos and their language, who are now only found in Jezo and Sachalin—a race much taller and stronger than the Japanese, but of a very good-natured disposition, among whom robbery is unknown. The end of the work is devoted to the adjoining countries and protectorates of Japan, among which the Liukiu islands and Korea are most thoroughly and ably dealt with. We trust that this valuable work will soon be translated into most of the languages of Europe, and thus become the means of promoting an accurate knowledge of this most interesting corner of the world. The book has a profusion of splendid illustrations and we cannot fail to compliment Mr. Leo Woerle on the appearance of this masterpiece, which is beautifully printed and excellently bound.

21 *Al Hadiya al Hamidiya fi-llughat al Kurdiya*, by the SHEIKH YUSUF DIYA ADDIN BASHA AL KHALIDI, printed at Constantinople in 1310, A.H. This volume contains a Kurdish vocabulary, with explanations in Arabic, preceded by a short grammar, and followed by a chrestomathy. It is adorned by a portrait of the author; and is introduced by a preface containing a flowery eulogy of the present Sultan 'Abd Al-Hamid, after whom the book is named "The Hamidi present." For students of Kurdish it will no doubt be a useful publication.

#### THE HAMZIYA ALIFIYA.

22. *The Hamsiya Alfiya* of Yūsuf Ibn Ismā'il an Nabhani, printed at the Philological Press, Bairūt, in 1314, A.H. Among the "Seven Suspended Strings of Pearls" none surpasses, in beauty of metre, the celebrated poem of Al Harith Ibn Hilliza al Yashkuri, of the Banū Yashkur Ibn Bakr Ibn

\* A calendar got up by the priests of Buddha in a kind of hieroglyphics to which are added some religious songs and prayers for the use of the lower classes, who cannot read the ordinary writing and are, therefore, called the mentally blind.

† In the flower-calendar each month is called according to the principal flower that is in bloom that month.



Wā'il, a clan of Rabi'a, the tribe in which poetry originated among the Arabs. Its claim to admission among the Seven is, indeed, disputed by Abū 'Ubaida and Al Mufaḍḍal ad Ḍabbī, who would exclude Al Hārith and 'Antara from the authors of the *Mu'allabāt*, and admit, in their stead, An Nābigha adh Dhubyānī and Maimūn al A'shā; but this verdict has been over-ruled by the majority of authorities. Al Hārith is reckoned among the minor poets of heathen times; but the term "minor" refers to the quantity, not to the quality, of their poetry; for even Abū 'Ubaida admits that Al Hārith is one of the three best authors of a single ode. The excellence of Al Hārith's composition is remarkable, because, according to Al Asma'i, he was 135 years old when he produced this poem. Its metre is justly said by a recent translator (Captain F. E. Johnson, R.A.) to be a favourite with Arabic poets "on account of its elegant melody," which is clearly perceptible in the opening verse

لَدُنَّا بَيْنَهَا أَسْمَاءُ \* رَبِّ كَأَوْ يَمَلُّ مِنْهُ الْقَوَامُ

*Asmā announced to us her intention of departing. Many a sojourner there is, of whose sojourn one is wearied!* Among the numerous imitators of this fascinating metre is the Shaikh Sharaf ad Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd aṣ Ṣinhājī al Maghribī by origin, ad Dalāsi by birth, al Buṣīrī by bringing up, known as Al Imām al Buṣīrī, or al Abūṣīrī, who, many centuries after Al Hārith, composed in it his celebrated Panegyric on the Prophet, which commences

كَيْفَ تَرْتَقِي رُفَيْدَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ

*How shall the Prophets ascend to thy sublime height!* and is entitled *Umm al Kurā fī Madh Khair al Warā*. This poem is noticed by Ḥajjī Khalifa (vol. iv., p. 557), who, according to his editor Fluegel, describes its author as ad Dalāsi (p. 523): but As Suyūṭī in the *Lubāb al Lubāb* (p. 109) and the authors of the *Marāsīd al Iftilāḥ* (vol. i., p. 406) and the *Fawā'id al Wafayāt* (vol. ii., p. 256) all give Dalās as the name of the town from which the relative noun Dalāsi is derived; and *الدالسي* without a و is printed in the biographical notice of this poet given in the *Husn al Muḥādḍara* (vol. i., p. 261). The *Fawā'id* adds that, one of the poet's parents having been a resident of Dalās, and the other of Abūṣīr (or Buṣīr), he is sometimes called ad Dalāsi, a relative noun compounded from the names of these two towns. He was born in 608 A.H.; and died in 694 according to Ḥajjī Khalifa, or 695 according to As Suyūṭī. And now, in these modern days, a learned Arab Yūsuf Ibn Ismā'īl an Nabḥānī, President of the Court of Equity at Baṣrā, has published a poem in the same metre, and on the same subject, commencing

فَوَرَّكَ الْكُلَّ وَالْوَرَى أَجْزَاءُ \* يَا نَبِيًّا مِنْ جَنَّةِ النَّبِيِّينَ

عِلَّةَ الْكَوْنِ كُنْتَ أَنْتَ وَلَوْ \* لَوْ لَعَامَتْ فِي قَبْرِهَا الْأَمْمِيَّةُ

*Thy light is the whale, while mankind are but parts, O Prophet of whose host are the Prophets. The cause of Being wast thou; and, but for thee, things would have remained for ever in their invisibility,* and entitled *Taiḥat al Gharā fī Madh Sayyid Al Ambiyā*. It contains about 700 verses;

and is furnished with copious critical and explanatory notes by the author. He tells us in his preface that he has adopted this metre in imitation of Al Abūṣūrī's composition, "knowing," he modestly adds, "that excellence belongs to the ancient, and that he is in the position of the teacher, while we are in the position of the pupil." It would be interesting to compare the treatment of their common subject by two poets separated by so wide an interval of time; but unfortunately the hemistich quoted above from Ḥājī Khalifa's work and from the *Fawā'id* is the only fragment of the earlier poem that has fallen under my observation. It is evident, however, from the preceding extracts that laudation of the Prophet has made enormous strides in the course of these seven centuries: for, while the earlier panegyrist exalts him above the "goodly fellowship of the Prophets," the later erects him into the *raison d'être* of all creation, a position maintained by our author, in a note, on the strength of "a number of traditions." In this respect, at least, our poet may claim to have advanced far beyond his predecessor. And why indeed should he not surpass his predecessor, in spite of his own admission that "excellence belongs to the ancient"? For Ibn Kūtaiba lays down in the Book of Poetry and Poets (p. 6) that "God has not restricted poetry and knowledge and eloquence to one time more than another, nor distinguished thereby one people more than another; but has made that common, divided among His servants in every age."

M. S. HOWELL.

#### "NIPPUR."

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; NEW YORK AND LONDON.

23. "*Nippur*," or *Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates. The narrative of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia in the years 1888-90*, by JOHN PUNNETT PETERS, PH.D., SC.D., D.D., Director of the Expedition, with illustrations and maps. Vol. I. (First campaign.) This is the first volume of a work, which will prove to be of intense interest to archaeologists. A few public-spirited men of Philadelphia contributed most readily and generously in equipping the expedition to a region of Babylonia hitherto unexplored. After many difficulties connected with Turkish law and rule regarding explorations, the expedition under the direction of Dr. Peters, arrived at Nippur, the site selected, which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates. The mission laboured, for the first year, under great disadvantages, and the results to archaeology were almost a failure. However, by the experience obtained, and by the continued liberal spirit of the men of Philadelphia and of the Pennsylvanian University, the expedition renewed its efforts and has been eminently successful, rivalling perhaps the discoveries of the French and English in Nineveh and Babylon. This may be seen in the forthcoming volumes, not yet published. The number of inscribed stones, bricks and tablets found is enormous, pointing to a period, not only prehistoric, but remotely so, ante-dating, as Dr. Peters says, all possible history by thousands of years. In fact the expedition has found the "oldest inscriptions ever discovered." The Temple of Bel has also been fully explored, and there has been found inscribed material of the very earliest period. Although the work of the expedition is at present in abeyance, it

is the intention of the Archæological Department of the University of Pennsylvania to resume its labours, as soon as circumstances will permit, so as ultimately to complete the excavation of this "the most ancient city yet discovered." The immense amount of inscribed material is in part deposited in the Imperial Museum of Constantinople, and in part in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. There are, it is estimated, between 30,000 and 40,000 inscribed objects, the inscriptions on which cover a period of 5,000 years, which in the forthcoming volumes will be looked forward to by archæologists with special interest. No doubt the result of the explorations thus to be made known will amply reward the liberal-minded patrons of research, and encourage them to promote still further explorations in the same direction, which cannot fail to extend our Philological knowledge, and to exhibit to us evidences of the arts, sciences, industry and civilization which existed in those prehistoric times, thus realizing more than the dramatist ever dreamt of, "sermons in stones, and good in everything." The volume is beautifully illustrated, accompanied with pocket maps of extreme value, showing the routes of Babylonian expeditions on the Euphrates, and the routes, canals, lakes and swamps from Baghdad to Ur.

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THE ROXBURGH PRESS, WESTMINSTER.

24. *The Dream of Pilate's Wife*, by MRS. HAROLD DAY, of Kendal. This is a charming story. The social and political state of society of the Roman Empire during the time of our Lord is admirably brought out, as well as the venality and fickleness of the masses of the people, if not the absurdity of the idea that *vox populi* can ever be *vox dei*. The life of Nerina, Hadrian's lovely daughter, from infancy to her marriage, and her marriage life with Pilate is exquisitely drawn. Neither are the tendencies of the Pagan system of ancient Rome on the morals of the people overstated, nor the hatred of the Jewish Hierarchy to the Roman power or the malignity of the priests to the Messiah, culminating in the mental agony of Pilate and the Crucifixion. The essential doctrines of the Old and New Testament, the individuality and immortality of the soul, the necessity of the Spirit of Truth and Light for the regeneration of the human race, the sanctity of marriage and future happiness, are all vividly introduced during the turnings and windings of this admirably conceived and well-written plot.

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INDIAN FORESTRY AND SIR D. BRANDIS.

Modestly called a manual, this is a *magnum opus* in five large volumes. It is by far the most exhaustive work on the subject that has ever been written. It is an imperishable monument of the learning of Dr. Schlich, to whom, as to Sir D. Brandis, "Indian Forestry" will ever be indebted.—*Ed.*

25. In a pamphlet on "Indian Forestry" published a few weeks ago by the Oriental University Institute, Sir Dietrich Brandis, after testifying to the excellence of Dr. Schlich's Manual of Forestry\* and Baden Powell's Manual of Forest Law,\* gives a short account of systematic forestry in Europe and in Japan, showing its necessity in the interests of the popula-

\* Messrs. Bradbury Agnew and Co., Limited, Beaverly Street, London.



tion of those countries. The pamphlet next informs us that the indigenous Indian forests consisted of sacred groves, game preserves, and, in exceptional cases, of fodder and fuel reserves. It then contains a record of the successive measures taken to introduce systematic forest management into India. The first stage was the establishment, in 1806, of a Government timber agency on the western coast of India, a measure which is described as a great mistake and an act of injustice; it was abolished in 1822 at the request of Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras.

Twenty-two years later, in 1844, Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, commenced establishing teak plantations, which were gradually extended over 3,436 acres.

In 1847 Dr. Alexander Gibson was appointed Conservator of Forests in Bombay; in 1848 Lieutenant (now Major-General) James Michael, C.S.I., organized the cutting and transport of timber in the Himalays, starting at the same time a system of clearing teak seedlings of dry leaves, etc., so as to protect them against damage by fire. Dr. Cleghorn first came into contact with the present question while in Mysore, about 1848, and he was appointed Conservator of Forests in Madras in 1856.

In the same year, 1856, Lord Dalhousie appointed Dr. (now Sir Dietrich) Brandis Superintendent of the Pegu forests. The latter, after having made himself acquainted with the task before him, decided on the following programme:

"To protect and improve the forests; to work them within their productive powers; to make the inhabitants in and around the forests his friends and allies; and to produce as soon as possible a surplus revenue."

This programme received the hearty approval of Lord Dalhousie who told Dr. Brandis that, if he succeeded in carrying out his plans, he would confer a lasting benefit upon the people of Pegu. In spite of many difficulties the programme was carried out, and it is now matter of history that it became an immense success.

In the meantime operations had been started in other provinces, then in the Punjab in 1861; in the Central Provinces, about the same time, by Major (now Colonel) Pearson, appointed on the recommendation of Mr. (now the Right Honourable Sir Richard) Temple, a staunch friend of progress in forestry. Major Pearson was the first forest officer who succeeded in protecting forests against the annual forest fires, a success which led to the protection of 17 million acres in 1895.

In 1862 Sir D. Brandis was summoned to Calcutta to advise the Government of India, as well as Local Governments, in the matter of organizing their forest business, and in 1864 he was appointed first Inspector General of Forests. The latter's first and most difficult task consisted of convincing Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, the new Governor-General, of the utility, or rather necessity, of forest preservation in India. In this he succeeded, after a severe struggle, in which he was cordially helped by General (now Sir Richard) Strachey. Henceforth the work of the Department developed steadily. To follow the author into the details of that development would lead us too far; here we can only draw attention to a few of the more important matters.

Sir D. Brandis's first object was to provide a duly qualified staff; hence he induced Government to engage two young German forest officers (Messrs. Schlich and Ribbentrop), and to start the training in forestry of young Englishmen in Germany and France, a system followed until 1885. In the latter year a forest school was established in connection with the Royal Indian Engineering College at Coopers' Hill. The first batch of men so trained arrived in India in 1869, and at the present time by far the greater part of the superior staff consists of men trained in Europe.

Next, Sir D. Brandis turned his attention to the training of natives of India for employment in the forest Department. For this purpose the Debra Doon Forest School was established in 1878, and by 1895 no less than 355 Natives of India had passed through the School. Since then a second school was established at Poona, and a third is at this moment being established in Burma. Sir D. Brandis is of opinion that the forest Department is one of those, in which, without any political risk, the highest appointments might be filled by Natives, and he regarded the professional training of young Englishmen as a measure of a temporary character.

While agreeing with Sir D. Brandis to a considerable extent, we should, however, set our face against too rapid a change. India is not yet ripe to do without European thought and experience; hence a considerable portion of the controlling forest staff must for many years to come consist of English officers who have been trained in Europe. And even for political reasons such a measure is highly desirable. The experience of the last 12 months has once more, and in a forcible manner, demonstrated that British administration in India must be upheld by British officers in every Department of the State.

Forest Law received early attention. A preliminary act was passed in 1865, in Sir John Lawrence's time, which was superseded, in 1878, by the Indian Forest Act, followed in 1881 by the Burma Forest Act, and in 1882 by the Madras Forest Act. All these acts have for their object to constitute reserved or State forests, recognize in them all existing rights, provide for their regulation or commutation if necessary, and protect the State forests against the springing up of new rights, provide for the protection and proper administration of the reserved areas, and regulate the control of forest produce in transit. Under these acts 74,271 square miles, equal to 7.7 % of the total area of India had been constituted State forests in 1895. Provision was also made for the constitution of village forests, but the measure has not yet taken root in India, which is very much to be regretted. No other measure is likely to be of greater effect upon the development of commercial institution and local self-government, than the possession and administration of landed property by the communities. This has been proved over and over again in European countries.

During Sir Dietrich Brandis's tenure of office in India he had to encounter many difficulties owing to an insufficient extent of authority over the forest business in the several provinces. He had prepared pre-

liminary working plans for many of the more important forests, but it rested with local authorities to accept them or not. An improvement in this direction became possible only after his retirement, and he informs us that his successor, Dr. Schlich, has the great merit of having started the preparation of working plans on a large scale, and of inducing the Government of India and Secretary of State to direct, that the control of execution shall be exercised by the Inspector-General of Forests. That officer also succeeded in having the position of the Chief Forest officer greatly strengthened in other respects. These changes, as Sir D. Brandis states, marked an important step in advance, which has been followed by the most beneficial results. For from about that moment onward the systematic and orderly management of the State forests became definitely insured, and the net revenue rose steadily, until it had reached the sum of Rs. 7,742,000 in 1894-95, in spite of the fact that forest produce valued at about Rs. 6,000,000 had been given to the people free of charge.

The remainder of the pamphlet deals with the importance of minor forest produce, especially cattle fodder in times of scarcity, the evil effects of denudation, the alarming increase of population, and the necessity for a careful management of the State forests.

Then, Sir D. Brandis has been enabled to draw up a record of a truly great work, which is by no means the least of those accomplished during the glorious reign of Her Majesty. It goes without saying that he is himself the central figure in the picture presented by him, but that could not be otherwise, since the development of systematic forest management in India is due chiefly to his efforts. Other worthy men preceded him and paved the way for his work, others laboured with him and took in many cases an important part in the work, while others again, who followed him, carried on and improved the administration. But, after all has been said, India owes to Sir D. Brandis a great debt. He has unmistakably shown the immense importance to the people of India of a sound and systematic forest management. A policy, which has received the stamp of approval by men like Lords Dalhousie and Lawrence is sure to stand, though it may from time to time be assailed by a temporary misapplication of the principles of Political Economy.

We heartily recommend the study of Sir D. Brandis's pamphlet to everyone, who is really interested in the progress and welfare of our Indian Empire.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following books, which we regret want of space prevents our noticing at length: *A Supplement (in Chinese) to the History of the War between China and Japan*, by the Rev. DR. Y. J. ALLEN. This supplement contains the *Telegraphic History of the War* from the first despatch from Seoul to the conclusion of the peace negotiations, furnished in manuscript from headquarters to the author and editor; and also the recent (commercial) treaties between Japan and China, the secret treaty and Railway treaty, etc., with Russia; besides a great variety of official documents and records of projected enterprises, etc.



*Guide to the Dutch East Indies*, by DR. J. F. VAN BEMMELEN and G. B. HOOVER, translated from the Dutch by REV. B. J. BERRINGTON, B.A. (Luzac and Co., London, and G. Kolff and Co., Batavia, 1897). This is a handy guide-book of 202 pages, giving all the information a traveller in the Dutch East Indies could desire and good advice as to outfit and mode of living. A visit to these beautiful tropical islands, especially Java, which are almost a *terra incognita* to the travelling public, is specially recommended, on account of their accessibility and safety, whilst the hotels, railways, steamboats and climate are said to be all that can be desired.

*New Map of Rhodesia* (W. and A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London). An extremely handy map, and indispensable for those who wish to follow events in that portion of South Africa which it so well and clearly defines.

*The Berar Trust. How it originated. How it was reconstructed, and how it is administered*, by J. D. GRIBBLE, I.C.S. (retired). This is a pamphlet, the substance of which appeared in various articles in the "Pioneer" (Allahabad) during the months of October, November, and December, 1896, suggesting the justice of the payment of sums from the Berar revenues and surplus due to Hyderabad.

*Egyptian (Arabic) Self-Taught, with the English Phonetic Transliteration of Every Word*, by A. THIMM, F.R.G.S. (E. Marlborough and Co., London, 1897). A useful and cheap hand-book, which will doubtless be greatly appreciated by officials, soldiers and travellers in Egypt.

*Our Colonies and India. How we got them, and why we keep them*, by C. RANSOME, M.A., Oxon, 4th edition (Cassell and Co., London). The subject is discussed in a concise and clear manner in four lectures, first, "What our Colonies were, and how we gained them"; second, "What our Colonies are, and why we keep them"; third, "What India was, and how we gained the chief power there"; and lastly, "What India is, and why we stay there."

*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Vol. IV., Nos. 3 and 4, 1896), containing the report of the tenth annual general meeting, the Presidential address, two papers by the late Mr. Dhruva, "The Early Races of India" and "Vedic Chronology and the Dawn of Indian Philosophy," as also a paper on the statistics of suicides in Bombay during the year 1896.

A very good *Introductory Course in Japanese*, by C. MACCAULEY, A.M. (Sampson Low and Co., London, 1897).

*The Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, Vol II., Part I., of Sanskrit books printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode.

*Hebrew Syntax*, by the Rev. J. D. Wynkoop (Luzac and Co., London, 1897).

*Report on the Administration of Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency and Sind 1895-6* (Government Press, Bombay, 1897).

*L'Alphabet Rationnel. Etude sur l'alphabetisme et la graphie de la langue française*, par M. CELESTIN LAGACHE (Librairie Ch. Delagrave, Paris).

We have also received the following Books which we are compelled to reserve for future notice: Another interesting volume of the "Anecdota

Oxoniensia : *The Mantrapāṭha : or, The Prayer Book of the Apastambins*, edited by M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D., Part I. (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1897); — *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. Translated from the Pali by various hands, under the editorship of PROF. E. B. COWELL, Vol. III. (Cambridge University Press, 1897). *England and India. A Record of Progress during a hundred years, 1785-1885*, by ROMESH C. DUTT, J.C.S., C.J.E. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1897); — *The Life of Saladin*, by BRHA ED-DIN (1137-1193 A.D.). (The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1897); — *Modern Mythology*, by ANDREW LANG, M.A., LL.D. (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1897); — *In Camp and Cantonment, stories of foreign service*, by EDITH E. CUTHRELL (Hurst and Blackett, London, 1897); — *Mohammedanism, Has it any future?* by the REV. CHARLES H. ROBINSON, M.A. (with an introduction by the Rt. Rev. W. B. Carpenter, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ripon). (London: Gardner, Darton and Co., 1897).

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of : *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*; — *Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.); — *La Revue des Revues* (Paris); — *La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels); — *The Minerva* (Rome); — *The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.); — *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon); — *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris); — *The American Weekly, Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York); — *Journal of the Society of Arts*, (London); — *Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, (Paris); — *The Canadian Gazette*, (London); — *The Indian Magazine and Review*, (London: A. Constable and Co.); — *Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris); — *Le Tour du Monde*, (London and Paris: Hachette); — From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*; — the three last numbers of *The Strand Musical Magazine*, and *The Navy and Army and Country Life*, both illustrated. The last Quarter's "SANSKRIT JOURNAL" of the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The Indian Budget was unfolded by Lord George Hamilton shortly before the close of Parliament. He showed that the sources of taxation were few, and could not be increased, and that there were special dangers and difficulties, which might cause a sudden and heavy drain upon the Treasury. The terrible scourges of famine and plague had so affected the country in 1896-97, that it was estimated that the actual financial loss would be about Rx. 12,000,000. The estimated revenue and expenditure for that year was Rx. 58,034,000 and Rx. 60,021,000 respectively. The revised estimates for the same year, the accounts of which are not yet closed, showed an estimated reduction of Rx. 3,019,000 in net revenue, and of Rx. 569,000 in net expenditure, making the position worse than was originally expected by Rx. 2,450,000.

The net revenue for 1897-98, estimated at Rx. 59,629,700, is Rx. 1,595,000 more than the revised estimate for 1896-97, and the net expenditure Rx. 62,093,700 (owing chiefly to heavier charges for famine relief) is £2,072,600 more than estimated, the deficit being Rx. 2,464,000.

The rate of exchange for the year 1897-98 has been fixed at rs. 2½d. for the Rupee. In future, the treasuries will receive sovereigns and half sovereigns at the rate of 15 Rupees per sovereign. Bimetallism, which seemed to have collapsed, is being revived by the proposal of France and the United States for a ratio of gold to silver of 15½, a possibility which is already giving rise to much controversy in England.

The news, this quarter, from the NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, is serious; most, if not all the tribes, being bent on war. In our last issue, we briefly alluded to the attack made by the Darwesh Khel Waziris on a small British force at Maizār in the Tochi valley. In consequence of this attack, a punitive force, consisting of 3,500 men under the command of General Bird, was despatched there, and most of the strongholds in the valley were destroyed, the enemy making no stand.

On the 26th July another tribal rising, assisted, it was said, by Buneyrwals,\* occurred in the Swāt valley, culminating in five successive night attacks on the fortified positions on the Malakand, which was held by about 4,000 men; 300 British Swāt levies garrisoned the Chakdara fort commanding the bridge over the Swāt river, and the road to Chitral. Colonel Meiklejohn who was in command, repulsed the attacks with great loss to the tribes. On the arrival of reinforcements and General Sir Bindon Blood, the latter took command, and Chakdara, which had been closely invested by the tribesmen, was relieved by a brilliant "coup de main." On General Blood taking the offensive, the tribes in the lower Swāt valley submitted unconditionally. A strong column proceeded to the upper Swāt valley, where it encountered a body of 3,000 tribesmen, who were dispersed without much difficulty. No sooner had order been restored in the Swāt country, when the Afridis rose and attacked the posts held by their kinsmen in the Khaibar. Landi Kotal, Ali Masjid and Fort Mande were captured by them, after a show of resistance, but most of our Afridi

\* An expedition, already in progress, against Buneyr was stopped at the last moment on the discovery that the supposed combination of the tribes of that region had not taken place.



levies eventually came in to Jamrud with their rifles. A large body of tribesmen also attacked the fort of Shabkadar, near Peshawar, but were repulsed.

Leaving a strong force in the Swāt valley, General Blood, with the Malakand Field Force, set out for the Mohmand country via Bajaur to effect a junction with a force under General Elles advancing via Shabkadar. No sooner had the junction been effected, than he was attacked by the Haddā Mullāh at the head of between 3 to 4000 men. The fight lasted 5 hours, resulting in great loss to the enemy. General Wodehouse, commanding the 3rd Brigade of Genl. Blood's force was severely wounded. A brigade under General Jeffreys, which had been detached from General Blood's force, had some severe fighting with the Momunds\* on the 16th Sept. inflicting great loss on them, but losing 9 officers and 129 men killed and wounded. The brigade pursued the Momunds into their Valley. The Political officer has arrived at a settlement with the Lower Mohmands who are to pay a fine of 5,000 rupees and surrender 800 guns and 300 swords. General Elles's brigade with Generals Westmacott, Graves and Duthy has advanced into the Mohmand country, after forcing the Bed-manai Pass on the 23 September where the tribesmen made a good stand, but were defeated with heavy loss. The Hudda Mullah, under whom, and the Sufi Mullah, they fought, has fled, his village, if not Mosque, at Jarobi being destroyed.

The Orakzais, who had long been dissatisfied with our occupation of the Samana range, near Kohat, and with our building the posts (Lockhart, Cavagnari, Gulistan, etc.), just within their territory which these posts dominate, made repeated attacks on them in the first week of September. In one case this led to their capture of the post of Saragari, after its heroic Sikh defenders had been cut down to the last man. The other fortlets, however, resisted successfully and the reliefs drove off the enemy with great slaughter. The Orakzais have again gathered together, with the Afridis, to renew their attack on the Samana range. They even expect some help from the Amir, who, they say, has promised it in return for their giving him certain hostages.†

Even Quetta has been disturbed during the Quarter. Three of the principal chiefs of *Baluchistan*.—Sirdars Mehrullah, Ganj Bakhsh, and Yār Muhammad, were arrested at the end of August, being suspected of intrigue against the Government. Several small attacks were made on stations on the Quetta railway which have, in consequence, been strengthened. Two influential chiefs and considerable numbers of the border population of Khelat have crossed the frontier into Afghanistan.

General Sir William Lockhart who arrived at Simla from England on 20th Sept., will take command of the forces on the North West Frontier. He has been appointed by Her Majesty, Commander in Chief in the place of Genl. Sir George White, when the latter relinquishes his post.

An expenditure up to ten lakhs, has been sanctioned for the establishment of military posts at Wanó and in the Tochi valley, and a lakh to improve the Bannu—Datta Khel road.

\* The Momunds, like most of the other tribes of Bajaur, are Tarkalanis, and should not be confounded with the Pathan Mohmands.

† Some sections are anxious to come to terms with the British in order to cut their crops.

INDIA.—It has been decided that the Chittagong division is not to be transferred to Assam, but the Lushai Hills would be so transferred. The Assam-Bengal railway suffered so severely from the late earthquake that it is expected that the repairs will occupy two years.

The question of ways and means with the Government has become more serious, owing to the devastation wrought by the earthquake, and the expenditure entailed by the rising of the N.W. frontier tribes; moreover, the famine expenditure has been greater than the original estimate; it is probable, therefore, that the Railway programme will be curtailed.

The rainfall has been below the normal, over the greater part of India, but above the normal, in the remainder. The famine districts are gradually recovering, with a consequent decline in the number of those on relief works.

Riots of a serious character, in relation to the demolition of a place used as a mosque, broke out at Calcutta on the 30th June. The police were severely maltreated, but Col. Wilford, who commanded the military that had to be called out, eventually restored order.

Maulvi Hadāyat Rasūl was tried at Lucknow for using seditious language at a public meeting of Muhammadans, held to congratulate the Sultan upon his victories. He was sentenced to a year's simple imprisonment as he was unable to produce sureties for his good behaviour. No respectable natives attended the Court.

The proprietor and the publisher of the "Mahrani" at Satara have been sentenced to transportation for life, and seven years' hard labour respectively also for sedition; they have appealed.

Mr. Gangadhar Tilak, proprietor of the "Kesari" native newspaper, and his printer, were arrested at Poona on a charge of exciting disaffection. After a trial lasting a week he was found guilty, and sentenced to eighteen months rigorous imprisonment; his printer being discharged. The friends of Mr. Tilak are applying for a new trial on the alleged grounds of partiality and misdirection by the Judge in summing up. Mr. Tilak's application to the Bombay Supreme Court to appeal to the Privy Council, was rejected.

The editor of the "Moslem Deccan" published in Bombay was, on the 17th Sept., ordered to quit British territory within 24 hours.

The Government has prohibited the entry into India of the Turkish newspapers "Sabāh," and "M'almāt," owing to their virulent attacks on British rule in India.

Mr. Lamb, magistrate, at a meeting of the inhabitants of Poona, strongly condemned the disloyalty lately shown in the country, and threatened strong measures to suppress it; the speech has elicited contrary opinions as to its expediency. Justice Tyabji, in addressing a meeting of his Muhammadan co-religionists, denounced the language used by some Muhammadan newspapers. Professor Gokhalé, who had repeated statements received in England from Bombay with regard to alleged outrages by British soldiers in Poona, has withdrawn them and apologised for doing so. Pandita Rama Bai, the Sanscrit Scholar and Philanthropist, however, has made some serious accusations and insists on their being inquired into.

The spring crops, especially in regard to corn, are promising well. The

public health in Bombay in August was in an alarming state, many deaths having occurred from cholera, the plague also showing great tenacity, and, after having almost disappeared, except at Poona, where it is raging, is now again in Bombay and has, indeed, spread over the Southern Mahratta country and beyond.

The Madras Government has sanctioned 20,000 rupees for excavating the Virapuram Vanganur irrigation channel in the Anantapur district, as a famine relief work.

A band of Moplas of the Malabar Coast, has again given trouble. There is an article on the Moplas generally in this issue.

In consequence of the destruction of a bridge by floods on the Bangalore-Mysore railway, a train fell into a river resulting in 150 deaths.

It is at last settled that a lighthouse is to be erected on the Island of Sokotra, where the s.s. "Aden" was recently wrecked with great loss of life after terrible suffering.

**NATIVE STATES.**—The native Indian army has received special marks of the Queen Empress's favour in connexion with the Diamond Jubilee, Her Majesty having approved of the issue of various medals and a large increase in the appointments to the order of British India.

The chiefs all over that Continent have offered their troops for active service on the Frontier, but only those of Panjab Chiefs are to be used, although the Maharaja Scindia's transport train has been accepted. Sir Pertab Singh of Jodhpur and the Maharajas of Patiala and Kuch Behar have been appointed, at their own request, to serve on the Staff at the seat of war.

Major Afsar-i-Jang succeeds the late Colonel Neville in the command of the Nizam's forces in Hyderabad.

Seventeen lakhs of Rupees have been promised by native notabilities to the "Indian Princes Victoria Health Institute for Scientific Investigation of Disease" to be established at Calcutta as a commemoration by ruling Princes and Chiefs of India of the Queen's Jubilee. The Chief of Dholpur is proceeding energetically with the scheme.

The birth of a son and heir to the Maharaja of Kolapur has been celebrated by great rejoicings in that State.

**AFGHANISTAN.**—The Amir is said to be anxious to get back into Afghanistan, all the chiefs and sirdars of note—Ayub Khan and Ishak Khan excepted—who are refugees in India and Central Asia. He is offering them safe conducts and fair treatment and some of them are likely to accept, if they see that the Kumer Chief (Sayyad Ahmad Padshah), who has returned, is well treated. Umra Khan is living quietly near Kabul, and is in great favour with the Amir. At a largely attended durbar the Amir has forbidden any of his subjects to join the Mullah who incited the attack on Fort Shabkadr, and has ordered the punishment of anyone raiding the camels of the Tochi punitive force, and he read out his reply to a letter from the Viceroy, and solemnly affirmed that he had never induced any of his subjects to take hostile action against the British, who were his friends.

The scare regarding the cordon of Russian troops along the Northern



frontier, nominally established for intercepting plague-stricken travellers, has subsided. Afghanistan has had an absolutely clean bill of health.

The garrison of the Khost district, between the Kurram and the Tochi valleys, has been reinforced by cavalry, artillery and infantry, and they have dispersed two gatherings of tribesmen, the Amir being determined to keep them in check. A great fire broke out on September 6th in Kabul, the damage done being estimated at several lakhs of rupees.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—General Karopatkine, Governor of the Transcaspian Province, is to be appointed Governor-General of Turkestan, in place of Baron Vrevsky, but will still have under his charge his former province which will be administered by a governor directly responsible to General Kuropatkine himself. One of the latter's schemes is the construction of a railway between Oxenburgh and Tashkent.

**CEYLON.**—A meeting of Buddhists was lately held at the Ananda College, for the purpose of forming a union of Buddhist priests under the patronage of the King of Siam, and to establish a Buddhist orphanage.

**SIAM.**—His Majesty the King of Siam came to Europe in his private yacht, and after a tour through Italy, Austria, and Russia, arrived in England, and was the guest of Her Majesty for a few days at Buckingham Palace. He afterwards resided at Taplow Court, and visited most of the principal industrial centres of Great Britain. He has since visited Holland, Germany, Belgium and France, and has arrived again in England; he intends paying a visit to Spain and Portugal on his way back via the Suez Canal.

**BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.**—The town of Gaja situated on an island lying off the western coast, has been burned, and the treasury looted by a Bornean native chieftain named Mat Saleh. Mr. Neubronner, the treasurer, was carried off prisoner. The attack had no political significance. A force from Labuan under Governor Beaufort and Captain Reddie attacked Mat Saleh's position and burnt the rebel villages, the rebels having fled. Mr. Neubronner was rescued by an expedition under Mr. Godfrey Hewett. See the article on "British North Borneo" in the present issue.

The entire pacification of the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS is announced, and the Spanish Government have authorized Marshal Riviera to revoke the order for the confiscation of the property of the rebels.

**CHINA.**—With regard to the financial situation, it seems that no small portion of the money already borrowed from Europe has been frittered away, and with but one exception, no profitable sources of revenue have been opened up to supply the place of Imperial Maritime Customs, already so heavily mortgaged. The Government has now concluded negotiations with the Hooley-Jameson Syndicate for a loan of sixteen million sterling at 4, and carrying 5 % interest. The Syndicate advances £2,000,000 for the Shanghai-Nanking Railway line, and engages to advance, later on, £3,000,000 for an extension of the line to Ho-nau. A Belgian Syndicate has secured the contract for the construction of the Hankow-Peking line. Li Chang-Hi has arranged for increased duties to be levied on tea, and other articles in Hu-nan; these duties will produce an extra 200,000 taels yearly.

A tax has been placed on home-grown opium which is estimated to

give twenty million taels per annum. One-tenth will be used in collecting expenses, six-tenths to pay off the foreign debt and three-tenths will be used in restoring ruined palaces and parks.

**JAPAN.**—The Japanese Government has addressed to Mr. Secretary Sherman a further Note on the subject of the annexation of Hawaii by the United States, declaring that Japan cannot acquiesce in the projected annexation as it would prejudicially affect her interests. Mr. Sherman has replied in markedly friendly terms, reaffirming the propriety of the annexation, and repeating that the interests of Japan would be fully safeguarded. A treaty of commerce between Japan and Portugal has been signed at Lisbon.

The only, but good, news from **PERSIA**, is, that the plague scare has died out, and the Shah's Government has reduced the period of quarantine to three days only, along the Eastern frontier. Bands of Persian Armenians are also supposed to have attacked the Kurds and *vice versa*, and Persian troops are said to have restored order.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—A general mobilisation has been ordered in the Eastern vilâyets. The Sultan has sanctioned the formation of a mixed travelling Commission, to visit the Armenian vilâyets, which were the chief sufferers in the late troubles. The Commission is to raise subscriptions for rebuilding the Armenian schools, churches, and monasteries destroyed, and to establish orphanages. An Encyclical from the Armenian Patriarch was read in the Churches, inviting all Armenians to remain loyal to the Sultan.

The Armenian Patriarchate, through its head, Mgr. Ormanian, has made a strong personal representation to the Sultan, about the arbitrary arrests and long detentions of Armenians in prison, without undergoing examination. His Majesty gave positive assurances that these vexations should cease.

**EGYPT.**—Military operations in the Sudan for a further advance up the Nile commenced in July. On the 7th August, Major-Genl. Hunter's column captured Abu Hamed, after severe house to house fighting in which the Egyptian loss was 21 killed and 61 wounded, including two British officers: Brevet-Major Sidney and Lieut. Fitzclarence. Berber was evacuated by the Dervishes and occupied by the Egyptian forces without a shot. It is expected that the Khalifa's forces will make a stand at Metemneh; in the meanwhile, the railway, steamers and provisions are being rapidly pushed to the front. The Jaalin and Hassanieh tribes, who had revolted against the Khalifa, were attacked and slaughtered by the Dervishes, a remnant fleeing to Gakdul, where in conjunction with the Hawawir and other tribes of the Bayuda desert, they were assisting the Sirdar's expedition. The Egyptian Government has asked the Italian Government to maintain its garrison at Kassala until December, when future arrangements will be discussed.

The anti-English feeling in Egypt has found vent in disturbances on the anniversary of the Sultan's accession, and has since been followed by demonstrations against British soldiers; 22 of the rioters have been arrested.

**TUNIS.**—Great Britain has followed up the policy of concessions to France by abandoning the capitulations at Tunis, which insure her subjects extra-territorial rights, and has accepted instead, a Customs' house reduction of 5 per cent. from 8 per cent. on cotton goods.

**ABYSSINIA.**—It is announced that the Negus has appointed Mr. Leontieff

Governor-General of the Equatorial Provinces of Abyssinia; he is to develop the resources of the region.

The result of the mission of Major Nerazzini to the Emperor Menelik has been very satisfactory; the latter has engaged to fix definitely by treaty a better frontier, and one more favourable to Italy than that of 1891, the territorial *status quo* remaining meanwhile unchanged. The Italian Government has accepted all the Emperor's proposals with slight variation of detail. A treaty of commerce has also been arranged, which gives Italy the option to maintain a regular representative at the Court of the Negus. This treaty promises great facilities for the development of trade in the Benadir country.

The Emperor Menelik, it is stated, intends to visit the Paris Exhibition of 1900.

EAST AFRICA.—Major J. R. L. MacDonald has proceeded in charge of a Government expedition to the River Jub which forms part of the boundary between the British and Italian spheres in East Africa. He is accompanied by a full staff of officers and an Indian force. The navigation of this river is difficult especially beyond the rapids.

The native outbreak in GASALAND (PORTUGUESE E. AFRICA) had assumed an alarming form, the native chief Camuimba having seized a Portuguese gunboat and killed nearly all the crew and soldiers on board. The Governor of Mozambique afterwards attacked the natives and gained a signal victory, the latter losing 293 men, including many chiefs; several chiefs were also captured.

Mozambique is now in direct communication with Paris via Tamatave, Mojanga and the Mozambique cable.

President Steyn of the ORANGE FREE STATE has received a letter from the Queen, thanking him for his Jubilee congratulations and expressing the hope that through mutual co-operation the peace and prosperity of South Africa will continue to increase.

RHODESIA.—The country N. of Mazoe has been disturbed; the natives have cut up and used the transcontinental telegraph wire. Severe fighting has occurred at Kheunabas in the Hunyani country. Sir Richard Martin, at the head of a force including the 7th Hussars, has left Fort Salisbury for the seat of the disturbance. The notorious rebel leader Opatjwana was captured near the junction of the Gwaai and Zambesi rivers and all the Mashona chiefs except Kazubi have surrendered.

The BECHUANALAND field force has gained a decisive victory in the Langeburg district, over the natives under Galibwe and other chiefs,—Gamaseep and Gamaluce have been taken.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Cape Colony has presented a million pounds sterling to Great Britain for the purpose of building a first-rate ironclad, to be at the disposal of the Empire. The investigations of the Parliamentary South African Committee has resulted in acquitting the Colonial Office of all complicity in the Jamieson raid, and in holding that Mr. Rhodes had no justification in subsidizing, organizing, and stimulating an armed insurrection against the Transvaal Government, and in employing the Chartered Co.'s forces to support such a resolution and that, although Dr. Jamieson, at the last moment, entered the Transvaal without Mr. Rhodes' direct sanction, Mr. Rhodes was responsible for it.



The Kimberley Branch of the Afrikaner Bond has passed a vote of thanks to Sir William Harcourt for the position taken up by him at the South African inquiry, which contributed greatly to the desire of the Bond for a united South Africa.

The Imperial authorities are considering the construction of a graving dock and harbour works at Simon's Town naval station at a cost of £2,500,000.

The long drought which existed in Cape Colony has given place to abundant rains.

The gold exports from Cape Colony during August amounted to £849,938.

TRANSVAAL.—The Volksraad has passed with acclamation the treaties recently ratified by the Orange Free State, arranging for closer political union between the two States. Speaking in the Volksraad, President Kruger denied the suzerainty of Great Britain over the Republic; he said he would strictly observe the London Convention, and was anxious to preserve peaceable relations with everybody. The state of things socially is discouraging. Distress in Johannesburg is becoming exceedingly acute, and many people are in danger of being starved. Crime is increasing to an alarming extent, highway robbery is a common occurrence, and violence is perpetrated everywhere. Compared with July 1896, the State revenue for July 1897 shows a decline of £48,000; the expenditure decreased £428,000, and the Treasury balance is only £562,000 against £1,000,000 in July, 1896.

The election of a new President will take place early next year.

WEST AFRICA.—The King of BENIN, who escaped the punitive expedition sent against him early in the year, has formally surrendered to the Acting Political Agent. He was accompanied by his chiefs and about 400 followers. It has been reported that Sir Ralph Moor, Consul-General, began the trial of the King and his chiefs for the massacre of the British Mission. Three of the chiefs were convicted and two of them shot. Their bodies were hung up for 24 hours. The other chief committed suicide before the execution took place. The evidence against the King and the other chiefs is being taken.

A detachment of French cavalry sent from TIMBUCTU to suppress a rising of the Hogar Tuaregs has met with a disaster, 4 officers and 29 native sipahis being killed.

THE CONGO STATE.—The rebel force of Baron Dhan's expedition, which revolted in June last, have crossed the border several times since, and in one of their incursions they attacked the British fort at Katwe, on the Salt Lake, and according to official reports, were repulsed. Lieutenant Henri, with seven white, and 600 soldiers of the Congo State forces, was in pursuit of them.

CANADA.—In reference to the award of the Tribunal of Arbitration at Paris, with respect to the seal fisheries in the Behring Straits, and the Acts of Parliament of Great Britain and the United States in 1894, various questions in carrying out the terms of this award have been raised by the United States Government. From a Blue-Book now published, the British Government, in a despatch dated 28 July, 1897, has agreed to a meeting of experts

to be nominated by Great Britain, Canada, and the United States this month (October), with the view of inquiring into the practical working of the present regulations, and as to the correct conclusions respecting the numbers, conditions, and habits of the seals. Lord Salisbury suggests that the place of meeting should be Washington, and he clearly indicates, that whatever changes are proposed in the regulations, they must be of a nature to allow both nations to share in the industry.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was knighted on the occasion of his visit to the Jubilee, at the Montreal banquet, held in his honour, declared that the river St. Lawrence is the great outlet for the trade between America and Europe, and not between Canada and Europe alone; he anticipates that instead of the United States being the carriers to Europe of 90 per cent. of the products of Canada, 90 per cent. of American products, as well as their own, would, in course of time, be carried over the Canadian route.

Sir Donald Smith has been advanced to the peerage with the title of Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal.

Sir Oliver Mowat, Minister of Justice, has decided to retire from political life, and will accept the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ontario, in succession to Sir G. Kirkpatrick. Very rich discoveries of gold have been made at Klondyke and other places on the Yukon river. An enormous number of people, both from America and British Columbia, are making their way there, but much suffering and hardship from famine and cold, as anticipated, has already taken place. This auriferous region is situated in British territory, about 100 miles east of the 141st meridian, the boundary of Alaska.

Excellent rains have fallen in Ottawa, and good crops are assured. It is estimated that the Manitoba wheat-crop will amount to 25 million bushels. The meeting of the British Association, which was held in Toronto, was very successful. The revenue of the Dominion for the fiscal year ending June 30 was \$37,809,347, and the expenditure \$38,335,086. The expenditure on capital account was \$3,705,611.

AUSTRALASIA.—The revenue returns of WESTERN AUSTRALIA for the year ended June 30, amounted to £2,842,751, being an increase of £984,057.

The revenue of VICTORIA for the year is £6,629,613, and the expenditure £6,825,911, including £250,000 for the extinction of Treasury bonds. The estimated revenue for the coming year is £6,803,196, and expenditure £6,886,832, including £250,000 for extinction of Treasury bonds.

The past year's estimated revenue of QUEENSLAND exceeded the actual receipts by £54,800, and the expenditure exceeded the estimate by £2,800. The coming year's estimated revenue is £3,672,000 and expenditure £3,700,000, the deficiency to be provided for, by an excise duty of 3d. per gallon on Colonial beer. The new agreement with the Queensland Bank has resulted in a diminution of interest from public balances of £34,000 per annum. Government Savings Bank deposits have increased from £2,329,000 to £2,568,000. The imports last year were £5,433,000, being an increase of £162,000, and the exports £9,164,000, an increase of £508,000.

The revenue of SOUTH AUSTRALIA has increased by £106,640 and the

expenditure by £106,392, the revenue for the coming year has been set down at £2,628,044, and the expenditure at £2,626,236, including £56,369 for the redemption of the debt.

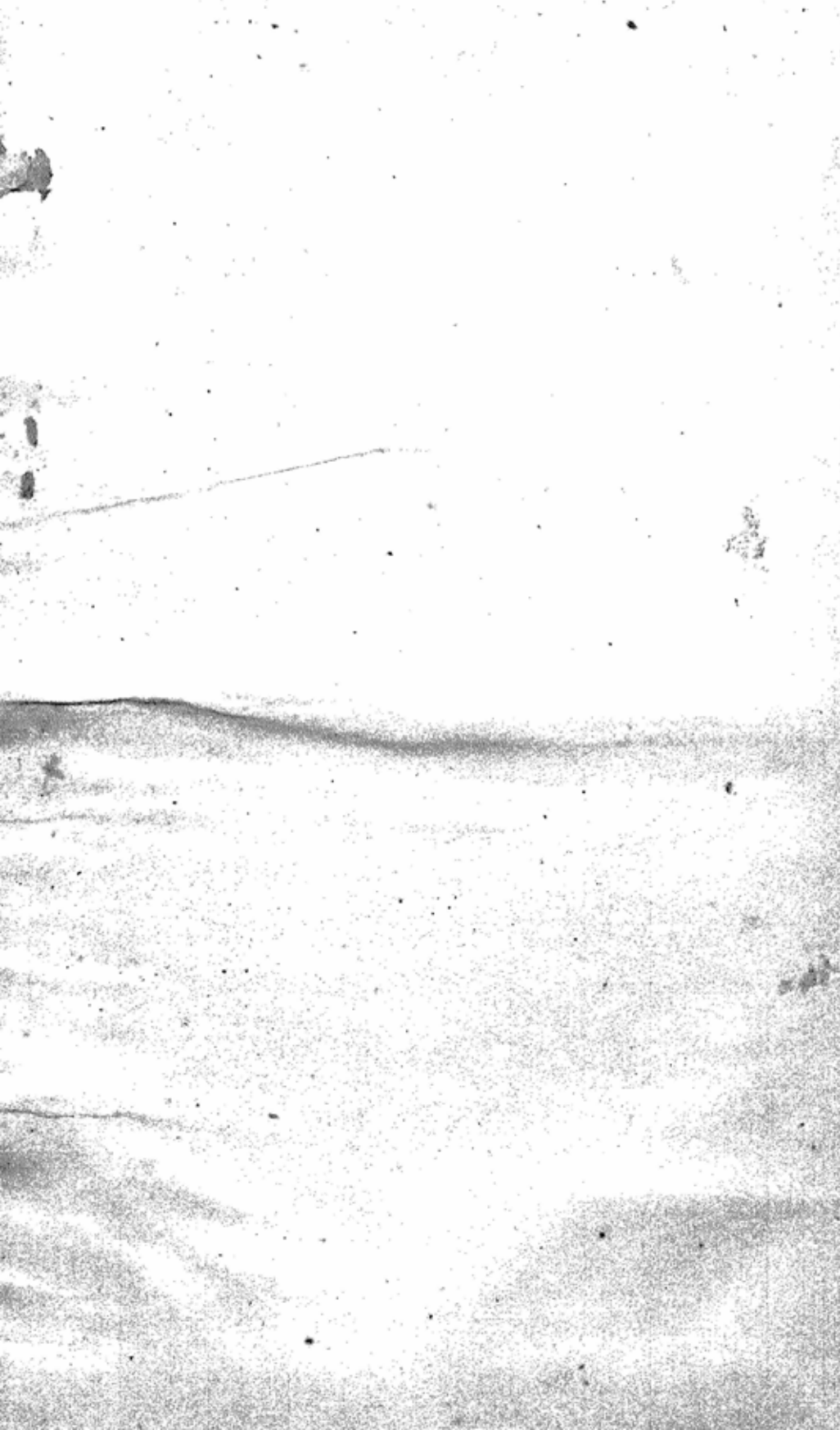
**NEW SOUTH WALES.**—The year's revenue was £9,309,000, being an increase of £57,000.

The shipment of gold from Australasia for the first half-year was £8,000,000.

**OBITUARY.**—The deaths have been recorded, during this quarter, of Surgn.-Genl. H. T. Reade, C.B., V.C. (Mutiny);—Genl. W. R. Houghton;—Adml. Sir W. R. Mends, G.C.B. (Crimea);—Genl. Sir R. Cadell, K.C.B. (Crimea and Mutiny);—Lieut.-Genl. C. E. P. Gordon, C.B. (Kaffir war and Mutiny);—Col. J. Galloway, C.B. (Mutiny, Afghan and Egyptian Wars);—Genl. Sir R. D. Kelly (The O'Kelly), (Crimea, Mutiny);—Major-Genl. P. Bedingfeld, R.A. (China);—Major-Genl. G. J. Smart (Mutiny);—Capt. W. R. Festing (Burma and Chitral); Lieut. W. Fitzgerald (Royal Niger Co.);—Sir Patrick A. Jennings, Ex-premier of New South Wales;—Vice-Adml. W. E. Gordon (Baltic);—Sir G. S. B. Pechell, Bart. (late Madras N. I.);—Adml. W. K. Stephens (St. Jean d'Acre);—Major J. Winton, late Indian Forces;—Lieut.-Col. F. W. Joseph, R.S.C.;—Capt. J. G. Johnston (R. Madras E.);—Mr. Bemonji Pestonji, J.B. of Bombay;—Lieut.-Col. T. P. Fraser-Tyler (Madras Army);—Rev. A. W. Quinlan (late Bengal Establishment);—Mr. Wolsley Lewis, of Bangkok;—Maj.-Genl. G. Maister (Gwalior, Panjab, Bozdar, etc.);—Col. Sir N. W. D. Pringle (Sudan);—Capt. B. L. Schlater, R.E. (Central and E. Africa Service);—Kung Tafen, late Chinese Ambassador in London;—Surgn.-Major G. Jameson, R.M.S.;—Major R. Corke, late 1st Bombay Lancers;—Major W. W. Taylor (Malakand); Capt. J. Ford;—Brigade-Surgn. G. E. W. Whiston, M.B., late Madras Establishment;—Hon. Justule A. Berthelot, Judge of Montreal;—Commander Winter, R.N. (Egypt 1882);—Maj.-Genl. C. A. Sim, R.E. (Kohat and Afghanistan);—Sir J. D. Tholozan, C.M.C.G., physician late Shah of Persia;—Major I. MacIvor, C.I.E., Political agent Gwalior;—Lt.-Col. H. B. Tate (Afghan and Chitral campaigns);—Major-Genl. E. N. Perkins, late Bengal S. C. (Gwalior, Sutlej, Mutiny);—Major H.M. Sidney (Sudan);—Lieut. Fitz Clarence (Sudan);—Maj.-Genl. G. E. Holmes (Panjab and Gujerat);—Lt.-Col. G. B. Stuart, M.R.C.S. (Ashanti, 1874);—Col. Sir G. G. Walker, K.C.B.;—General Sir William Jervois (Kaffir war);—Col. F. C. Eveleigh (Crimea and Mutiny);—Lieut. R. T. Greaves (Swat Valley);—Lieut. H. L. S. MacLean (Swat Valley);—Capt. F. J. Nelson (Bechuana-land and Burma);—Lt.-Col. R. Western, late Madras Infantry;—Col. G. E. Reade, late Bengal Infantry;—General G. Holroyd, Bengal S. C. (Kandahar 1838-42, Gwalior, Sutlej);—Col. John Lamb (Afghanistan, Zhob and Malakand);—Surgn.-Genl. W. H. Muschamp (Crimea and Mutiny);—Lt.-Col. A. O. Tabuteau (Crimea);—Count Mutsu (late Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs);—The Maharanee Surnomoyi of Cassimbazâr;—Wasudevrao Harihar Pandias, spiritual head of the Poona Brahmins;—Col. W. E. Peck, R.E. (Sudan 1885);—Lt.-Col. F. W. Buller, late Madras Cavalry;—Col. G. G. Slade (Gold Coast and Ashanti);—Capt. E. W. Lang, R.N. (Baltic);—Subadar Gurmukh Singh, 14th Sikhs (one of the defenders of Chitral Fort);—Major R. H. MacCarthy (Ashanti and Zulu wars);—Major-Genl. J. Tilly, C.B. (Mutiny, Burma);—General T. C. Lyons, C.B. (Mutiny);—Lieut. W. E. Tomkins, I.S.C. (N.W. Frontier);—Lieut. A. W. Bailey, I.S.C. (N.W. Frontier);—Lt.-Col. C. B. Pigott, C.B., D.S.O. (Zululand, Egypt, W. Africa, Ashanti);—Col. A. S. Grove, D.S.O. (Afghanistan, Burma);—Surgn.-Major-Genl. H. M.D. (Bombay Govt.);—Sir Wm. Windeyer, LL.D., late Puisne Judge of New South Wales;—Admiral F. H. Smith (China, W. Coast of Africa);—Sir W. Brabant Griffith, late Governor of the Gold Coast;—Major-Genl. G. T. Gough (Panjab campaign 1848-9 and Kaffir wars 1851-3).







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